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J. T. Campbell  
Middlebury College  
Vermont.



# HISTORY OF THE HIGHLANDS

AND OF

## THE HIGHLAND CLANS,

BY

JAMES BROWNE, Esq., LL.D., ADVOCATE.

Author of "*Aperçu sur les Hiéroglyphes d'Égypte et les progrès faits jusqu'à présent dans leur Déchiffrement,*"  
"A Critical Examination of Dr M'Culloch's Book on the Highlands," &c. &c.

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# CONTENTS

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APPENDIX TO THE HISTORY OF THE REBELLION, 1745—46. (Stuart Papers continued.) No. LXXXVIII—CCLXXXVIII, . . . . . pp. 1—131.

### MILITARY SERVICE OF THE HIGHLAND REGIMENTS.

#### CHAPTER I.

Military character—Embodying of the independent companies, known by the name of the Black Watch—Formed into a regular regiment (the 43d) in 1740—List of officers—March for England—Review—Desertion—Flanders—Battle of Fontenoy, 1745—Conduct of the regiment on that occasion—Returns to England—Embarks for the French coast—Failure of that expedition—The regiment lands in Ireland—Re-embarks for Flanders—Battle of Lafeldt, 1747—Return of the regiment to Ireland—Number changed from the 43d to the 42d—Exemplary conduct of the regiment in Ireland—Embarks for New York, 1756—Louisbourg, 1757—Ticonderoga, 1758—Seven new companies raised, 1758—Embark for the West Indies, 1759—Ticonderoga and Crown Point, 1759—Surrender of Montreal, 1760—Martinique, 1760—Havannah, 1762—Bushy Run, 1763—Fort Pitt, 1763—Ireland, 1767—Return of the 42d to Scotland, 1775, . . . . . pp. 133—172.

#### CHAPTER II.

Departure of the 42d for America—Disembarks in Staten island—Battle of Brooklyn, 1776—Broadsword and pistols laid aside—Skirmish near New York—White Plains—Capture of Fort Washington and Fort Lee—Defeat of the Hessians at Trenton—Skirmish at Trenton—Defeat of Mawhood's detachment—Pisquataua—Chesapeake—Battle of Brandy Wine—German Town—Skirmish at Monmouth—Small expedition—New Plymouth—Portsmouth—Verplanks and Stony Point, 1779—Mutiny of a detachment at Leith—Charleston—Paulus Hook—Desertion, 1783—Halifax—Cape Breton—Return of the regiment to England—Marches to Scotland—Returns to England, and embarks for Flanders—Ostend—Menin—Nieuport—England—Coast of France—Ostend—Nineguen—Gilderwalsen—Retreat to Deventer—Return of the regiment to England, . . . . . pp. 173—189.

#### CHAPTER III.

Expedition to the West Indies, 1795—Barbadoes, St Lucia, St Vincent, 1796—Trinidad, Porto Rico, 1797—England, Gibraltar, Minorca, 1798—Expedition to Egypt, 1800—Battle of the 13th March, 1801—Battle of the 21st—Death of Sir Ralph Abercromby—Capture of Rosetta—Surrender of Grand Cairo and of Alexandria—England—Misunderstanding between the 42d and the Highland Society of London—The

regiment reviewed by George III.—Return of the 43d to Scotland—Embarks at Leith for Weeley in Essex—Second battalion—Gibraltar—Portugal—Spain—Retreat to Corunna—Battle of Corunna—Death of Sir John Moore—England, 1809—Walacheren—Scotland, 1810—England, 1811, . . . . . pp. 190—216.

## CHAPTER IV.

Return of the 42d to England—Embarks a second time for Portugal in 1812—Consolidation of the first and second battalions—Spain—Battle of Salamanca—Madrid—Siege of Burgos—Retreat into Portugal—Campaign of 1813—Battle of Vittoria—Siege of St Sebastian—Its suspension—Pyrenees—Succession of battles—Fall of St Sebastian—Allied army enters France—Crosses the Nivelle—Passage of the Nive—Series of actions—Bayonne—Battles of Orthés and Ayre—Bordeaux—Tarbes—Battle of Toulouse—Conclusion of the Peninsular war—Peace of 1814—War of 1815—Quatre Bras—Waterloo—Return of the 42d to Scotland—Reception in Edinburgh, . . . . . pp. 217—238.

## REGIMENTS.

	PAGE
Loudon's Highlanders, . . . . .	239
Montgomery's Highlanders, . . . . .	243
Fraser's Highlanders, or 78th Regiment, . . . . .	248
Fraser's Highlanders, or 71st Regiment, . . . . .	261
Keith's and Campbell's Highlanders, . . . . .	276
Eighty-Ninth Highland Regiment, . . . . .	281
Johnstone's Highlanders, . . . . .	283
Seventy-Third Regiment, or Lord Macleod's Highlanders, . . . . .	283
Argyle Highlanders, . . . . .	296
Macdonald's Highlanders, . . . . .	297
Athole Highlanders, . . . . .	300
Seaforth's Highlanders, . . . . .	302
Aberdeenshire Highland Regiment, . . . . .	307
Royal Highland Emigrant Regiment, . . . . .	307
Forty-Second, or Royal Highland Regiment, . . . . .	309
Seventy-Fourth Regiment, . . . . .	317
Seventy-Fifth Regiment, . . . . .	319
Ross-shire Highlanders, . . . . .	320
Cameron Highlanders, . . . . .	349
Strathspey Regiment, . . . . .	353
Argyleshire Highlanders, . . . . .	354
Gordon Highlanders, . . . . .	354
Sutherland Highlanders, . . . . .	363

## FENCIBLE CORPS.

1. The Argyle Fencibles—1759, . . . . .	368
2. The Sutherland Fencibles—1759, . . . . .	369
3. The Argyle or Western Fencibles—1778, . . . . .	369
4. The Gordon Fencibles—1778, . . . . .	369
5. The Sutherland Fencibles—1779, . . . . .	369
6. The Grant or Strathspey Fencibles—1793, . . . . .	370
7. The Breadalbane Fencibles—1793, . . . . .	371
8. The Sutherland Fencibles—1793, . . . . .	372
9. The Gordon Fencibles—1793, . . . . .	373
10. The Argyle Fencibles—1793, . . . . .	373
11. The Rothsay and Caithness Fencibles—1794, . . . . .	373
12. The Dumbarton Fencibles—1794, . . . . .	375
13. The Reay Fencibles—1794, . . . . .	375
14. The Inverness-shire Fencibles—1794, . . . . .	376
15. The Fraser Fencibles—1794, . . . . .	377
16. The Glengarry Fencibles—1794, . . . . .	378
17. The Caithness Legion—1794, . . . . .	382
18. The Perthshire Fencibles—1794, . . . . .	382

	PAGE
19. The Argyle Fencibles—1794, . . . . .	382
20. The Lochaber Fencibles—1799, . . . . .	382
21. The Clan-Alpine Fencibles—1799, . . . . .	382
22. The Ross-shire Fencibles—1796, . . . . .	383
23. Regiment of the Isles, or Macdonald Fencibles—1799, . . . . .	383
24. The Argyle Fencibles—1799, . . . . .	384
25. The Ross and Cromarty Rangers—1799, . . . . .	384
26. The Macleod Fencibles—1799, . . . . .	384

## HISTORY OF THE HIGHLAND CLANS.

### CHAPTER I.

Extensive diffusion of the Celtic race—Fortunes of this race—Early history of nations—Inferences to be drawn from the remains of language—Peculiar customs and institutions of the Celtic race, anterior to their expulsion from the plains, little known—Nature of the inquiry to be pursued—Patriarchal system of government—Division of the people into tribes or clans—Probable origin of this division—Physical conformation of the country—The patriarchal different from the feudal and other systems—Its peculiarities—The *jus sanguinis*—The great principle of the patriarchal system community of origin, or supposed identity of family and blood—Contrasted with feudalism—Resemblance and contrariety—The feudal system, in as far as regarded tenures and jurisdictions, easily introduced—Peculiarities of clanship remained entire and unaffected—Description of these—General remarks—Consequences resulting from the division of the people into tribes or clans—Bonds of amity, or *manrent*—State of the Highlands under this system—Spirit of lawless revenge—Customs which nursed it—Law of succession—Tanistry—Gavel—Law of marriage—Custom of *hand-fasting*—Gradation of ranks—Resemblance in the classification of society to that which prevailed in Ireland and Wales—Native men and *cumerlach*—Gradation of ranks in the clan or tribe—The *righ*, *maormor*, *tanist*, *ceantighes*, *toisich*, &c.—The *captain*, or leader of a'clan, distinguished from a chief—Mode in which the authority of the chiefs was exercised—Practical limitations of their authority—Independence, and incorruptible fidelity of the people, . . . pp. 385—406.

### CHAPTER II.

Early history of the Clans involved in obscurity—Traditionary origin ascribed to them—The *Scottish* or *Irish* system—The heroic or fabulous—The *Norwegian* or *Danish*—Mr Skene's theory as to the origin of the modern Highlanders—Objection to this theory stated—The difficulty shifted backwards, not removed—The Northern Picts.—The Caledonians—Points left unexplained by Mr Skene—Tradition of a Pietish descent examined—The 'Reddschankes' or 'Pietis'—Insufficiency of the evidence on which it is sought to identify the Highlanders with the northern Picts—Conflicting traditions—Reasoning of Mr Skene unsatisfactory and inconclusive—Division of the Clans in the old genealogies—Principle of classification stated, with the reasons for adopting it, . . . pp. 407—417.

### CHAPTER III.

The Gallgael or Gaulgall—This race identical with the Vikingr Skotar of the Sagas.—The Western Isles and Argyle occupied by them—Supposed identity of the Gaulgall and the Northern Picts—Argyle—Its various denominations and extent—Wester Ross—Ancient Sherifdoms—Clans inhabiting the district of Argyle—Siol-Cuinn, or Race of Conn, the most powerful tribe of which were the Macdonalds—This race supposed by some to be of Irish, and by others, of Norwegian descent—Traditions of the Macdonalds themselves—Their supposed identity with the Gaulgael—Somerled—History of this chief—His fortune and ambition—Attempts to place his son upon the throne of the Isles—Sovereignty divided between Godred and the son of Somerled—Attempt to depose Malcolm IV.—Defeat and death of Somerled—He is succeeded by his grandson of the same name—Conduct of the latter—His defeat and violent death

—Consequences—Erection of Argyle into a sheriffdom—Districts included therein—Power of the Macdonalds on the mainland broken by this reverse—The race of Dugall—Reginald—The Sudereyan kings—Haco—Alexander II.—Alexander III.—Expedition of the Earl of Ross—Conduct of Ewen the son of Duncan—Battle of Largs, 1266, and defeat of the Norwegians—General Remarks, . . . pp. 418—427.

## CHAPTER IV.

Division of the Siol-Cuinn into three distinct branches—Reginald, father of Rory, Donald, and Dugall, the heads of these clans—Clan Rory—Reginald's share of the inheritance left by his father Somerled—His titles did not descend to his children—Succeeded by Roderick, a noted pirate—Eventual succession of Allan, the son of Roderick—Roderick, son of Allan, considered as illegitimate by the feudal law—Effect of the Highland law—Succeeded by his son Ranald—Feud with the Earl of Ross—Ranald murdered at Elcho—John of the Isles—Clan Donald—Origin—Pilgrimage of Donald—Angus Mor—Convention of 1284—His sons Alexander and Angus Og—Fidelity of the latter to the fortunes of King Robert Bruce—Lordships and lands conferred on Angus Og—His sons John and John Og—Change of policy by John, and his junction with the party of Edward Baliol—Treaty—Accession of David II.—Arrangement between the King and the Lord of the Isles—Fresh disputes—State of parties in Scotland—The Steward of Scotland—Gives his daughter in marriage to John—Insurrection of the northern barons—Conduct of the Steward—Treaty between David II. and John at Inverness—Accession of Robert Stewart to the throne—His policy in regard to the family of the Isles—Effects of this—Division of the clan—Earldom of Ross—Claim of Donald of the Isles—Battle of Harlaw—Recovery of the Earldom of Albany—Succession of Alexander, son of Donald—James I.—Arrest of the northern barons at Inverness—Consequence of this—Bold march of the King—Total defeat and captivity of Alexander—John, Lord of the Isles—Rebellion of his son, Angus Og—Battle of the Bloody Bay—Accession of James IV.—Forfeiture and death of John of the Isles—Decline and fall of the Macdonalds—Fruitless attempts to regain their ascendancy—Different branches of the Macdonalds—Family of Sleet, . . . pp. 428—447.

## CHAPTER V.

1. *Clan Dugall*—Their origin—First appearance of this family—Their opposition to Bruce—Battle of Dalree, or the King's Field, and defeat of Bruce—The Macdugalls, in their turn, defeated—Consequences of this—Bannockburn—John of Lorn—His marriage with a grand-daughter of Robert Bruce—Subsequent history of the family—2. *Siol Gillebray*—Macneills—Families of Barra and Gigha—Clan Laichlan—Clan Ewen—3. *Siol Eachern*—Clan Dugall Craignish—Clan Lamond, pp. 448—455.

## CHAPTER VI.

District of Athole—Its claims to attention—This district the original patrimony of the family which gave kings to Scotland, from Duncan to Alexander III.—Crinan, abbot of Dunkeld, the father of Duncan—Title of Abthane—Circumstance in which it originated—Clan Donnachie—Its origin and descent—Possessions—Clan Pharlán—The Macfarlanes descended from Gilchrist, a younger brother of Malcolm, Earl of Lennox—Proof of this—History and character of the clan, . . . pp. 456—468.

## CHAPTER VII.

Native earls of Moray—Their final subjugation—Formation of several independent clans—The Clan Chattan—Chiefship disputed—Observations on this subject—Some recent investigations examined—Combat on the North Inch of Perth—Victory gained by the champions of the Clan Chattan—Remarks on this occurrence—The Mackintoshes—Their establishment as Captains of the Clan Chattan—Division of the clan—The Mackintoshes recognised as its head—Their rise to power and influence—Several of the chiefs murdered—Invasion of Moray by Hector Mackintosh—His defeat and death—Accession of the lawful chief—Feud with Huntly—Singular fate of William Mackintosh—Final separation of the Macphersons from the Mackintoshes—Pretensions of



the former—Judgment of the Privy Council—Subsequent history of the Mackintoshes—Feud with the Macdonalds of Keppoch—Battle of Mulroy—Gallant and honourable conduct of the Macphersons—Rebellions of 1715 and 1745—Concealment and ultimate escape of Macpherson of Cluny—Fidelity and devotion of the Macphersons—Reference to a circumstance mentioned in the Stuart Papers, . . . pp. 469—481.

## CHAPTER VIII.

*The Clan Chameron*—Common Origin of the Clan Chameron and the Clan Chattan—Period of their separation—Traditional descent of the Camerons—Their original seat in Lochaber—Modern possessions how acquired—The Clan anciently divided into three Septs—Captainship of the Clan—Donald Dhu—Feud with the Mackintoshes—Battle of Inverlochy—Lands of the Camerons ravaged—Lord of the Isles—Subsequent misfortunes of the Clan—Allan, the son of Donald Dhu—His character—Succeeded by his son Ewen—Lands of Clan Ranald—John Moydertach—Invasion of Huntly and Lovat—The latter defeated and slain—Ewen Allanson seized, tried, and executed at Elgin—Subsequent history of the Clan Chameron—Evan Dhu of Lochiel—His education, character, and exploits—The last of the Highland Chiefs to submit to Cromwell—Honourable nature of his submission—Present at the Battle of Renrorie or Killiecrankie—Anecdotes of this chivalrous Chief—His death—Character of his grandson, the “gentle Lochiel”—Forfeiture and restoration of the family estates—Strength of the Clan—The *Clan Gillean*—Divided into four branches—Macleans of Dowart—Macleans of Lochbuy—Macleans of Coll—Macleans of Ardgour—General remarks on this Clan—Partizans of the house of Stuart—It took no part in the insurrection of 1745—Its force, . . . pp. 482—493.

## CHAPTER IX.

1. Clan-Campbell—Their supposed Norman origin disproved—Sketch of their history—2. Macleods—Siol Torquil—Siol Tormod—Notices of these branches or tribes—3. Clan-Kenneth—Its origin and history—4. Clan-Roich—5. Siol Alpine—6. Families not originally of Celtic origin—Stewarts—Menzies—Fraser—Chisholms—Conclusion, . . . pp. 494—501.





# ARMORIAL BEARINGS.



*Lord Hardcastle*



*Carl Gustaf*



*Lord Mansfield*



*Duke of Devon*



*Duke of Devon*



*Duke of Devon*



# ARMORIAL BEARINGS.



*Macbeth*



*Earl of Erse*



*Shaw*



*Clanronald*



*Mackinnon*



*Perth*







*William Duke of Cumberland*

*Engraved by J. Stanger*

*from an Engraving by Sir J. Reynolds*



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Engraved by W. T. Chalk.





# APPENDIX

TO THE

## HISTORY OF THE REBELLION, 1745-46.

(STUART PAPERS CONTINUED.)

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\* No. LXXXVIII.

*Mr John Græme to the Chevalier de St George.*

I AM going to tell your Majesty that the *delays* of the *French Court* to *pay* the *gratifications* of our distressed countrymen gives the *Prince* a very hard and troublesome game to play, it being natural for people *in want* to be out of humour, and chagrin always producing discontent and complaints, nor do I see any way to remedy this embarras, but by lodging a sum of money in a Banker's hands for the subsistence of those gentlemen, until such time as the gratifications are pay'd. At the same time I don't know how the *Prince* himself, with his family, will be able to subsist, seeing no visible fund he has for that purpose. In short, I can compare our situation to nothing better than an immense labyrinth, without an ell of thread to conduct us out of it.

Poissy, May 22d, 1747.

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No. LXXXIX.

*Extract of a letter,—The Chevalier de St George to Prince Charles.*

24th May, 1747.

WITHOUT necessity, I wish you would not multiply Couriers, for it is a great expense to both of us, and I really don't see the use there was of sending the present one. I am very sorry you don't approve the Duke's journey. For my part I take it to be a thing pretty indifferent in itself the moment you are in France; for as for you, indeed it would be very wrong you should quit that country as long as you can stay in it. But there is a great difference betwixt

the younger brother and the elder in all respects, and I am sure you will not grudge me the satisfaction of seeing him at least, since I cannot hope to have that of seeing you either so soon or so easily. His being at Rome will not make you be sent out of France, and as long as you are in that country the Politicians of that Court can be noways concerned whether your brother is there or not, and he may allways return when he pleases. He has been refused leave to make the campaign ; he was of no use to you ; he did not live with you ; and these circumstances considered, I own I think he will pass the summer much more agreeably and decently at Rome, than he could have done at Paris. It is very true that the first account I had of his journey was by your letter, and by one the Courier brought me from him, having met him in Switzerland ; but both you and he knew that I have long wished to see him here, and he could not doubt of my approving the step he took, which I cannot but take kindly of him, and which will do him no dishonor in the world by shewing the respect and tenderness he has for me at a time he had no particular motive to hinder him from giving me that mark of both. It was certainly not according to rule that he should undertake his journey without taking leave of you in person ; but I must confess I cannot blame him for it, and you really neither can nor ought to take that amiss of him ; he knew I would approve the step he took ; he was resolved to take it, and thought perhaps you might not approve of it, and therefore would naturally think that it would be more respectful and kind on his side to inform you of it rather by letter than by word of mouth, and of all people you cannot blame that way of thinking, since on much more important occasions you have acted towards me as he has now done towards you, and that does not, you see, hinder us from being very good friends together, nor should, nor will, I hope, ever hinder your being so with your brother, whose dependence you know must always be on me. I have writ thus much at my leisure on this subject, on which I don't believe I shall have any thing to add after I have seen the Duke, tho' I wont despatch your Courier till after his arrival.

I remark what you say as to Sir J. Græme and O'bryen. What I writ to you by O'Sullivan will make all these matters easy to you, as I don't intend to meddle any more in politicks, as I have wrote to you. I leave you sole master in all those affairs, and to choose and employ whom you think fit in them, while neither I nor any that may depend upon me will any ways interfere in such matters, and upon what I have already writ to O'bryen, he may perhaps soon come here. It will be a satisfaction to me to have about me one I justly value, and you will not perhaps be sorry to have him at a distance from you. Enfin, my dear child, you see I don't care to constrain you in any thing. I pray God to direct you always for the best, while you may be sure I shall always endeavour to be of what service I can to you as occasions may offer, and will always give you my best advice when you ask, or when I think it may be of use to you ; but that directly to yourself, for I will not correspond on publick matters with any body else.

I remark what you say of Lord Sempil. I am affrayed he has not been a good economist, after having given him for some time at the rate of 4000 livres a-year, which I think, with a little management, might maintain him in a private way.

## No. XC.

*Extract of a Letter,—the same to the same.*

28th May, 1747.

I SHOULD have acknowledged before the receipt of your letter of the 1st May, as I must now also those of the 7th, and Sir John's of the 8th. The last would give me a great deal of trouble if I could think you were in the anger he represents you against your brother, since that does not appear by your letter to me, and I own I cannot see that either you or I can complain of O'bryen for having forwarded a letter of your brother to the King of France, when he had no directions to the contrary; and whatever you may think, O'bryen knew nothing of the Duke's journey before he parted, and Mr de Pieussieux has made a mighty civil answer and approbation of the journey in the King's name in return to the Duke's letter. I hope in God neither yourself, nor none who may be supposed to be in your confidence, will speak as you and Sir John now write to me on those two articles, for it would really be giving you a ridicule, and doing you a disservice; and if you don't take care, I see but too plainly you will soon become the victim and sacrifice of other people's passions.

## \* No. XCI.

*Extract of a Letter,—Mr Drummond of Bochal dy to Mr Edgar.*

PARIS, 31st May, 1747.

OUR good friend Lord Lovat is indeed no more. His Majesty has lost in him an able and zealous assertor of his just rights, one of the best heads and hearts that was in his dominions; his country has lost one of the greatest and best patriots it had at any time, and his relations and intimate acquaintances a most faithful friend in all their necessities and wants. There have been many exceptions made against his character, which the necessities of the times and the particular unhappy situation of his family at his setting out into the world can only account for. But to consider his whole life in gross, we must allow him to have been one of the ablest men, of the soundest head, firmest mind, and best heart that our country has at any time produced; one who never lost the point he had in view, whose surprising presence of mind in all events gave occasion to his seizing opportunities of succeeding in things by the ablest thought impracticable, and quite out of the sight of the common rate of mankind. His equality and rather cheerfulness than dejection of mind in the last days of life, and the easy civil behaviour with resignation, with which he became a sacrifice to his duty and the royal cause, have reconciled the world to him. Every mortal is now satisfied that his sentiments were always the same, equally just and honourable, and that the innumerable difficulties he had to conquer in the settlement of his clan and private family, made it necessary to cover them, by means that often rendered his character equivocal in the eyes of the world. We have now only in lieu of him, his son, a youth of sense, spirit, and application, bred up in right sentiments, which I am hopeful will not be perverted by the trials he undergoes, or the designing artful wickedness that now surrounds

him. If he could be recovered out of their hands, I am certain it is firmly inculcated by his father, that he trust, and be absolutely directed in every thing by your friend Walker.\*

As for the infamous Secretary,† you mention he is so low and now so publick a traitor, that he cannot but appear to have been a disgraceful instrument in the hands of Credon‡ and Trebby,§ the first so blinded with the furious ambition of governing his young master and his affairs, that he appears to have choose to see our unhappy young Prince perish, and all nature with him, rather than that the world should doubt of the ascendant he had over his mind, at the same time that he wished, I believe, seriously a restoration; but such a one as would have laid the foundation of endless miseries to our unhappy island. The second, who now succeeds by the influence the first had, is a monster of a quite different turn: trick, falsehood, deceit, and imposition, joined to these qualities that make up a thorough sycophant, such as fawning on every one he knows, particularly those he hates most, and never contradicting or opposing any man's opinion, are the rules of his policy; but so silly and dreaming, that in his desire of entertaining or pleasing either himself, or those he happens to be with, however hated by him, he drops imperfect insinuations, from which, in a few days, you gather all he has in his heart; and such a fool, that in companys where he thinks himself safe of his country people, he insinuates that it is not their interest there be any restoration while the King lives, which he says cannot be long, and thus introduces the Prince's health. One of these entertainments he dayly frequently happened to be later at noon than ordinary at my Lady Redmond's house, which occasioned the Lady Kenmare visiting there, and her being introduced to the company before dinner was over, she soon after was surprised and shocked to hear them begin the Prince's health after dinner without mentioning the King. Her Ladyship could not bear it, and said it was new to her to see people forget the respect due to the King. Kelly immediately answered, Madam, you are old-fashioned,—these fashions are out of date. She said that she really was old-fashioned, and hoped God would preserve her always sense and duty enough to continue so, on which she took a glass, and said, God save and preserve our King, and grant him long life and a happy reign over us.

Murray's evidence is now become less to be dreaded than at first: the many lies he has mixed with some truths are so glaring, that even Hanoverian-English begin to blush to lay great stress on what he says. This renders our apprehensions less on a certain subject I wrote to you of.

Lord George Murray is not yet arrived here. I am hopeful we will find in him when he does arrive some thing equal to the character men of best sense and greatest spirit were in the Prince's army, give of him.

---

\* No. XCII.

*Young Lochiel to Mr Edgar.*

SIR,

I RECEIVED yours of the 2d May, and one from Lord George Murray, and have received his Majesty's letter to my cousin in return to those he wrote

\* Drummoud here means himself.  
; Sir Thomas Sheridan.

† Murray.  
§ Kelly.

some time ago. I cannot miss to observe the friendship and care with which you are so good as notice every thing that concerns me. It gives me great pleasure in the mean time, and will grow in proportion as you afford me opportunities of making grateful returns.

As for the hopes you would gladly entertain of seeing a more happy prospect of affairs, I wrote in conjunction with Mr Lumley\* and my cousin† very fully to his Majesty on that important subject, and by a view of the state of things both here and at home, am persuaded we have solid grounds to hope for a speedy completion of all we wish, since we have been assured by the gentleman that is lately arrived from you of his Majesty's firm state of health, and of his entering into his affairs with his usual application and truly royall wisdom. This comfortable account has raised our spirits as much as contrary surmises had before depressed them, and determined us to exert ourselves with new vigour, being fully convinced, as indeed all faithful subjects on this side of the sea must be, that if we were so unhappy as to be deprived of his Majesty before our Princes acquire more knowledge and experience, all our endeavours to serve the royall family would be fruitless and vain. I thank God we have now the comfort to be assured that our fears in that respect are without foundation.

My brother, who is come here some time ago, is very acknowledging for the attention with which you mention him, and will endeavour to deserve the good opinion you express of him. He was perfectly sensible of all the inconveniences that would have attended the message imposed upon him, and so is overjoyed that I prevailed with Trebby‡ to get it recalled. I am always with sincere friendship,

Sir,

Your most obedient and most humble servant,  
DONALD CAMERON.

PARIS, June 1st, 1747.

---

## No. XCIII.

*Extract of a letter,—The Chevalier de St George to Prince Charles.*

6th June, 1747.

I HOPE in God you will not think of getting Lord George secured after all I have writ to you about him, and that you will receive him at least civilly; for whatever you may think, or whatever he may be, your being unkind to him would certainly do you more hurt than any he ever could, tho' he intended it. His coming to Rome, his now going to you to Paris, and his resolution of living a retired life in Flanders, are, I think, proofs without reply that he is not the ill man you suspect him to be, and as he neither pretends to stay in France, or to meddle in business, I think it should cost you little to be civil to him for the very short time he will be in that country.

\* Sempil.

† Drummond of Bochaldy

‡ Kelly.

## No. XCIV.

*The Chevalier de St George to the King of France.*

à ALBANO, ce 9th Juin, 1747.

MONSIEUR MON FRERE ET COUSIN,

C'ÉTOIT une sensible satisfaction pour moy d'apprendre que V. M. avoit approuvée la voyage que mon second Fils à fait en ce pais cy et quelle l'avoit en même tems bien voulu assurer de la continuation de ses bontés. Il y a long tems il est vray que J'ai souhaité de le revoir, mais je ne prevoyois point que J'aurois eu sitôt cette consolation et J'ai bientôt appris de lui même que sa tendresse pour moy n'étoit pas l'unique objet de ce voyage, mais qu'il l'avoit entrepris principalement pour me consulter et m'œuvrir son cœur sur sa vocation à l'état ecclésiastique. Il a toujours été porté à la Piété dès son enfance, et la conduite qu'il a tenu dans la monde jusqu'à l'âge de 22 ans, me sont des preuves non equivoques de la pureté de ses intentions et de la verité de sa vocation. De sorte que J'aurois cru resister à la volonté de Dieu si je me fut opposer à ses pieux desirs. Cependant nous n'avons pas voulus ni lui ni moy prendre notre dernière resolution sans consulter premierement le St Père lequel pour nous faire mieux sentir qu'il apprenoit son dessein m'offert de lui donner le chapeau du Cardinal, et il le lui donnera en effet après la St Père à son retour à Rome, Comme V. M. l'apprendra aussi de sa Ste Nonce. De mon coté Je n'ai pas voulu tarder à en instruire V. M. me flattant qu'elle voudra bien y donner son agrément et son approbation, et qu'elle voudra bien aussi continuer sa protection et ses bontés à mon Fils, surtout dans un tems ou il embrace un état qui facilitera à V. M. les moyens de lui en donner des marques et à lui cause des les meriter plain de confiance dans ses genereuses dispositions envers nous. Je la prie très instamment d'être fortement persuadé, que mon respectueux attachement et amitié, avec les sentiments de la plus vive reconnoissance ne finiront qu'avec ma vie.

## \* No. XCV.

*Mr Theodore Hay to Mr Edgar.*

BOULOGNE-SUR-MER, 10th June, 1747.

SIR,

I HAD the honor of writing you the 26th April last in answer to your regarded favor of 14th April, that, according to your desire, I would order the £60 sterling to be paid to my Lady Balmerino. By yesterday's post our correspondent sends me her Ladyship's receipt, dated 18th May last, O. S., for above sum, and here I send it you inclosed: he writes me this came in very good season, and that she set out for Scotland next day.

I am, &amp;c.

THEODORE HAY.



## \* No. XCVI.

*Receipt.*

LONDON, 18th May, 1747—Received from Messrs. Charles and Hugh Smith of Boulogne, by the hands of John Ker, Sixty pounds sterling, for which given two receipts of this date by

£60.

M. BALMERINO.

## \* No. XCVII.

*The Chevalier de St George to Prince Charles.*

ALBANO, June 13th, 1747.

I KNOW not whether you will be surprized, my dearest Carluccio, when I tell you that your brother will be made a Cardinal the first days of next month. Naturally speaking, you should have been consulted about a resolution of that kind before it had been executed; but as the Duke and I were unalterably determined on the matter, and that we foresaw you might probably not approve of it, we thought it would be showing you more regard, and that it would be even more agreeable to you, that the thing should be done before your answer could come here, and to have it in your power to say it was done without your knowledge or approbation. It is very true I did not expect to have seen the Duke here so soon, and that his tenderness and affection for me prompted him to undertake that journey; but after I had seen him, I soon found that his chief motive for it was to discourse with me fully and freely on the vocation he had long had to embrace an ecclesiastical state, and which he had so long concealed from me and kept to himself, with a view, no doubt, of having it in his power of being of some use to you in the late conjunctures. But the case is now altered, and, as I am fully convinced of the sincerity and solidity of his vocation, I should think it a resisting the will of God, and acting directly against my conscience, if I should pretend to constrain him in a matter which so nearly concerns him. The maxims I have bred you up in and have always followed, of not constraining others in matters of religion, did not a little help to determine me on the present occasion, since it would be a monstrous proposition that a King should be a father of his people and a tyrant to his children. After this I will not conceal from you, my dearest Carluccio, that motives of conscience and equity have not alone determined me in this particular; and that, when I seriously considered all that has past in relation to the Duke for some years bygone, had he not had the vocation he has, I should have used my best endeavours, and all arguments, to have induced him to embrace that state. If Providence has made you the elder brother he is as much my son as you, and my paternal care and affection are equally to be extended to you and him; so that I should have thought I had greatly failed in both towards him had I not endeavoured by all means to secure him, as much as in me lay, that tranquillity and happiness which I was sensible it was impossible for him to enjoy in any other state. You will understand all I mean without my enlarging farther on this last so disagreeable article, and you cannot, I am sure, complain that I deprive you of any service the Duke might have been to you, since you must be sensible

that, all things considered, he would have been useless to you remaining in the world. But let us look forward and not backward. The resolution is taken and will be executed before your answer to this can come here. If you think proper to say you were ignorant of it, and do not approve it, I shall not take it amiss of you ; but, for God's sake, let not a step which, naturally speaking, should secure peace and union amongst us for the rest of our days, become a subject of scandal and eclat which would fall heavier upon you than upon us in our present situation, and which a filial and brotherly conduct in you will easily prevent. Your silence towards your brother, and what you writ to me about him since he left Paris, would do you little honor if they were known, and are mortifications your brother did not deserve, but which cannot alter his sentiments towards you. He now writes to you a few lines himself, but I forbid him entering into any particulars, since it would be giving himself and you an useless trouble after all I have said about him here.

I must now acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 22d May, with Sir John's of the same date to me, and to the Duke. Sir John, speaking of money matters, says you are in a labyrinth. Give me leave to say you have brought yourself into it, and it is not in my power to bring you out of it. If you don't take proper ways and means of having the French Court pressed and solicited about the payment of the gratifications to the Scots gentlemen, you will expose yourself to great embarras, and them to be in distress, all which might have been prevented, and you at least not have been in want had you accepted of the French pension and allowed such matters to be quietly and decently managed in the method I had put them. For my part I can neither send you money nor credit from hence ; but as I ordered O'Bryen formerly to receive the pension you refused, and applying a third part to the Duke's use, to lay out the other two at my disposal till one should see what you would do in that affair, I can out of that money give you 40,000 livres, and I now order O'Bryen to put that sum into O'Sullivan's hands for you, so that you may call for it when you please, and this is all I can do or say on these matters.

I see you don't approve of the idea I had of a marriage for you. I heartily wish you may find a better match, and shall pray God to direct you in that and every thing else. When I have given you my advice, and told you my thoughts, I have done my part and discharged my own conscience, and I shall not now importune you with repetitions, which would, I am affrayed, be of no use, considering the maxims and systems I see you are imbued with and attached to, and which altho', if not drawn too far, may be right and good in themselves, as I am persuaded they are in your intention ; yet, in the manner you now apply them, I but too plainly see they will be your ruin, first abroad and at last even at home, whatever may be your ideas of popularity in respect of the last.

I have determined to send for the two Mr Fotheringhams you name to Edgar and Mr Dormer, by which you may see my desire of doing what may be agreeable to you, but when I have once them it will be as much as I shall want, and so pray recommend no more to me to be sent for here.

I understand the Duke's maitre d'Hotel, Francisco and Ludovico, the valet-de-chambre and the footman, are now with you. If you have a mind to keep the two last, and that they are willing to stay with you, you are master ; but as for the maitre d'Hotel, I find he is so clever and intelligent a man that I should be glad to have him here, where it is hard to get such sort of servants, whereas in France you can find them much more easily, so I wish you would allow him to come into this country, if he is willing to do so.

Here is, I think, enough for one letter, and perhaps more than you would

have wished to have found in it, but at least I hope for the future all will go with peace and harmony amongst us, and for your own sake carry at least with a proper decency and exterior behaviour towards your brother and me. You must be sensible that, on many occasions, I have had reason to complain of you, and that I have acted for this long while towards you more like a son than a father. But I can assure you, my dear child, nothing of all that sticks with me, and I forgive you the more sincerely and cordially all the trouble you have given me, that I am persuaded it was not your intention to fail towards me, and that I shall have reason to be pleased with you for the time to come, since all I request of you hereafter is your personal love and affection for me and your brother. Those who may have had their own views in endeavouring to remove us from your affairs have compassed their end. We are satisfied and you remain master; so that I see no bone of contention remaining, nor any possible obstacle to a perfect peace and union amongst us for the future. God bless my dearest Carluccio, whom I tenderly embrace. I am all yours.

JAMES R.

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### No. XCVIII.

*Prince Henry to Prince Charles.*

DEAR BROTHER,

You will see by the King's letter that I am not at liberty to enter with you into particulars, so all I shall say is, that no change of state can ever alter the sentiments of my heart towards a brother I have alwaise<sup>1</sup> loved and respected, may be more than he imagines, which is saying a great deal;\* for I am sure you know me too well not to do me justice, at least in some measure, in those respects, whatever you may think of the step I now take, not to be persuaded that I am unalterable towards you; and therefore I should think that I wronged you if I should fear you would ever alter towards me, at least I can assure you, you will never have reason to do so, but that in my new state it shall be, as it hath always been, my constant study to deserve your love and affection, and to convince you of mine.

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### No. XCIX.

*The Chevalier de St George to Prince Charles.*

20th June, 1747.

I HAVE received my dearest Carluccio's of the 29th May, and remark what you say in it about Lord George Murray, and on the supposition of a new negotiation in your favour. By your conduct for some years past it would appear you don't think you stand much in need of my advice or assistance; but in the case of another expedition there will be no time to consult me, for the French will probably not put even yourself in the secret till the time of execution, and then you must of necessity act according to the best of your judgment,

\* What follows is in the Chevalier's hand-writing in the original draught from which this is taken.

and the circumstances of affairs, in which it will not be possible for me to be of any assistance to you at this distance. As for a new Declaration from myself I see no use of it; what you published of that kind while you were in the island sufficiently declared both my own and your sentiments, and upon another occasion you may publish those papers anew, with declarations, &c. of a fresh date, in your own name, adapted to the present circumstances and conjuncture, and that is certainly sufficient. Your Power of Regency, altho' during pleasure, always subsists till recalled; so that, whenever you are again in any of the British dominions, it gives you full power and authority to act in everything as you formerly did when there. This is all I can say on this subject, and in all others I beseech God to direct you.

## No. C.

*The King of France to the Pope.*

TRES saint Père.—J'AI reçu avec beaucoup de satisfaction la lettre par laquelle votre Sainteté m'a confié la resolution qu'elle avoit prise de conférer incessamment la dignité de Cardinal au Duc d'Albanie second Fils du Chevalier de St Georges. Les témoignages avantageux que votre Sainteté rend au caractère et à la vocation de ce jeune Prince justifient la choix qu'elle fait de lui pour l'admettre dans le sacre college, dont il y a lieu d'espérer qu'il ne sera pas moins un des principaux ornemens par ses qualités personnelles, que par sa naissance Je ne puis aussi qu'approuver les égards particuliers que v<sup>re</sup> St<sup>e</sup> a voulu marquer dans cette occasion au Chevalier de St Georges en ne différant point la consommation d'une affaire qu'il avoit si fortement à cœur, et Je souhaite que cet événement que votre Sainteté regarde comme devant donner un nouveau lustre à son Pontificat, procure aussi à ce Prince toute la satisfaction qu'il s'en promet. Je suis avec un respect filial,

Très Saint Père,

Votre très devot Fils,

Signé Louis.

AU CAMP DE PARCK, }  
le 24th Juin, 1747. }

## No. CI.

*The Chevalier de St George to Prince Charles.*

4th July, 1747.

YOUR letter of the 12th June, my dearest Carluccio, was of equal concern and surprise to me. You seem extremely incensed against your Brother without explaining for what; and it is very plain that his journey here could not cause that wrath and anger you seem to be in against him, and was, I think, more than allowed for by what you had already received from him; and I should have thought also that what I writ to you on that subject should have made you quite easy upon it. When you first writ to me on that matter you did not appear to take it so hot, and seemed to insist chiefly on its being an impolitic

step which might make him run the risque of not being able to return to France, if a peace should be made in the mean time, and now, instead of cooling on the matter, one would think, by the hard usage you give him, that you were resolved he should not return to you. Enfin, I own to you that in your present behaviour towards your brother, there is something so incomprehensible, and so contrary to your natural temper, and to that spirit of justice and mildness which gained you so much honor in Scotland, that I really know no more what to make or think of you, or what to write to you on this subject. One thing, indeed, is but too plain, and that is, that you are resolved to have no more to do with him, and I suppose you had a mind to drive him to take out of despair the party he is now taking (tho' unknown to you) by choice. That party is, I thank God, now so freely taken by his promotion yesterday, and, if you act consistently to yourself, should be agreeable to you, since it puts him in such a situation that you need never more hear of him but by a gazette, while it also dispenses me from being further troublesome to you on his account. I shall therefore mention him no more to you, and I have forbid him to write to you till such time as you let him know that his letters will be agreeable to you, since his silence is the only way you have now left him to shew you his respect and tenderness.

As for Sir John Græme, after all I have said to you that I would meddle no more in your politick affairs, and that I left you master to manage them and employ in them whom you please, what can I say more; but really, one would think, you were not at the trouble of reading my letters, by the little notice you take of what is most material in them. My dear child, my tenderness for you must be great to be proof against your conduct for some time past, and yet it is still such that I can say with truth that I am more concerned for what you will one day suffer by it yourself than for what it hath made your brother and I suffer in the mean time; but for the future leave us at peace, at least for your own sake, since we pretend to our seeking nothing from you, that we shall constrain you in nothing, and have taken our party. Do not think, my dear child, I say any thing here out of pique or passion. I bewail your misfortune and your ruin, which I see I cannot prevent, and all I have left to do is to pray for you.\*

Mr St Clair arrived here Sunday night with Stafford's whip and the cross you sent me, for which I thank you very kindly, it being a very respectable present. In consideration of what you say of him in yours of the 18th June, I now give him a Brevet of Colonel antedated, by which expedient I have the satisfaction of being able to please you and to gratify a deserving subject, without breaking a rule which it is necessary to observe. God bless you, my dearest Carluccio, whom I tenderly embrace.

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## No. CII.

*Prince Charles to the King of France, from the original draught in the Prince's hand-writing.*

MONSIEUR MON FRERE ET COUSIN,

Je ne puis pas exprimer la joye que j'ay eu en recevant la nouvelle que V. M. a gagnée une complete victoire sur ses ennemis. Je me flatte

\* The words following were in the original draught, but are scored out—"And if my letters are disagreeable to you, you have but to say so, and I will write you no more."

quelle et persuadé de mon respectueuse attachement comme aussi de l'impatience dans laquelle je suis d'être en état de lui en donner des preuves réelles et effectives de reconnoissances et si j'ose dire d'amitié. J'ai l'honneur d'être,

Monsieur mon Frère et Cousin,

De votre Majesté,

Le bon Frère et Cousin,

CHARLES P.

ST OVEN, le 6 Juliet, 1747.

### No. CIII.

*The Chevalier de St George to Prince Charles.*

11th July, 1747.

I HAVE received my dearest Carluccio's of the 18th June, and remark what you say of the letters you had got lately from England. I am glad they have lowered their pretensions as to the number of troops demanded, tho' I fear the French will even find it difficult enough to transport 12,000 men; but for that there is no remedy, and as long as the war lasts they will certainly do for you what they can.

### \* No. CIV.

*Lord George Murray to the Chevalier de St George.*

SIR,

HOWEVER unwilling I am to give your Majestye the trouble of a letter, yet I think it my duty to acquaint your Majestye, that, having arrived here the 10th at night, I next day informed myself where his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales staid. I design'd to have gone out early the 12th to St Ouen to have pay'd my dutyfull respects to him, but having receiv'd the inclos'd message I prepared myself to sett out for Germany, and I hope to be able to leave this place in a few days. In any parte of the world I may happen to be in, and in whatever situation, I shall pray for your Majestie's prosperity, and that of your sons, and my distressed country. Whatever misfortunes may attend me I shall look upon as small in comparison with what you all suffer, being, with the most devoted attachment,

May it please your Majestie,

Your Majestie's

Most dutyfull and Faithfull Subject and Servant,

GEORGE MURRAY.

PARIS, 13th July, 1747.



## \* No. CV.

*Note, or Memorandum, of the message delivered, referred to in the foregoing letter.*

PARIS, 11th July, 1747,—9 at night.

I WAS at this moment called to the door by a gentleman who deliver'd me the following message, That he was just then sent by H. R. H. the Prince of Wales at St Ouen, who had heard that I was come to town, that his R. H. desir'd I should not come near him, for that he would not see me, and that I would do well to leave Paris as soon as I could.

I ask'd the Gentleman his name, who, after assuring me he would not have deliver'd such a message without orders, he at last told me his name was Mr Stafford. I desir'd he would acquaint H. R. H. that I had come to France with no other design but to pay my respects to him, and that I should punctually obey his orders, which I hop'd Mr Stafford would assure H. R. H. of.

GEORGE MURRAY.

The moment Mr Stafford was gone I sat down and wrote what had past, not to trust too much to my memory.

## \* No. CVI.

*The Rev. Myles Macdonnell to the Chevalier de St George.*

MOST GRACIOUS SOVEREIGN,

THE compliance I owe to your Majesty's dread commands, and the bent of my own natural inclination, will not permit me to be silent upon his Royal Highness the Duke of York's late change of condition. The general distraction is only equal to the confusion your Majesty's subjects here are in, agreeing in nothing so unanimously as in their seeing it a mortal deadly stroke to the cause, especially at this present juncture, when the war is at the height and prosperous, and the usurper's general pardon just published at home. Many and various are the conjectures as well as the resolutions taken upon this occasion, and I am heartily grieved ('tis with submission I say it) that not one of them is favourable to your Majesty's person or cause. The people at home were never so ripe, so well disposed, nor in greater hopes of another successful attempt, being determined to second it with all their power, to make amends for their late supineness: this I know from gentlemen of distinction and quality lately come from England, and just returned thither. I endeavoured to persuade them, that, when your Majesty's reasons for consenting to the late event were known, they would certainly justify the proceeding: this is all I could say, but, alas! that will be of little force at home, where all the old bugbears of popery, bigotry, &c. will be renewed with (I am afraid) too much success, wherefore I humbly apprehend, and with the utmost submission remonstrate, that it will be proper to dispatch some discreet persons to England speedily, furnished with all the arguments and reasons imaginable, to justify that step, and ward off, if possible, the dreadful storm the cause is threatened with: For my part, I am determined to go at all hazards to throw in my little mite of assistance, if I can



scrape up enough to carry me, but shall wait for the return of the post to know your Majesty's pleasure.

His R. H. the Prince (I am told, for I don't go near him) has shut himself up for several hours alone upon his hearing that news. The Duke's health is no more drank nor his name mentioned at his table: he is teased about his safety, and made to believe that his life will be in danger, being now alone and unmarried, and this upon a report that the Duke is to go into holy orders immediately, &c.

I have been searching my poor imagination for reasons to account for this sudden resolution of his Royal Highness, and can find no other except that he was piqued and full of resentment for the most audacious, base, and perfidious attempts of some people to insult and vex him, at least to ridicule and make him unpopular. Your Majesty was as little spared. Such, I hinted in my last, I cannot say whether or no? This highly criminal behaviour of those wretches arrived to the Duke's knowledge, but I don't think it could possibly escape him. I call Heaven to witness my terrors and dread for the Prince of Wales's safety, which I can't cease thinking not only precarious, but in imminent danger, whilst he is in the power of both the Kellys. I could demonstrate that they are both of them false, perfidious, ambitious, and sordidly avaricious, at least in private life, and indeed it ever was the inherent characteristic of their respective families. Thus far I make free with my kindred from a motive inseparable from my duty, and therefore I do most solemnly give your Majesty a warning of it in discharge of said duty.

I waited upon Cardinal de Rohan, who received me tolerably well, and told me I must not expect much. I am,

Most gracious Sovereign,

Your Majesty's most loyal and dutiful subject,

MYLES MACDONNELL.

PARIS, *July 15th, 1747.*

\* No. CVII.

*Prince Charles to Mr Edgar.*

ST OULS, *ye 24th July, 1747.*

I HAVE received yours of the 4th current, and send you here inclosed the usual letter. Happy would I be to have happier orders and chief full spirits, which to my misfortune my friends hinder as well as my enemys. God forgive the last. Having not strength to say more, I remain,

CHARLES P.

\* No. CVIII.

*Mr Theodore Hay to the same.*

SIR,

I THIS day received the honor of your most obliging letter of 4th current, and, pursuant to your orders, have this day drawn first bill on Mr George Waters, senior, for the £60 advanced my Lady Balmerino, as her Ladyship's receipt sent you, and £30 advanced Mr Dalival, &c.

The new change of state the Duke has embraced of late am afraid is one of the greatest checks to our royal family's interest in England that has happened since they have had the misfortune to be abroad, and by every body is looked upon of much worse consequence as the battle of Culloden. God Almighty grant it may not be the cause of alienating many of their worthy friends in England from their interest: however the great and heroic virtues of our Prince, and his behaviour when in England, may remedy this fatal step, as he is adored by his friends and admired by his enemies.

I am, &c.

THEODORE HAY.

BOULOGNE-SUR-MER, }  
26th July, 1747. }

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\* No. CIX.

*Mr George Innes, principal of the Scots College at Paris, to Mr Edgar.*

HON<sup>d</sup>. DEAR SIR,

WHAT I write you here is in the greatest confidence, having greater trust in your discretion and friendship than in that of any man alive. Upon the one hand the Cardinal Duke might take it very much amiss if he were not complimented by us upon his election, as I know he is by the English Seminary here, to say nothing of other English Communities, and, no doubt, by most of all the Irish wherever they are. Upon the other hand, there is a most universal violent dislike among all our country folks far and near, from the Prince himself to the lowest of his followers, all unanimously crying out against what is done. To be sure you have many a letter upon the subject. This being the case, I beg of you not to let my letter to the new Cardinal, (which I inclosed in this day's packet to Mr Grant,) get out of your hands till we see further about it; nay even (if necessary) to suppress it entirely, so much the more that the Duke, knowing the situation this college is in among all our country-folks either at home or abroad, who are wellwishers to the right cause, will, I hope, easily excuse us for the bare omission of a compliment at this present time; whereas we durst never hold up our faces here if our letters took the least air to our countrymen's knowledge. On the contrary, they would magnify every thing we say beyond measure, and yet in these cases people must say something that looks great, or else they must say nothing at all. As I know to whom I speak, and one who sees deeper in the affair than I do, I shall add no more, but that I am with the strongest sense of your kindness on all occasions,

Hon<sup>d</sup>. dear Sir,

Your most obliged and obedient humble servant,

G. INNES.

PARIS, 31st July, 1747.

As for Bishop Macdonald's letter, he desires, with his kind service to you, that his letter be delivered; but only considering the present juncture of affairs, that it be kept as private as can be. If you thought it fit I send my letter to the Cardinal Duke, I wrote the enclosed for him in another strain than the former; but all this I leave to do in it as you please. My eyes allow me not to write over what I here send you.

## \* No. CX.

*The Address inclosed in the foregoing Letter.*

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR ROYAL EMINENCE,

AFTER wishing your Royal Highness all prosperity and happiness in your new dignity of Cardinal, I most humbly beg of your Royal Highness in name of our College as well as my own, to take under your royal protection, both as a Cardinal of our royal family and as one of the most eminent members of the Propaganda, the miserable state of religion in our poor country, as affairs just now stand in it. Such a favor and honor, we have the greater hopes to obtain from your royal Eminence, that among all other virtuous endowments, so conspicuous in your royal Eminence's person, your generous compassion and goodness towards the distressed, is what we surely rely on, as to whatever we have to propose either with regard to the spiritual benefit of our poor country in general, or that of our college in particular.

That God may preserve your Royal Eminence long for the good of his church and for the support of religion in our nation during these calamitous times, is the ardent wish of every member of this college, and particularly of him, who, with the most profound respect, has the honor to be,

May it please your Royal Eminence,

Your Royal Eminence's most dutiful, and most obedient, humble servant,

G. INNES, Principal of the Scots college at Paris,  
and agent in France for the clergy mission  
in Scotland.

PARIS, 31st July, 1747.

## No. CXI.

*Prince Charles to M. de Puy sieux.*

ST OVEN, 2d d'Aout, 1747.

JE prens cette occasion Monsr. de vous faire scavoir que le Chevalier Græme a obtenu du Roy mon frère la permission se retirer l'ayant demandé plusieurs fois. S. M. en consideration de son amitié, et des longs services ne pu lui refuser cette grace. Je vous prie de m'envoyer pour lui un passport pour demeurer en France sans limiter le tems. J'ai remarqué ce que vous dites de l'affair du Sieur Barisdal, et vous envoyez (a word here illegible) une relation des crimes dont il y accuse qu'il serait impossible de prouver ici ayant été commis en Ecosse et doit j'avois en des preuves convaincantes avant que de partir de ce pais la.

## No. CXII.

*The Chevalier de St George to Prince Charles.*

8th August, 1747.

I HAVE received my dearest Carluccio's of the 17th July, and remark with concern what you say in it of your Brother, Lord George, and the money I had

offered you ; but I shall not give you any trouble at present on those matters, tho' I cannot but say that I am the more afflicted to see you in such dispositions towards your brother.

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### No. CXIII.

*Prince Charles to Lord Marischal.*

PARIS, *ye 14th August, 1747.*

As the King has now left me entire master to employ those who are most agreeable to me, you may easily believe my first choice would light upon you. My situation is more critical, and requires the assistance of my friends more than ever. As I place an entire confidence in you, and know no body that can be of more service to me, it is my desire you should joyn me with all convenient speed, for I have too good an opinion of your loyalty and regard for your bleeding country, to make the least doubt of your compliance, especially since all the causes of discontent which you might have had heretofore, are now quite removed. I have nothing more to add, but to assure you of my constant esteem and friendship.

CHARLES P.

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### \* No. CXIV.

*Answer from Lord Marischal.*

TREVISIO, *September 13th, 1747.*

SIR,

I HUMBLY thank your Royal Highness for the good opinion you are pleased to express of me ; but as I did not retire from all affairs without a certainty how useless I was, and allways must be, and that my broken health required quiet for the rest of my days, I hope your Royal Highness will forgive me, that I continue in my retreat, wishing your Royal Highness may find better and abler counsellors, and having the honor to be, with the greatest respect,

Sir,

Your Royal Highness' most humble and most obedient servant,

MARISCHAL.

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### \* No. CXV.

*Mr Gordon of Glenbucket, commonly called " Old Glenbucket,"  
to Mr Edgar.*

DEAR SIR,

I DOUBT not you was surprysed I neither writ since I came from Rome ; but I unluckily left the key you gave me at parting, which I hope will plead my excuse, for I was looked pretty close to after I got home for some

time by reason of representation of the Dutchess of Gordon had given Sir Robert Walpole that I was gone to Rome, and her grounds were, Mr Peter Grant the Churchman, (came with me to Rome,) had waited of her at Newcastle, told her he expected me at Newcastle, and waited for me there in order to go with him to Rome. This story indeed was like to have brought me to trouble; but by assistance of friends I got over it, tho' indeed it obliged me to act very cautiously; yet, by ways and means, I made it my business to keep up a spirit amongst the King's friends until the Prince came, who, I had the happiness to wait off when arrived, (old and infirm as I was,) amongst the first, and continued with him till that fatal and unhappy day at Culloden, and since that time it is not possible to represent what dangers and fatigue his Royal Highness underwent, and, for my part, all looks on me as a miracle that escaped, considering my situation of health and age. It would be too long a tale to give an account of all; but I thank God I got this length after all this misfortune has befallen me. I do not despair, but hope to live to see the King restored, is my earnest prayers and wish. I am now a very poor man, 74 years of age, banished my country and attainted,—my house burnt, my wife and family obliged to leave the country where I lived, and go amongst her relations, and I, (a word here illegible,) supported meanly on their charity. The damned government of England had such spite and malice against me, that when all was burnt, and taken away her back clothes and children's, she got into a poor cottage, a tenant's house, there came a party to burn it, and did burn the next, which obliged her in the melancholy situation the children were. I had come out of a desert that morning twelve miles from any country, where I had lain 48 hours under a rock, and had travelled terrible rocks and mountains in a prodigious rainy night; and after I had got a bit of meat, such as my wife had to give, I laid myself down on a little straw to rest, but behold I was not lain three minutes, when I was told there was a party within half a mile, which obliged me to make off in haste. The party came before I got to a hill on the other side of a river, and burnt a house at the door where my wife and children staid, which obliged them remove in all haste. I retired to a little wood, and continued there till night, when I travelled till day-break, and lay in a hill all the day. Some parties were near me searching. However I was not found. When the night came I went to a poor man's house and changed my clothes with his rags, prevailed with poor man to go along with me, and he put me down to the coast in the low country and returned, where I turned beggar, and allowed my hair to grow on my face; but that could not save me. Whatever disguise I put myself in, I had the misfortune to be still suspected. Parties were sent from all places to search all the shires of Aberdeen and Banff for me, and not spare money to find me. In this way I continued for some months. At length I got a Swedish ship, and got myself privately in the night-time aboard on 25 November, and landed in Norway, where I fell very bad. I continued there till March. I took such roads through great mountains, rocks, and woods, in stormy snowy weather, travelled in a slade for 5 or 600 miles, travelled without horse, that before I got to Sweden was exhausted. I got to a place in Sweden called Stromstade,—was able to go no farther,—took bed how soon I came there,—fell in a fever for a month,—nobody expected life for me,—people sitting by me every night, still expecting when I should breath out my last; yet it has pleased (God) to recover me, and I have got here where his Royal Highness does me great honor. There is such malice against me, that I understand they put a 1000 pounds on my head; but I hope to see the King restored, and more heads go off or mine goes. I have troubled you

too long with such unlucky story. And now I must tell you what troubles me more ; all my loss is the commission which his Majesty was pleased to honor me with in 1738 years when I was at Rome, was taken amongst my papers when my house was robbed and burnt, but am hopeful his Majesty will renew it. Its date, if I mind rightly, was the 2d of February, when he was pleased to design me in the Major-General's commission, and old John Gordon of Glenbucket, which approved of the commission I had from Earl Mar. I had not the boldness to apply to his Majesty myself ; (I must own I have not great assurance to demand favours for myself,) but my dear Mr Edgar, amongst all the rest of his many favours, does me the favour speak to the King. I am hopeful he will do me the happyness to comply ; and if it is my good fortune he does, (for I esteem the honor more than any thing this side of time,) I would beg the commission should be writ on parchment, because paper cuts and even loses the seal which was the occasion I had laid it amongst my papers, and did not carry it about me. I hope you'll make my good wishes and my blessing acceptable to his Majesty, and pardon this trouble which, with an offer of my service, which at present is not worth while of offering, yet you'll be so good as to believe none can wish you better, nor have greater regard and respect for you than,

Dr. Mr Edgar,

Your most affectionate, most humble, and obedient servant,

J. GORDON.\*

ST OVEN, 21st August, 1747.

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## No. CXVI.

*Mr Edgar to Principal Innes.*

ROME, August 22d, 1747.

In thanking you very kindly for yours of the 31st July, this serves to let you know, that I have had the honor to deliver carefully to the Duke the letters Bishop Macdonald and you wrote to him upon the occasion of the new station of life he is entered into. His Royal Highness commands me to acknowledge the receipt of those letters ; to thank the Bishop and you for what you say to him in them, and to assure you both, that in his present situation he will be very attentive to profit of all occasions, where he can contribute to the good and advantage of the mission of Scotland and to that of your college. He desires you may be well persuaded of it, and of the particular regard and consideration he has for you both.

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## \* No. CXVII.

*Prince Charles to the Chevalier de St George.*

ST OVEN, ye 18th September, 1747.

SIR,

I HAVE received yours of the 29th August. In this moment I have received the nuse of Bergenopzooms being taken, I suppose by capitulation,—

\* Glenbucket died in June, 1750.



that has saved the life of many an honest man which could not have failed carrying off, had there been an assault. The weather grows cooler every day. I lay myself at your Majesty's feet moste humbly ask y<sup>r</sup>. blessing.

CHARLES P.

\* No. CXVIII.

*The same to the same.*

ST OUEN, y<sup>e</sup> 25th September, 1747.

I HAVE nothing more particular to add since last post, but the receipt of yours of the 5th current, and the King's arrival at Versailles to-morrow. I am, thank God, in perfect good health, and laying myself at your Majesty's feet, I remain.

CHARLES P

\* No. CXIX.

*The same to the same.*

ST OUEN, 2d October, 1747.

I HAVE received yours of the 12th September, and have punctually obeyed your orders in regard of good Glenbucket, who is penetrated with your Majesty's gracious expressions and goodness for him. I take the liberty to send your Majesty in this packet a picture of mine just made by a skilful hand for this country, but do not think it comes up to those in Italy. My busts in marble will, I hope, be soon done, and is much admired for its being singularly like.

CHARLES P.

No. CXX.

*The Chevalier de St George to Prince Charles.*

ALBANO, 24th October, 1747.

I HAVE received my dearest Carluccio's of the 2d, with your picture in miniature, for which I thank you most kindly. Those who have seen you since your return from Scotland say it is very like; but it smells so strong of musk that I believe I must get it put in another frame when I return to Rome.

No. CXXI.

*The same to the same.*

ALBANO, 7th November, 1747.

I HAVE received my dearest Carluccio's of the 16th October, and am very glad Lochyel has at last got a Regiment. I remark, and take well of you, that



you do not directly ask of me to declare Lochyel's title, for after what I already writ to you on such matters, you could not but be sensible that these were things I could not do at this time, were I not to declare all the latent patents (which are in great number) and which it would be highly improper to do. I should please but one, and disgust a great many other deserving people, and in Lochyel's case I should particularly disoblige the other clans who have all warrants as well as he. Neither is Lord Lismore's case a precedent for others, since his title had not been declared without he had come here to be about me in the way he is. Lochyel's interest and reputation in his own country, and his being at the head of a regiment in France, will make him more considered there than any empty title I could give him; and as he knows the justice both you and I do to his merit and services, I am sure he is too reasonable to take amiss my not doing now what would be of no use to him, and would be very improper and inconvenient for us.

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\* No. CXXII.

*Mr Edgar to Gordon of Glenbucket.*

ROME, 22d December, 1747.

THE King sends to the Prince the duplicate you want of your commission of Major-General. I find by his Majesty's book of entrys, that the one lost was dated 28th January, 1738, so the one now sent is of the same date; but you will excuse its not being writ in parchment on which I have never yet writ any commission of that kind.

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No. CXXIII.

*Cardinal York to Prince Charles.*

ROME, 31st December, 1747.

THO' I am not sensible, my dearest brother, to have deserved your being angry with me, yet it cannot but be a great heart-brake to me to see your displeasure last so long. If I have been so many months without writing to you, it was in obedience to the King's commands; and you know also I had reason to believe my letters were not acceptable, and I thought silence was the only way I had left to shew you my respect and deference. But my tenderness for you will not allow me to keep it any longer, and even with the risque of displeasing you, I cannot help making you remember that you have always in me a brother full of love and affection for you, and whose good wishes, (not only on the last day of the year, but at all other times,) are most ardent and uninterrupted that all that is good and great may attend you. I am sure you love me; and in whatever manner you may think proper to behave towards me, my heart will ever be the same towards you, and full of those sentiments to which both duty and inclination equally engage me.

NOTE.—The original draught, from which the foregoing copy is taken, is in Secretary Edgar's hand, revised and corrected by the Chevalier.

## \* No. CXXIV.

*Etat des Gratifications proposées pour les Ecossois.*

	Livres.
Le Lord Nairne, . . . . .	2400
Mr Macdonald de Clanranald, . . . . .	1800
Glengary L'Ainé, . . . . .	1800
Le Chevalier Maclean, . . . . .	1800
Gordon de Glenbucket, . . . . .	1500
Charles Stuart,* . . . . .	
Jean Townlé, . . . . .	1200
Oliphant de Gask, senior, . . . . .	1200
Gask, junior, . . . . .	1000
Le Chevalier Baronet Murray, . . . . .	1000
Louis Cameron de Torcastle, . . . . .	1000
Cameron de Calart, . . . . .	900
Heburn de Keit, . . . . .	800
Jean Hay, . . . . .	800
Marc Ker, . . . . .	800
Alexander Macleod, . . . . .	800
Farquharson, . . . . .	800
Gordon de Dorletliver, . . . . .	800
Moss, . . . . .	800
Lumisdén, . . . . .	600
Corn, . . . . .	600
Mackenzie, . . . . .	600
Campbell, . . . . .	600
Murray de Lionlands, . . . . .	600
Tailor, . . . . .	500
Bryce, . . . . .	500
Grant, . . . . .	300
Fidler, . . . . .	350
Moncrief, . . . . .	350
Ogden, . . . . .	300
Maxwel de Kirconnel, . . . . .	1200
Gordon de Hahead, . . . . .	1000
Hunter de Burnside, . . . . .	700
Jackson, . . . . .	800
Gordon de Coubardie, . . . . .	600
Mercer, . . . . .	600
Blair de Balmile, . . . . .	600
Guillaum Hamilton, . . . . .	600
Cameron Mackalonie, . . . . .	500
Adam Tait, . . . . .	300
Robert Nairn, . . . . .	300
David Stuart,† . . . . .	200
Allen Stuart, senior,† . . . . .	200
Allen Steuart, junior,† . . . . .	200

34,000

\* Il lui à été accordée dans mois de X<sup>bre</sup> dernière une gratification de 3000 livres.

† Ces trois derniers sont à la vérité Cadets dans les Reg<sup>ts</sup> Ecossois: comme ils sont de famille en propose cette petite gratification vue la mediocrite de la paye.

On suppose qu c'est l'intention de la Cour de donner une pension convenable à Mr Charles Stuart, et qu'on n'a encore rien déterminé sur cela, à cause des mil ecus de gratifications qu'il a déjà touché, mais qui pour un autre année il sera compris sur l'état des distributions.

On croit qu'il seroit juste que Mr Gordon de Glenbucket eut 2000 livres au lieu de 1500 ayant servi en qualité de Maréchal de Camp.

On souhaiteroit que les personnes cy dessous nommées pussent être ajoutées à l'état de distribution, scavoir.

Mr Fotheringham de Banden qui à eu le grade de Lieut.-Colonel en Ecosse, ou il ne peut pas retourner et qui est actuellement à Rome, pour 1000 livres.

Mr Patullo qui à servi comme Maréchal des Logis General en Ecosse, pour 1000 livres.

Made Fotheringham et Made Stewart veuves d'officiers de distinction, qui ont servi en Ecosse, et qui se trouvent sans subsistance ou ressource 500 livres chacune.

## No. CXXV.

### *The Chevalier de St George to Prince Charles.*

ROME, January 2d, 1748.

I RECEIVED last post my dearest Carluccio's of the 11th December, and have seen what you write to Edgar. I really want no gentlemen here now, and am not in a condition to load myself with new servants or pensions, which I am the more sorry for, because I had a mighty good character of Mr Hepburn of Keith; but as for the other gentleman you mention I have not the same knowledge of him, and tho' I were otherwise able I should not be very fond of taking into my family one in his circumstances. Edgar will send you by degrees O'Sullivan's paper. It were a pity that an account of your unfortunate expedition should not be put in writing, and that by a good hand; but such a paper should be composed with nice regard to truth and prudence, so as to give you honour, and at the same time not to disgust, much less wrong, particular persons who appeared for you on that unhappy occasion.

## \* No. CXXVI.

### *Young Glengary to the Chevalier de St George.*

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR MAJESTY,

'Tis with very great pleasure I take this opportunity of acknowledging my sincere and constant duty to your sacred person, which no vicissitude of fortune, I hope in God, shall be able to shake. Since I arrived here, after my tedious confinement in the Tower of London, I have not mett with any suitable encouragement. I cannot dispense myself from having recourse to your Majesty, intending only to pursue what is consistent with my honour and has a reall connexion with your Majesty's interest, which I allways shall regard with utmost fidelity, as I don't design to dispose of myself but according to your Majesty's orders. So your generous pleasure shall determine me. Praying

that God may long preserve your Majesty's person, and begging your royal protection, I remain,

May it please your Majesty,  
Your Majesty's most humble, and most obedient,  
faithful subject and servant,

ALEX<sup>r</sup>. MACK DONELL.

PARIS, 22d January, 1748.

## No. CXXVII.

*The Chevalier de St George to Prince Charles Edward.*

ROME, January 28th, 1748.

I HAD finished my letter to you last week when I received my dear child's of the 1st. It was a new year's gift I should not have expected, and noways deserved from you, since what it does, and what it does not contain, are equally subjects of affliction to me. Your taking no notice of the letter I sent you from your brother shews but too plainly your sentiments and dispositions in his respect, and what you say to me, in return to a former letter of mine, is worded with an art and study which manifestly denote the greatest diffidence and reserve towards myself. You know it is now six months that I have avoided entering into any particulars with you in my letters. I remarked with grief the little impression my former letters had made upon you, and how little notice you took of the contents of them. I was always in hopes you might open your eyes at last, and that even my silence might make more impression upon you than my words. But now I can refrain no longer writing to you once more with my usual freedom and tenderness, for whatever you may do on your side I will ever be unalterable to you on mine. You would have reason to think me stupid, should I appear insensible to your conduct towards us; and I should be so in reality, if I were indifferent and remained silent in the circumstances and situation I now see you.

I have, I believe, often said I comprehended nothing of the conduct you held, and I own I am astonished to see that the further we go on the less I comprehend it; but what I can at least plainly discover now is, that your conduct for a long time past has not been directed by passion, caprice, or humour, but by a fixed system. What that system is you best know, but the effects of it have manifestly tended all along to alienate and separate you from your brother and me, whatever else may be at the bottom of it; and all reasonable men must naturally think there must be something very great or very bad in it, since both yourself, and all those who have appeared to have been anyways concerned in it, have observed a silence and mystery which could not be intended to conceal nothing, and seemed rather to denote something that was neither right nor good. It may be supposed that a party of considerable people in England may be in correspondence with you, may supply you with money, and may direct all the particulars of your conduct, upon a plan formed, and a near prospect of bringing about a revolution in England; and it may be supposed also, that, being with reason very jealous of their secret, they may ty up their hands, so as not to leave you at liberty to impart certain things to myself. If that be the case, you do well to keep their secret, but I don't see why that should hinder you from behaving towards your brother and me, in other respects, with kindness,

and even with confidence ; and I will boldly say, that no honest man, and that wishes you really well, can ever advise you to act towards us as you do.

But since I must have recourse to suppositions, may it not be supposed also that some designing, interested, and even may be ill-meaning, persons, on this side the sea, may represent things to you otherwise than they really are, and offer you their own notions and schemes as the projects of people in England ? For my part, I am afraid this last is the case, and if it be, what must be the end of such doings ?

It is very commendable in you to have the forwarding of the good cause so much in your heart and in your head ; but however good a cause may be, it must be pursued but by lawful and prudent measures ; and as for what relates to your brother and me, in our present situation, how can we ever interfere with your politicks, or rather, what politick can you have in carrying as you do towards us ? And yet, I am persuaded, it is what you think politick that makes you do so, and that you do yourself violence to act as you do, in a manner so contrary to your natural moderation and goodness towards all other men, and to that affection you have, I am persuaded, yet for us at the bottom of your heart. What makes me the more persuaded of this is, that you must be sensible you have no reason to complain of either of us, but many motives to have that tenderness and affection for us which you owe us and we deserve.

As to myself in particular, you know that ever since the time you left this place that I only wished for the restoration of my family to have it in my power to place the crown on your head, and that, although Providence has not yet put it in my power to do so, I have done at least what depended on me by leaving you Master to act as you might think proper in all your politick affairs, in which I have accordingly taken no step for a considerable time past, so that I don't see what the most tender Father can do more, or what motives the most refined malice or politick can make use of to create a jealousy and coldness in you towards me.

As for your brother, you know that you had already quite broke with him before he was a Cardinal, and you know best what motives you had to do so, for you never mentioned any to me but that of his leaving Paris to come here ; but it is not easy to conceive that a step of that kind, especially considering all its circumstances, should produce so great and so lasting a displeasure against him ; for as to his becoming a Cardinal, you know in your conscience you had no reason to complain either of him or me for that step having been taken. But suppose he had failed never so much towards you, are his letters and submissions always to be rejected ? and is it either Christian or princely, I might add even politick, to continue in such a fixed resolution of not being reconciled to him ? In his and my situation neither the Hat he wears, nor any other step we might take, can be of real prejudice to you, since you can be noways responsible for our actions, and all we expect from you is to have that share in your love and affection which you owe to us, while it would be even wronging yourself if the world could have any reason to think that you had, as I may say, lost all regard for both of us. I protest to you, my dear child, that I have, nor can have, no other motive in what I now write to you but my love and tenderness for you, and to discharge my duty and conscience ; for, after the party both your brother and I have taken, whatever your behaviour towards us may be, it can only affect us in as far as our sincere and unalterable affection for you will always make us desirous to have some share in yours, and that we can never be indifferent to whatever may relate to your real good, honor, and interest. There are people perhaps in the world who may think it for your interest that you

should have no further correspondence with us; but nobody of common sense and common honesty will, I am sure, ever advise you to break with us, since that would never do you honor, and by consequence must always prejudice even your interest. For God's sake, therefore, my dear child, open your eyes at last, and remain no longer in the enchantment I see you in. All we want is your love and affection and as for business and politicks that as you please.

\* No. CXXVIII.

*Mr Sempil to the Chevalier de St George.*

SIR,

I INTENDED last night to have presented the inclosed paper to your majesty, but I was so greatly moved with the subject while I was writing it, that I found it would be impossible for me to deliver it without tears, wherefore I determined to send it in this manner. That it may please God to direct and preserve your majesty for the happiness of your Royal Majesty, and the relief of your miserable people, is the prayer of,

Sir,

Your majesty's most humble, most obedient, and most faithfully  
devoted subject and servant,

SEMPIL.

ROME, 16th February, 1748.

\* No. CXXIX.

*Memorial referred to in the foregoing Letter.*

WHEN it appeared soon after the Prince's return from Scotland, that the persons who had put him upon the expedition he had made into the kingdom were still honored with his entire confidence, and that no other advices or representations were of any weight with his Royal Highness: when this appeared in full evidence it occasioned a general affliction amongst such of your majesty's faithful subjects as had opportunities of observing it; but as Mr Macgregor of Bochalzie and I were thoroughly acquainted with the genius and views of Sir Thomas Sheridan and his accomplice Kelly, so we more particularly dreaded the continuance of their influence, which we knew could not fail to affect the Prince's reputation, and obstruct the success of the Royal cause.

It was chiefly to prevent so great a misfortune that I then proposed to wait on your Majesty, not doubting but a faithful account of the artifices, the ambition and foolish views of these men would determine you to use effectual means of keeping them at a distance from His Royal Highness. God was pleased to remove one of them, since which the behaviour of the other is in a great measure known to your Majesty. Upon seeing some of the bad effects of it, and fearing worse, Lochiel and Mr McGregor and I thought it our duty to lay the Prince's situation before your majesty in a true and full light which Mr McGregor endeavoured to do by a long letter written about the 1st of June last.

The most gracious answer your Majesty was pleased to make, gave us room to hope that your paternal instructions and advices would have the desired ef-



fect, and that His Royal Highness would be brought to see the folly and baseness of Kelly's suggestions. But when I met with these two gentlemen and Mr Sullivan at Fountainbleau, towards the end of October, I found them all there in very deep affliction : they assured me that the most part of your Majesty's subjects on this side of the sea were in the same plight ; and told me many instances of Kelly's indiscretion and insolence, both with reference to the French court to your Majesty's sacred person and character, notwithstanding of which it was too visible to all who approached the Prince's family, that this wretch had engrossed His Royal Highness' whole confidence—a most deplorable circumstance which these three gentlemen observed, was daily lessening more and more the Prince's reputation with the Publick. I understood, at the same time, by several notes received from England, that our friends there were grown extremely anxious, and insisted to know the truth of the reports that prevailed concerning those in whom the Prince was supposed to confide.

Having conversed some days with the worthy gentlemen, I went privately to the Marquis de Puysieux, who spoke to me in the manner I have already informed your Majesty, and besides told me, that upon Monsieur d'Eguilles' report the news of the dissolution of the British Parliament, he had proposed an embarkation for Scotland ; but that the proposal, tho' much relished and approved, was laid aside, because it could not be concerted with the Prince, who had shewn by the journey he had made into Spain, and several other circumstances of his conduct, that he was chiefly influenced by persons that were not only obnoxious to your Majesty, but either secret enemies to his person and cause, or so weak, that they could not be trusted, before which occasion Mr de P. enquired, as he had formerly done, very fully into Kelly's character, which I represented in the light that I owned to him I had considered it when I had the misfortune to recommend him to His R. H. because I thought it important to convince Mr de P. that the Prince, however he might be deceived, had not given his confidence to Kelly upon slight grounds.

I communicated what passed between Mr de P. and me to none but Mr McGregor and Lochiel. They were affected with it in a manner that cannot be described. They deplored the misfortunes of the Royal Family, the ruin of their country, and the destruction of their own families and friends : they could discern no prospect of relief or comfort, and were sunk in the extremity of grief and despair : but when I told them of the wish Mr de P. had made to some of your Majesty's faithful subjects, would go and lay the whole state of things in a fair and true light before you, they were not a little revived ; they said it was a proof that the court of France was not so disgusted as to abandon us,—that our deliverance might still be effected by your Majesty, and that they knew your great sentiments of honor and justice,—your goodness and the tenderness you have always expressed for the suffering part of your subjects, whose miseries were never so insupportable as at present, would not allow you to omit any thing practicable on your part : they insisted with great warmth and eagerness on this head, and urged me even with tears to undertake the journey.

I was as deeply penetrated as my two friends upon finding that the Court of France had not only rejected the overture of an embarkation last summer thro' a diffidence of the Prince's Counsellors ; but that the King of France himself had caused his ministers tell me that he could not see how any thing could be done, while H. R. H. confided in persons disagreeable to your Majesty, and in all respects unfit to be trusted. By these two circumstances I could not help thinking that your Majesty's affairs were irretrievable, at least in the present conjuncture, under the Prince's direction, and it being plain to whoever con-



siders the present state of Britain and the interested maxims of foreign powers, that if a peace should ensue before a Restoration is compassed, there would hardly remain any human hope, or prospect of recovering the rights of your Royal Family. I judge it on that account to be of the utmost importance to seize on such means as Providence seemed to point out in so great a crisis, wherefore understanding first by Mr de P.<sup>s</sup> insinuation, and afterwards more clearly by the King's approving and even applauding the project of my journey, that the Court of France had a just regard for your Majesty's Royal wisdom, and thought it in your power to forward your affairs, without exposing them to the weakness or treachery of those that surround the Prince, I deemed myself obliged by all the duties both of a subject and a Christian to lay these circumstances before your Majesty in the most distinct manner, and at the same time to put myself in the way of satisfying your Majesty in any particulars you might desire to know on an occasion of such vast importance,—an occasion on which the fate of your Royal Family, and of your 3 kingdoms seems to depend.

I am far from presuming to penetrate into your Majesty's councils; but as we are blessed in your person with a sovereign thoroughly penetrated with the great and Christian sentiments that become the high station; so I hope, and firmly believe, that God, in whose hands the hearts of Kings peculiarly are, will inspire your Majesty to take the properest and best measures for saving the Prince's reputation, and preserving him from the dangers of various kinds to which he is exposed! These measures will also recover the confidence of the French Court, and probably determine His Most Christian Majesty to make an expedition in the manner I have had the honor to represent to your Majesty.

*(On a Paper apart.)*

About the end of October last the Marquis de P. told me there was little appearance that any thing could be undertaken for your Majesty's service, because the Prince insisted on such a great embarkation as he (Mr de P.) apprehended would be found impracticable in the present state of the French marine: however, he added that he would inform the King, his master, of the visit I had made him, and desired to see me again in a few days. I returned accordingly, and he assured me that the King always inclined most sincerely and earnestly to promote your Majesty's Restoration, but did not see how any thing could be done while the Prince gave his confidence to persons that were disagreeable to the King his father, and in all respects unfit to be trusted. Mr de P. then enlarged upon the Prince's great and good qualities, deploring his inexperience and the misfortune of his being at such a distance from your Majesty, after which he said it were to be wished that some one of your faithful subjects well acquainted with the Prince's situation, the disposition of the French Court, and the actual state of things in Britain, would go and lay the whole in a full and clear light before your Majesty, that you might take the best means to prevent the loss of such a great and decisive conjuncture as this visibly is for your Royal Family and cause. Mr de P. concluded by saying it was our affair, and that he was sure I could not but see the importance of it. I replied that I was thoroughly sensible of it and of the friendship with which he entered into our circumstances, adding that I would willingly undertake the journey, but that I had proposed it to your Majesty some months after the Prince's arrival from Scotland, and that your Majesty then judged it needless, wherefore, I feared it would be of little or no effect unless the King of France would authorise and honor me with his instructions. Mr de P. said it was not properly the King of France's affair, and therefore I could expect no instructions,—that it was entirely your

Majesty's affair, of the highest consequence to your Royal Family, your cause, and faithful subjects, wherefore it was the duty of those whom you had honored with any degree of confidence, to give you all the lights they could on the occasion, but that he would again speak to the King, and let me know what H. R. H. should determine.

I waited near 2 weeks for the determination, when Mr de P. told me that the King would neither send me, nor desire me directly to go, because he considered the affair not to be properly his, and that it only belonged to your Majesty to regulate such matters as immediately regard the interests of your family and cause, that it was sufficient for His most Christian Majesty to concur with the measure that your Majesty should propose to him; but that H. M. C. M. approved of my journey, which would be very agreeable to him, and that he, (Mr de P.) would desire the Cardinal de la Rochefoucault to let your Majesty know that Mr Simon, one of your faithful subjects, would soon have the honor to put himself at your feet.

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\* No. CXXX.

*John Cameron of Lochiel to the Chevalier de St George.*

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR MAJESTY,

MR M'GREGOR of Balhaldy was so good as to shew to me a paragraph of a letter from your Majesty this day. It gives me the greatest pleasure to find your Majesty have such a sense of the sufferings of the family I now represent and the death of my father, and could any thing add to my loyalty and attachment to your Majesty's royal cause, your seasonable interposition to the Court of France in my favour require it. In principles of loyalty to your august family I was educated from my tenderest years, and in the same (through God's assistance) I steadfastly purpose to live. And as my nonage doth make me incapable of rendering your Majesty's service all the assistance that could be expected from me and my family, I have appointed Archibald, my uncle, Curator and sole Manager in all my affairs. I beg leave to inform your Majesty the motives that induced me to this step, which are: he is my full uncle, so that I have reason to believe his sincerity to be unexceptionable. He also, from the Prince's going to Scotland, equally concerned with my father, and then got so much the heart of the clan I represent, that the cruelties committed on them by their barbarous enemies, would not deter them from cheerfully engaging in the royal cause at any time, if, during my minority, they should be commanded by him: to this step I have the unanimous consent of all my friends from Scotland by express, upon hearing my father's death, and the officers of the regiment; and in sincerity I am,

Your faithful and loyal subject,

JOHN CAMERON.

PARIS, 23d February, 1748.

## No. CXXXI.

*Prince Charles to the Chevalier de St George.*PARIS, *ye 26th February. 1748.*

SIR,

I AM equally concerned as grieved in receiving yours of the 28th January. My respect as well as duty obliges me to be silent in several things, and as long as your Majesty is so good as to continue to me your full powers, I shall always make use of them, and take upon me to do every thing I think best for your cervice, and when you please to command I shall never faill obeing. Your Majesty has been misinformed as to my accepting a pension from France, for I never did or intend. I lay myself at your Majesty's feet moste humbly asking blessing.

Your moste dutifull Son,

CHARLES P.

## \* No. CXXXII.

*Lord Marischal to Mr Edgar.*BERLIN, *March 9th, 1748.*

SIR,

I ARRIVEN here about 3 monthis ago, but have been ill of a fever of which I had some fits on the road, and which recurred two days after my arrival here: it has now left me, but exceeding weak and lean. Please offer my humble duty to the King, and to the Duke, and also my Brothers, and his humble thanks for the honour H. M. did him of his remembrance. I see my brother very rarely, only when the King of P. comes here from Postdam, where, at my passage, I had the honor of being presented to him and dining at his table. He enquired some days after if my estate at home was confiscated, and being told it was, immediately ordered me a pension of 2000 crowns. I wrote to thank, and he did the honor of a most obliging answer. This is a very fine town, but, I believe, dearer than Paris, at least for fowl, gibier, and wine, tho' there grows some in the neighbourhood; but, as Rhenish and Moselle are in mode, they are drank here commonly, and very dear. If the King honors me at any time with his commands, the surest address will be under cover of Mr Sigismond, Street à Sea, Sophia à Venice, who is of this town, and a very honest man. I have the honour, &c.

MARISCHALL.

## No. CXXXIII.

*Prince Charles to M. de Lally (supposed).*PARIS, *le 27 Mars, 1748.*

MES amis en Angleterre m'ayent demandé Monsieur d'y faire passer un nombre de medailles j'en ay fait graver une icy per Le Sr Rotier après m'en avoir

donné l'empreinte m'a dit qu'il ne pouvoit les frapper sans un ordre, de votre part j'ignorois à la vérité la nécessité d'une permission, et n'en pouvois prévoir la conséquence politique. Cependant pour paver au plus petit inconvénient qui en eût peu résulter j'avois requis le Sr Rotier de point mettre Paris sur la médaille n'y même son nom et pour remplir en même tems l'objet de l'amour propre naturelle à un ouvrier pour son ouvrage nous sommes convenu qu'il n'y mettroit que les lettres initiales *N. R. F. Ne Rien Faire* comme S. P. Q. R. se rend par *Si Peu Que Rien*. Quant à la date de la médaille, le lieu et l'ouvrier n'étant pas désignés vous conviendrez comme moy que le tems ne fait rien à la chose, vous priez d'ailleurs de vouloir bien envoyer chercher le Sr Rotier, de vous faire représenter l'empreinte et de lui donner vos ordres pour que cette médaille soit frappée comme vous jugerez qu'il convient quelle le soit. Il est fâcheux de n'avoir que des Bagatelles à proposer à quelqu'un dont je connois le zèle et l'amitié pour moy dans des choses bien plus essentielles, si l'occasion l'y'étoit. La mesure de ma reconnaissance n'en est pas pour cela plus bornée et je me flatte que vous rendrez justice aux sentiments que j'aurois toujours pour vous.

Votre bon ami,

CHARLES P.

### No. CXXXIV.

*The same to M. de Puysieux.*

JE vous prie Monsieur de rendre la inclosé à Sa Majesté, et d'être toujours bien persuadé de mon amitié pour vous.

### No. CXXXV.

*Mr Edgar to Mr John Græme.*

ROME, April 30th, 1748.

I RECEIVED in due time, my dear Sir, your 2 letters, of the 18th and 22d March, from Avignon, and last post brought me that of the 8th of this month from Paris, and I have had the honor to lay them all 3 before the King; I write the following paragraph by the King's particular desire.

H. M. orders me to tell you that he has received your 2 letters of the 18th March from Avignon, and of the 8th April from Paris. After what he has writ to you of the 11th July last, you could not doubt but that it would be agreeable to H. M. that you should on all occasions comply with the Prince's commands and desires. Had you well considered the contents of the letter, H. M. believes you would not have thought that there was any need of writing to him in the manner you now do from Paris. But as H. M. has reason to suppose that one of your age and prudence would not have writ to him as you now do, if you had stood in any further need of his assistance, H. M. now sends his orders to Mr Waters to pay you no longer the pension he has hitherto given you, but till this present month of April inclusive.

From myself I have nothing to say but that my best wishes will always attend you, and that I am, &c.

## \* No. CXXXVI.

*Prince Charles to the Chevalier de St George.*

PARIS, 13th May, 1748.

SIR,

I RECEIVED yours of the 16th and 23d Aprill. There is now a sort of suspension of arms, and talk of preliminaries betwixt Holand, France, and England ; but all this seems to be very much *en l'aire* hitherto, and I really do not think a peace so esy at present to be compassed as people are willing to flatter themselves with. I lay myself at your Majesty's feet, most humbly asking blessing.

Your moste dutiful Son,

CHARLES P.

## No. CXXXVII.

*Protest taken by the Chevalier de St George against the proceedings at Aix-la-Chapelle.*

JACQUES par la Grace de Dieu Roi d'Angleterre, d'Ecosse de France et d'Irland, Defenseur de la foi, &c. à tous Princes, Potentats, et Puissances.

Notre titre à la couronne Imperiale de la Grande Bretagne étant fondé manifestement sur la Constitution hereditaire et unalterable de cette Monarchie : et l'injustice criante avec laquelle des Princes Etrangers sont montes ce Trône à notre prejudice, étant universellement reconnue de toute l'Europe, Nous ne pouvions supposer que personne puisse douter de la justice de notre cause. Nous ne croions donc pas qu'il soit necessaire d'entrer ici dans un detail des procedes inhumains par lesquels les loix fondamentales de nos Roiaumes ont été renversées ; le Roi notre Père d'heureuse memoire chappe de l'heritage de ces Ancetres ; et Nous mêmes contraint jusqu' à present de vivre en exil.

Mais comme nous vivons que les Puissances interesses dans cette derniere Guerre sont sur le point de conclure un Traité de Paix, sans avoir aucun egard à nos justes Droits ; afin que notre silence ne soit pas interpreté et regardé comme un consentement tacite, à ce que pourra être stipulé à notre prejudice, on au prejudice de Nos Heritiers legitimes, nous protestons sollemnellement et de la maniere la plus forte que nous pouvons, contre tout ce qui sera traité, réglé, ou conclu avec l'usurpateur des nos Roiaumes, comme étant nul per default d'autorité legitime.

Nous protestons en particulier contré tous les Traités d'alliance, de confederation et de commerce faits avec l'Angleterre, depuis l'usurpation comme nuls par le même default d'autorité.

Nous protestons en outre contre tous Actes generalement quelconques qui confirmer, autorisent, ou aprouvent, directement ou indirectement, l'usurpation de l'Electeur d'Hanover ; contre toutes les procedures de son pretendu Parlement, et contre tout ce qui tend au renversement des loix fondamentales de Nos Roiaumes.

Nous protestons enfin que nulle omissions au default de formalité dans la presente protestation n'est ou pourra être prejudiciable à Nous, ou à nos legitimes Heritiers ou Successeurs, Nous reservant par ces presentes scellées de

notre sceau, et reclamant tous nos Droits et pretensions qui demuerent et demueront toujours dans leur entière force et valeur malgré tout ce qui pourra être fait pour les aneantir on affoiblir. Donne à Notre Cour à Albano ce 17 Juin, 1748, et de notre Regne le 47<sup>me</sup>.

## No. CXXXVIII.

*The Chevalier de St George to Prince Charles.*

ALBANO, June 25th, 1748.

LAST post brought me my dearest Carluccio's of the 3d. As by all human appearance the conclusion of the Peace is now drawing near, I would not delay till after my return to Rome the taking proper measures about my Protestation, and therefore I have had one already drawn and printed, and should have given myself no further trouble about it but have sent it to you, as chiefly concerned, to be published and dispersed, had you been to remain at Paris. This Protestation is a matter of mere form it is true, but at the sametime absolutely necessary, especially on your account, which makes me the more sollicitous that it should not be neglected; and therefore, as I am entirely ignorant of what your views and designs may be, but that I look upon it to be very sure that you will be out of France when this arrives at Paris, I send by this post my directions thither about the publishing the Protestation at the proper time, and shall content myself to send you 2 copies of it here. By this means what is essential will be complied with, and you will be informed of the whole when you receive this letter, and God knows where it may find you; but, tho' it should never reach your hands, it can be of no ill consequence. As I cannot be sure myself exactly of the time when the Protestation will be published, it will be proper you should keep it private till such time as you find that it be. You will see by all this my attention to whatever may regard your service and interest, and I have nothing further to add at present, but to beseech God to bless and direct you—tenderly embracing you.

JAMES R.

## No. CXXXIX.

*Prince Charles to the King of France.*

PARIS, le 10 Juillet, 1748.

A SA MAJESTE TRES CHRETIENNE,

VOTRE Majesté me permettra exprimer la paine et l'embarrasment ou je suis dans un tems qui paroît si critique aux interest de votre Majesté et la mienne qui je conte toujours doit être le même et reciproque. Des preliminaires signé avec (a word here illegible) contre mes justes droits sur laquelle je suis obligé indispensablement d'y protester dans les terms les plus fortes et dont je prens icy la liberté d'envoyer une copie à S. V. M. Le traité quelle à bien voulu faire avec moi pendant mon expedition en Ecosse et les marquez de bontez que j'ay reçu depuis de Votre Majesté envers les pouvres infortunes qui ont tant souffert en cette occasion, me font esperer d'avoir toujours



si j'ose dire l'amitié, et la protection d'un si grand Roi. Je supplie tres humblement Votre Majesté de croire qu'arrivée ce qui voudra persuadé rien me detachera du respect. Sa reconnoissance et lettres respectueuses attachement que j'aurois toujours pour sa sacre personne.

\* No. CXL.

*The same to the Chevalier de St George.*

PARIS, y<sup>e</sup> 15th July, 1748.

SIR,

As I found en appearance of y<sup>e</sup> Congress d'aix La Chapelle breaking up, either to conclude seperately each one in his respective Court, (as it seems to be the last thing given out here,) or for good and all, God grant the latter,—I thought no time should be lost on this occasion to publish a declaration in your Majesty's name, and so have done; for it is printed and sent to England, there to be translated and published. I send your Majesty a copy of it, which I hope you will be satisfied with. I lay myself at your Majesty's feet humbly asking blessing.

Your most dutifull Son,

CHARLES P.

P. S. After writing this I received yours of the 25th, and find by it your aim has been misinformed as to my leaving this country. The protest I have taken upon me to publish, being here present, and by virtue of the full powers your M. has been so good as to give me, seem to be much the same as what your M. proposed to charge somebody else with in case I had been absent. I flatter myself of your Majesty's approbation, as I am persuaded of their being agreeable to our friends in England.

\* No. CXLI.

*H. R. H. the Prince of Wales,—his Account with George Waters.*

DR.	(No. 1.)	Lrs.	s.
1745.—May 4th.	To due Ballance on last account, . . .	50,234	7
July 28th.	To Ferbos, to give the King of France's groom, as ordered by Sir Thomas Sheridan, . . .	120	0
do.	To the footman Louis, for 18 months, at 150 <i>l</i> . per annum, deducting 48 <i>l</i> . paid him by Sir Thomas Sheridan, . . .	177	0
do.	To the footman, St Martin, for 6 months at do.	75	0
do.	To the footman, Champagne, for 6 months at do.	75	0
Aug. 31st.	To Ferbos, 36 days board-wages, from 27th July to this day, at 50 <i>s</i> . both inclusive, . . .	90	0
do.	To Francois for the same time time, at the same rate, . . .	90	0
7 <sup>ber</sup> 10th.	To Allevin, gunsmith, . . .	370	0
14th.	To Marson, taylour, his bill for H. R. H. £3,740	4,450	0
do.	To more his bill for his servants, . . . 710		



30th.	To Francois, his board-wages for 7 <sup>ber</sup> 1745, 30 days,	Lrs. s.
		75 0
8 <sup>ber</sup> 2d.	To Ferbos,—his board-wages for 7 <sup>ber</sup> , 1745,	75 0
9 <sup>ber</sup> 1st.	To Francois,—his board-wages for 8 <sup>ber</sup> , 1745,	77 10
do.	To Ferbos,—his board-wages for the same month of 8 <sup>ber</sup> ,	77 10
	August last, 11th, to Francois,—his wages for the year 1744,	942 6
2d.	To Francois,—his wages for 1st 6 months, 1745,	471 3
do.	To Ferbos and Francois, to conduct them to His R. H.	500 0
6th.	To Roettier H. R. H.,—note for plate furnished y <sup>e</sup> 28th May last,	8,898 0
1746.—July 13th.	To the taylor Marsan, by order of Sir Thomas Sheridan,	1024 0
do.	To the taylor by order of said Sir Thomas,	324 0
29th.	To Sir Thomas Sheridan for repairing two chaizes for his R. H.,	226 0
Aug. 25th.	To said Sir Thomas,—he paid the grocer la Rue,	103 14
do.	To said Sir Thomas,—he paid widdow Dougherty for coach-hyre,	40 0
26th.	To Rameau, on account by order of Sir Thomas Sheridan,	300 0
	To Abbé Nolet, for mending his R. H <sup>s</sup> . microscope,	24 0
9 <sup>ber</sup> 25th.	To 30 Elles of garter-ribbon and 30 Elles of St Andrew,	180 0
1747.—Jan. 12th.	To for 9 stars and 4 garters imbroydered for his R. H <sup>s</sup> ,	283 0
21st.	To H. R. H <sup>s</sup> . this day in cash,	20,000 0
7 <sup>ber</sup> 8th.	To for 6 stars and 6 garters for his R. H <sup>s</sup> .	222 0
1748.—April 5th.	To Machiavel's works in Italian, 4 tomes,	10 0
June.	To for garter and St Andrew Ribban, 6 stars and 12 imbroydered garters for his R. H <sup>s</sup> .	424 10
July.	To Post of Letters for H. R. H <sup>s</sup> . and for Mr Kelly, &c. since May 25th, 1745,	298 18
		<hr/> Lrs. 90,257 18
		CR.
1745.—June 5th.	By received an order of Card <sup>l</sup> . Tencin of the 4th currt., delivered by C <sup>l</sup> . O'Bryen for the use of H. R. H. on Mr Paris de Monmartel,	Lrs. s.
		5000 0
July 12th.	By more on an order of the said Card <sup>l</sup> . of the 2d currt. on said Mr Monmartel, delivered me by do. for said use,	5000 0
26th.	By received this day for his R. H <sup>s</sup> . account from Col. O'Bryen,	10,000 0
7 <sup>ber</sup> .	By remitted to me by Sigr. Girolamo Belloni, at the King's disposal, who by his order of the 11th August, ordered it to be made good to his R. H <sup>s</sup> ,	60,000 0

X <sup>ber</sup> .	By reimbursed by Mr Malloch the value of	Lrs. s.
	£100 sterling, charged by his R. H <sup>s</sup> . order	
	to his last account, . . . . .	2250 0
1747.—Jan. 17th.	By I make his R. H <sup>s</sup> . good, on an order of Cl.	
	O'Bryen of the 14th currt., . . . . .	8000 0
		<hr/>
		Lrs. 90,250 0
1748.—July.	By ballance due from H. R. H., carried to his	
	debit on new accompt, . . . . .	7 18
		<hr/>
		Lrs. 90,257 18

Errors excepted.

PARIS, *July 17th*, 1748.

G. WATERS.

## No. CXLII.

*Prince Charles to the King of France.*

MONSIEUR MON FRERE ET COUSIN,

V. M. me permettre l'être de lui représenter la situation facheuse ou je me trouve dans ce moment critique par la publication des Prelims. signés à Aix-la-chapelle par lesquels il paroît qu'on n'a eu aucun egard a mes justes droits. J'avois toujours espere me confiant aux bontéz dont V. M. m'a donner tant de preuves en toutes les occasions qu'elle auroit bien voulu regarder mes interêts comme unis aux siens. Je me trouve par l'exemple des Rois mon Père et grand Père indispensablement obligé de publier à ce sujet ma protestation, et j'ay l'honneur d'en envoyer une copie a V. M. Je n'oublieray jamais la protection qu'un si grand Roy m'a accorder, non seulement pour moi mais pour ceux qui m'ont suivy dans ma malheureuse expeda. et j'espère que le vif attachement que j'aurai toute ma vie pour la sacrée personne de V. M. et l'honneur que j'ay de lui appartenir pour les liens du sang l'engagerent a ne me point abandonner. Je supplié tres humblement V. M. d'être persuadée que quelque chose qui arrive les sentimens de respect et de Reconnoissance que j'ay pour elle ne s'effaceront jamais de mon cœur.

J'ai,

L'honneur d'être Mr mon F. et C

V. M<sup>s</sup>. Le bon frère et Cousin,

CHARLES P.

A PARIS, *le 18 Juillet*, 1748.

## No. CXLIII.

*The same to M. Puy sieux, inclosing the above Letter.*

JE vous prie Mon<sup>r</sup>. de rendre le inclose a Sa Majesté, et d'être toujours bien persuade de mon amitié pour vous.

## \* No CXLIV.

*The Chevalier de St George to Prince Charles.*

ROME, August 13th, 1748.

LAST post brought me my dearest Carluccio's of the 22d July, and I have perused and considered the protestation which came along with it, and I remark with pleasure some expressions in it, which cannot but do you honor, and which could not have been so well brought into my protestation. I don't find that yours and mine clash in any manner with one another, and as you found I delayed sending you mine, and that you felt with reason the importance of having some paper of that kind published before the conclusion of a peace, I am far from taking amiss of you endeavouring to publish this paper. But now that the peace is concluding, that there is no more question of expeditions in your favour, and that you are yourself on this side of the sea, I hope, and suppose that you will not for the future publish any papers in my name without my previous approbation. You must not take it ill if I give you this caution, which I should have thought superfluous, had I not remarked the long continuance of your reserves and diffidence towards me, which leaves me in so great an ignorance of what relates to your person and affairs, tho' I know, perhaps, more of some things than you imagine. My dear child, you really give me too many mortifications, and you must be sensible how little I deserve them from you. But my tenderness for you makes me feel yet more the hurt you do yourself than my own uneasiness. Believe me, your conduct towards me must necessarily, when known, do you a prejudice with all men of honour and probity; and if you expect good from others, you will certainly find yourself deceived at last. I had perhaps done better not to have enlarged so much on this subject; but I can never forget that I am your father, and will never cease acting the part of a loving one towards you, whom I shall beseech God to bless, and direct, and tenderly embrace you.

JAMES R.

## No. CXLV.

*Prince Charles to Montesquieu.*

A MR MONTESQUIEU,

Comme je suis bien persuadé Monsieur ve votre amitié et zele pour moy je vous envoyer un petite ouvrage que j'ay cru d'avoir mettre au jour et vous prie de la rendre aussi publique que vous les pourriez. Vous voyez que j'agi bien differement de vous puisque j'ay appris qu'il paroît une nouvelle edition de votre livre sur les Romains et que vous ne m'en ayiez point fait part. La confiance devroit être mieux etabli entre les auteurs, j'espere que ma façon de penser pour vous m'attirera la continuation de votre bonne volonte pour moi.

## \* No. CXLVI.

*Montesquieu's Answer.*

MONSEIGNEUR,

L'HONNEUR que votre Altesse Royale m'a fait de m'envoyer sa protestation est une nouvelle marque que je recois de ses bontés : elle est écrite avec simplicité, avec noblesse et même avec éloquence, car c'est en avoir que d'exprimer si bien ce que vous sentes pour les braves gens qui vous ont suivi et dans vos victoires et dans vos malheurs ; ainsi Monseigneur comme vous le dittes très bien vous estes un auteur et si vous n'esties pas un si grand prince Madame la Duchesse de Guillon et moy nous serions fait de vous procurer une place à l'Académie française je demande à votre Altesse Royale la permission de lui parler à la Parliement que je prends aux evenemens de sa vie la fortune peut l'agetter, votre gloire n'est pas dans ses. J'ay l'honneur d'estre avec un respect infini.

De votre Altesse Royale Monseigneur  
le très humble et très obeissant serviteur,  
MONTESQUIEU.

A BARSASSE, le 19 D'Aoust, 1748.

## No. CXLVII.

*" Papier présentée par M. de Puyzieulx le 20 Aoust, 1748."*

Le Prince eu déjà informé que le Roy a renouveau par les articles preliminaires de paix Signés à Aix-la-chapelle 30 du mois d'Avril dernier les engagemens que Sa Majesté et le feu Roy son Bisayeul avoient prise par raport à la maison de Stuart.

Sa Majesté n'a pu refuser en cette occasion aux besoins et aux vœux de toute l'Europe de se prester aux stipulations qui ont esté jugées absolument nécessaires pour concilier les Puissances Belligerantes, et pour retablir solidement la tranquillité publique.

Le Roy ne voulant pas temoigner un desir moins sincere pour l'exécution des Preliminaires, que celui qu'il a marqué par leur conclusion sa Majesté a ordonné au Marquis de Puyzieulx de prevenir le Prince sur la nécessité indispensable dont il est qu'il prenne incessamment un parti conforme aux arrangemens qui ont été renouvelles et confirmes en dernière lieu à Aix-la-chapelle en se retirant des Terres de sa domination.

Le Roy en ordonnant au Marquis de Puyzieulx de faire cette declaration au Prince lui a prescrit en même tems de lui demander sa reponse, et de luy renouveler les assurances des sentimens d'estime et d'affection qu'elle conserve pour luy.

## No. CXLVIII.

*Charles Edward's answer to the foregoing.*

PARIS, le 20 Aoust, 1748.

JE crois Monsieur avoir déjà assez marqué par ma declaration du 16 du mois

dernier comme quoi je m'oppose et m'opposerai absolument à tout ce que pour oit être dit, fait et stipulé à Aix-la-Chapelle ou ailleurs ; j'espère que S. M. T. C. fera toutes ces reflexions nécessaires dans les resolutions quelle prendre a mon egard ; je regarde cette conjoncture comme étant plus critiques pour les interets de S. M. T. C. que pour les miennes ; assurez je vous prie sa Majesté de tout mon respect et attachment, rien ne m'est plus a cœur que de l'ay devenir utile un jour, et de luy prouver que ses veritables interets me sont plus chere qua ses ministres.

CHARLES P.

A Mr. de Puyzieulx.

## No. CXLIX.

*The Chevalier de St George to Prince Charles.*

ROME, August 27th, 1748.

I have received my dearest Carluccio's, dated the 6th, with the map you mentioned the post before. It is really a curious thing in itself, and the share you have in it makes it the more valuable to me. God grant your condition in all other respects may be as good and as great as was your intention in going to Scotland, and in your operations there.

## \* No. CL.

*Lord George Murray to the Chevalier de St George.*

SIR,

I SHOULD think myself wanting in my duty if any thing occurred to me that might in the smallest degree be useful to your Majesty, did I not acquaint you of it.

When I was lately in Poland, the great Marischal (Count Belinski) who was pleased to look upon me as a relation, and knew the part I had acted in your Majesty's service, told me that when he was at Paris about a year ago, he had endeavoured to wait upon his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales ; but by some accident and mistake he had not the happiness to see him. He told me also that it was proper your Majesty should know, that with relation to some jewels belonging formerly to the Crown of Poland, and consign'd to the House of Sobieski for moneys advanced to the Republick, if your Majesty thought proper to write to him or any other of the officers of State, to propose that these jewels should be relieved, otherways your Majesty would be obliged to dispose of them. He said the thing would be notified to the diet, and as there was no fund or moneys to relieve them, your Majesty would be desir'd to make what you thought proper of them. I think I may venture to say, that as all the Polish nobility in general are much attached to your Majesty and your Royal House, so none seems to me more particularly than the great Marshal. What I take leave to mention, I have not spoke of to any person whatever, nor should I have talk'd to Count Belinski upon the subject had it not proceeded from him, nor indeed knew I any thing of the matter.

As the diet now approaches, I thought it incumbent upon me to let your

Majesty know what the Marshal had told me. I shall only add, that at all times, and in all situations, I ever am with the greatest zeal,

Sir,

Your Majesty's most faithful and obedient subject and servant,

GEO. MURRAY.

CLEVES, 4th September, 1748.

\* No. CLI.

*Young Glengary to the Chevalier de St George.*

SIR,

As I have wrote at large to Mr Edgar, and desired him to inform your Majesty of my letter, I imagine it needless to be troublesome by a repetition of the same things: my circumstances in this country obliged me to quit Paris, and I intend to wait at Boulogne-sur-mer for an opportunity of going safely to Britain, where the present situation of my own affairs makes my presence very necessary; but I humbly beg your Majesty will be persuaded that your orders shall allways be an inviolable rule of my conduct there or in any other place; and that after the marks of your Majesty's goodness I have been honoured with, inclination, as well as duty, will always oblige me to embrace with pleasure every opportunity of shewing my gratitude. I can only at present assure your Majesty I shall allways be ready, as I wait with impatience for an occasion of proving that I am,

May it please your Majesty,

Your Majesty's most obedient, and most humble,  
faithfull servant and dutifull subject,

MACK DONELL.

AMIENS, 20th September, 1748.

No. CLII.

*The Chevalier de St George to Prince Charles.*

ALBANO, September 30th, 1748.

I have received yours of the 9th. Your map is actually hung up in this dining-room, and the other copy I sent to Cardinal Valenti for the Pope. I beseech God to bless and direct you.

\* No. CLIII.

*Mr John Græme to Prince Charles.*

SIR,

THERE is nothing gives me so much concern as to be put to the unavoidable necessity to leave Paris at a time your Royal Highness inclines I should stay, and after all the marks I have shewn of my fidelity and attachment to your Royal Highness. I did not imagine you would have pushed me to so cruel a

pinch as to be obliged to choose between parting contrary to your inclinations, or ruining myself for ever by staying any longer. I have just left wherewithal to make my journey, so that I flatter myself you will have pity on a faithful servant, and consent that I should retire to a place where I may be able to live, tho' obscurely, yet always honestly, and with the most sincere and ardent wishes for Y. R. H.'s interest and wellfair,

I am ever with profound respect,

Sir,

Your Royal Highness's most dutifull and most obedient servant,

JO. GRÆME.

*Tuesday morning.*

\* No. CLIV.

*The same to the same.*

SIR,

HAVING represented my circumstances to your Royal Highness so often both by writing and by word of mouth, I did not imagine that so strong motives for my retiring from Paris could appear strange to you. However, since your R. H. persists in refusing me leave to take the only party I could think of to save the poor remains of a small fortune, and to prevent my falling into misery in my old age,—a precaution which no impartial man can condemn, I shall continue to ruin myself by staying a month longer, in hopes that your R. H. will in that time consent to what is so just and reasonable. I shall employ these in taking off mourning, what I had kept in reserve for my journey, and as soon as I can appear in that dress, I shall have the honor of waiting upon your R. H. I am ever with profound respect,

Sir,

Your R. H.'s most dutifull and obedient servant,

JO. GRÆME.

*Saturday, half-an-hour after one.*

No. CLV.

*Prince Charles to Mr Græme.*

*Ye 16th October, 1748.*

I FIND by Kelly, and by what you have writ to me, the infatuation you are in of goin away, which is inconceivable to me, noing always the desier you have had hitherto of doing your duty and pleasing at sametime a friend: their can be no good reason for such a proceeding on your side, and it seems very obscure to me. I desier you to reflect on it seriously, being concerned for an honest man. I shall never say any more on this affair but declaring my opposition to it.

For Sir John Græme.



## \* No. CLVI.

*Mr Græme to Prince Charles.*

SIR,

I MUST have explained myself very ill since your R. H. is pleas'd to say that my motives for retiring from Paris are obscure and inconceivable. I thought I had represented to your R. H. more than once that I was noways in a situation of staying in this place, having neither money nor credit, and that all which I have left in the world is scarcely sufficient to afford me a morsel of bread in a remote corner of the kingdom. I humbly think, that, without entering into any further detail, this is enough to justify my resolution of going away before all impartial men. I am heartily sorry that my circumstances are such as make it altogether impossible to comply with your R. H.'s commands, which I am confident you will not doubt of when you reflect, that, as long as I had wherewithal, I never desired you should put yourself to a farthing's expense on my account.

Your R. H. is too just and reasonable not to allow what I take the liberty to advance to be not only a sufficient reason, but an unavoidable constraint upon me, for taking the party of retiring to Avignon, for which place I intend to set out on Monday or Tuesday next. But whether there or elsewhere, your R. H. may be persuaded that my sincere and hearty wishes will ever attend you. I am,

Y. R. H.'s most dutifull and obedient servant,

JO. GRÆME.

Thursday Night.

## No. CLVII.

*Answer by Prince Charles to the foregoing.*

PARIS, ye 18th October, 1748.

For S<sup>r</sup> John Græme.

AFTER what I writ to you last I have nothing to add but desiering anew your compliance to my desier, which, if not, cannot but appear strange to me, on my accounting upon you as an honest and reasonable man. As long as you stay here nothing shall be wanting any ways with you, so that should be the least concern or ever should be in you. Reflect, and if you donte, allow me to reflect, as I can't but do. It is surprising to me for a man of sence any thing that appears strange to him when agreeing with reason. I do not desier of you to put yourself to strets, but what I say is as a friend. You are master of yourself as I am to advise. Choose what is agreeable to you, but after that do not make merit without deserving, which can never be the case.

## \* No. CLVIII.

*Mr F. Bulkeley to Mr George Kelly.*

SIR,

I SEND you inclosed the draught of a letter which I heartily wish H. R. H. would write to the King : that, or another to the same purpose, would,

in my humble opinion, make up all that is past, and I think it of the last importance that his R. H. should lose no time to acquaint his Majesty of his sentiments, if they are such as I hope them to be, and indeed it is absolutely necessary should be so in this conjuncture. Pray let me know how his R. H. will receive this mark of my zeal. I have no other object but his real interest. I am ever,

Dear Sir,

Your most grateful and most obedient, humble servant,

F. BULKELEY.

My service to Mr Oxburgh.

## No. CLIX.

*Prince Charles to Mr Bulkeley, in answer.*

PARIS, 31st October, 1748.

I HAVE just seen your letter to Kely, and am truly sensible of y<sup>r</sup> zeal, and having nothing more to say on that subject but that, *quod dixi, dixi, et quod scripsi, scripsi.*

C. P.

## \* No. CLX.

*Mr Drummond of Bochal dy, under the signature of "Malloch," to the Chevalier de St George.*

PARIS, 4th November, 1748.

SIR,

IT is so long since the situation of affairs I had any concern in permitted my troubling your Majesty directly with accounts from this place, that it becomes cruel in me now to be obliged to begin to inform you of the loss your Majesty has of the most faithful and zealously devoted subject ever served any Prince, in the person of Donald Cameron of Lochiel. He died the 26th of last month of an inflammation within his head at Borgue, where he had been for some time with his regiment, and where I had the melancholy satisfaction to see all means used for his preservation, but to no valuable effect. There is no great moment to be made of the death of people who continue in their duty to your Majesty, having no temptation to swerve from it, or of others who have an affectation of zeal and duty to procure themselves subsistence, nor even those whose distresses, when personal, or flowing from oppressive tyranny, determine to be freed of the load by all reasonable means. Lochiel was not in any of their cases. He had all the temptations laid in his way that Government could. The late Duke of Argyle, Duncan Forbes the President, and the Justice Clerk, never gave over laying baits for him, tho' they knew his mind was as immoveable as a mountain on that article, and since he came here he has not been left at ease. The Duke of Cumberland caused information that, if he would apply in the simplest manner to him, he would never quit his father's knees until he had obtained his pardon and favour: this he disdained, or rather had a horror at. I need say no more; his own services, and the voice of your

Majesty's enemies, speak loudly the loss. The Prince has very graciously interested himself in procuring the Regiment Lochiel had for his eldest son, which his R. H. has charged M. Lally to solicit for along with other officers. It is very unhappy that this Lally has been for some time heartily hated by the minister. I am afraid his appearance will hurt the youth as well as the other affair he is charged with, but there is no help for it. The Prince was positive, and would not allow Sullivan to be employed in it, notwithstanding he had all along agented with the Court all the public affairs Lochiel had since his arrival here. All I can do is to go to Fontainebleau privately, and give what assistance I can for the support of that numerous afflicted family. Had I had the Lt.-Colonelship of that Regiment, as your Majesty graciously inclined I should, and my deceased cousin wished above every thing of this side the water, this nomination could have met with no difficulty, because the King and minister of the war would have confided in me for conducting the regiment until Lochiel was of age to do it himself; but my being named to that or any other thing while his R. H. continues here and keeps Mr Kelly to advise him, is inconsistent with the duty and respect both Lochiel and I owed him, and either of us would have suffered any thing rather than oppose his will in what regarded ourselves. Care has been taken by Mr Lally and Kelly to have that commission out for my cousin Cluny, and his R. H. is very anxious about his arrival here to possess it.

Your Majesty has been informed by Lord Sempill that he and I had taken care to keep your friends united by a correspondence with them, which we were often straitened how to do in because of some certain disagreeable circumstances: the same correspondence continues still. I do not know if your Majesty will find it for any valuable purpose to entertain it longer, as I am left alone. I am likewise afraid that I shall not be able to continue the connexion and correspondence Lochiel and I had with the Highlands—that was easy for us to have done while he lived, and had a regiment without putting your Majesty to any expense; but now I am done without means or assistance to do anything. Tho' I had a million I am as ready as ever to employ the last farthing and every hour I have to live in your Majesty's service, which your Majesty's most gracious countenance and indulgence to my weakness made so bewitching, that dangers, difficulties, and fatigue, never stood in the way of going on in what appeared to serve best the end aimed at. I am ever, with the most profound respect,

Sir,

Your Majesty's most faithfully humble and zealously  
devoted servant,

MALLOCH.

## No. CLXI.

*Prince Charles to the Duke de Gesvres, from an original draught in the Prince's hand, titled "à M. Gesvres, y<sup>e</sup> 6 Nov., 1748."*

C'EST avec beaucoup de regret que je me trouve forcé par mes interets de resister aux intentions du Roy dans cette occasion. J'en avois deja prevenir S. M. par une lettre que j'ay eecrite à Mr de Puyzieulx, le 20 Août dernier: je prie instamment mon cousin le Duc de Gesvres d'assurer S. M. T. C. dans

les termes le plus fortes de tous sentiments de respect et attachement, que je lui ai voué toute ma vie.

C. P.

*Le 6 Nov., 1748.*

\* No. CLXII.

*Lord George Murray to the Chevalier de St George.*

SIR,

IT was with infinite satisfaction that I have received the honor of your Majesty's letter of the 15th October, which is a new mark of your royal favour towards me. I shall ever retain, with the utmost gratitude, a due sense of your bounty and goodness. Sorry I am that nothing lyes in my power whereby I can testify my ardent wishes to give further proofs of my zeal in your Majesty's service.

The present situation of affairs, I am much afraid, have but a gloomy aspect with regard to your Majesty's just rights and that of your royal House, as well as to the happiness of your subjects, who must groan under oppression (which indeed most of them deserved) till such time as it pleases the Almighty to open their eyes.

My wife came here the 10th September, but was soon after seiz'd with an intermitting fever, which has not as yet left her. She begs leave to lay herself at your Majesty's feet. She is infinitely sensible of the honor your Majesty does her. I can venture to say in her name, as her principles are founded in religion and justice, her attachment to your Majesty and royal family, and ardent wishes for your prosperity are deeply engrav'd in her heart. I have the honor to be, with the most perfect zeal,

Sir,

Your Majesty's most faithful and dutiful subject  
and servant,

GEORGE MURRAY.

CLEVES, 6th November, 1748.

No. CLXIII.

*The Chevalier de St George to Prince Charles.*

QUELQUE soin que vous ayez pris mon cher fils cacher se qui s'est passée entre la Cour de France et vous depuis la signature de Preliminaires, je suis cependant informé de tout ; et je vous avoué que je n'ay pu lire sans une vray surprise et douleur votre lettre au Duc de Gesvres du 6 de ce Mois, ni vous ni personne ne pouvez avoir imaginé que vous pourriez rester en France malgré le Roy : votre resistance donc à vous conformer à ses intentions à cette occasion ne scauroit avoir pour objet de continuer à demeurer dans son Royaume et lorsque vous partez de regret et d'être forcé par vos interests d'agir comme vous faites, vous montrez bien que ce n'est pas votre propre sentiment et volonté que vous suivez, mais bien ceux des autres. Dieu scait qu'ils sont ; mais peuvent ils estre veritablement de vos amys en vous donnant de pareils conseils ? Car il est manifeste

qu'en resistant en cette occasion aux intentions de S. M. T. C. il ne scauroit y avoir d'autre objet que de rompre de gayeté de cœur avec le Roy et de vous attirer justement la colère et son indignation, et certainement aucune personne sage et raisonnée quelque ennemie qu'elle puisse être d'ailleurs de la France si elle vous conseiller surtout dans l'état ou vous estes, de rompre avec une puissance qui se fait respecter de toute l'Europe. Pour peu que vous songiez à ce qui s'est passé depuis quelques années, vous sentirez bien que votre conduite envers moy n'a pas esté telle qu'elle à du être et vous scavez aussi avec quelle patience et moderation je me suis conduit envers vous. Vous scavez l'entiere liberté que je vous ay donnée et que je n'ay pas laissé de vous escrire toutes les postes, quoyque vous ne me fassiez que trop voir que ce n'estoit pas de moy que vous vouliez prendre conseil et c'est pour quoy depuis quelques tems je ne vous en ay donne que rarement, voyant le peu d'impression que mes lettres faisoient sur vous, mais dans le cas present je ne scauray plus que me taire. Je vous voir sur le bord du precipice et prest d'y tomber et je serois un Père de nature si je ne faisois au moins le peu que depend de moy pour vous en sauver et c'est pour quoy je me trouve même obligé de vous ordonner *comme vostre Pere et vostre Roy* \* de vous conformer sans delay aux intentions de S. M. T. C. en sortant de bon gre de ses Etats. Nonobstant l'obscurité on vous me laissez sur tout ce qui vous regardé je ne crains ni ne balance point de vous donner cet ordre par ce qu'en effet je ne fais que commander, ce qui se feroit également quand je ne le commandera point et je ne scauray me figurer le cas on il pourra convenir même à vos interets de rompre ainsi avec la Cour de France. Da reste pour vous faire voir avec quelle delicatesse je me sers de mon autorité sar vous, je ne vous prescrivray point le lieu on vous devez aller. Vous scavez aussi bien que moy les Pays on vous pouvez être en securité et puisque vous n'avez pas voulu recevoir une retraite en Suisse qu'on vous à offerte je dois supposer que vous avez on veu quelque autre retraite pour le moins aussi à porte de vous affaires et aussi agreable à vos compatriotes. Enfin mon cher fils songez serieusement à ci qui vous allez faire si vous resister à mes ordres et aux intentions de Sa Majesté très Chretienne je prevois qu'on vous fera faire par force, ce que vous ne voulez pas faire dégré, et sien en vient à la violence naturellement on vous conduira en cette ville, ce qui surement ne sera ni de votre goust, ni pour votre interet, quel eclat ne fera-t'il point, et qu'y gagnerez vous Rien certainement qu'un nom et un caractere qui vous feront peutetre perdre dans un instant toute la reputation que vous vous estes deja acquiesce, car un vertu et une valeur qui ne se montrent pas sages et prudentes dans l'adversité ne scauroient jamais estre consideres comme veritables et solides : jugez de la paine et de l'inquietude ou je seray jusqu'à ce que je scache l'effet qui produira cettu lettre : elle est escrite par un Père qui ne respira pour vous que tenderness, et qui est uniquement occupé de votre veritable gloire. Je prie Dieu de vous benir, et de vous reclaimer, et vous embrasse de tout mon cœur.

Signé JACQUES R.

Je certifie cette coppie pareille à l'original que j'ay fait remettre pour ordre du Roy au Prince Charles Edouard, fait à Paris, le 4<sup>e</sup> Xbre, 1748.

Signé LE DUC DE GESVRES.

\* Sic in orig.

## No. CLXIV.

*The Chevalier de St George to Drummond of Bochaldy.*

ROME, December 3d, 1748.

I RECEIVED last week yours of the 4th November. I had already heard of Lochiel's death : it is a loss to the cause, and I am truly concerned for it. If my recommendation to the Court of France comes in time and has its effect, young Lochiel will have his Father's regiment, and on this and all other occasions I shall be always glad to shew him the great sense I retain of the merits of that family. Poor Lochiel did not long outlive his friend Lord Sempill, in whom I have also lost a very zealous subject, and who had given many proofs of his being so. I wish I had been able to have been more kind to his family ; but the truth is, my straits were never so great as they are now, and therefore I cannot neither authorize your keeping up a correspondence, the expenses of which I am not able to defray. The prince in his present situation can best judge of what use it may be, and I shall always approve of what you may do in that respect by his directions. I desire Lochiel's Lady, his brother, and the son, may find here my condolence on their late loss, which I sincerely share with them, and have nothing else to add at present but to assure you of my constant kindness and regard for yourself.

## \* No. CLXV.

*Dr Cameron to the Chevalier de St George.*

SIR,

I, UPON having the honor, for the first time, of troubling your Majesty with a letter, or rather an apology for not writing sooner, to acquaint your Majesty that my Brother Lochiel dyed on the 26th of October last, of ten days' sickness, at a time the most fatal and unlucky for his family and clan it could have happened, having just completed his Regiment at a great expense and considerable exertions and upon the way of reaping the benefits of it towards the maintaining his wife and 6 children, and providing for some of his friends and dependents, who lost comfortable living to join him in the late desperate and unsuccessful struggle we had in behalf of H. R. H. in Scotland, and for a little time in England ; but now, by his death, they are reduced to the miserable situation they were in before the King of France was pleased, through the application of H. R. H., to grant the Regiment. Next day after my Brother's death I brought my nephew, of 16 years of age, in order to lay him flat at His Majesty's feet, then, by His Highness' approbation, to present him to the King of France. Accordingly his Highness made application, and on the 7th of November gave in a memorial asking the Regiment for my nephew, and if thought too young, that I, being at present Captain of Grenadiers, Commandant, (in absence of the Lt.-Colonel,) and his uncle would manage the Regt. till he was of age, as I am resolved to attend and serve my Brother's children and my own, especially as that of Spain does not answer. I would have forwarded a letter I wrote more regular and fully of the 12th of November, designed for your Majesty ; but rather than add in the least to your Majesty's uneasiness by subjects of this kind, and thinking that the Court of France would determine



the fate of the Regiment long or now, I keep'd from being sent, knowing H. R. H. would be so good as acquaint your Majesty before the present situation of affairs would induce H. H. to leave Paris. All our corps, and the remains of Lochiel's family, are unanimously inclined to have my nephew and Regiment, if obtained, under my directions at present, as is my nephew himself. I beg your Majesty will give proper assistance towards it. I am, with profound respect,

Your Majesty's most faithful subject and servant,

ARCHIBALD CAMERON.

PARIS, 16th December, 1748.

## No. CLXVI.

*Prince Charles to Monsieur de Boile.*

FOUNTAINBLEAU, le 16 Decembre, 1748.

JE vous prie de dire à tous mes amis que je me port bien ; ma tete n'a jamais été hors de mes epoles : il y est encore. Adieu.

à Monsieur de Boile.

## \* No. CLXVII.

*Dr Cameron to the Chevalier de St George.*

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR MAJESTY,

I THOUGHT myself bound in duty as well as inclination to trouble your Majesty with a letter of the 16th of this month, which, tho' more confused than was suitable to a person far more inferior in rank than your Majesty, occasioned by hurry, and being like to lose the post I could not miss sending it as an apology, as well as other reasons, for not writing sooner after my Brother's death. Upon my laying my nephew at H. R. H. feet, H. H. was so good as to recommend to the Minister of War, Comte D'Argenson, the giving the Regiment of Albany to my nephew, in lieu of his family's sufferings, upon which I, by the advice of general officers of the army, and at the unanimous desire of all the Captains of the Albany Regiment, I gave in a memoir to the minister, asking the Regiment to my nephew ; but if thought too young to command it, I would take the charge of it in his name during his minority, as his uncle, Captain of Grenadiers and Commandant of the Regiment of Albany, now upon the peace being concluded, I would undertake to recruit the Regiment of our own numerous, tho' much reduced clan, and other Scotch we have interest with. Tho' the Comte has not given their answer as yet, in relation to the Regiment, yet as they all are well known to the merit and readiness to serve of my Brother and family when your Majesty's cause was in hands, and his suffering upon the misgiving of the late attempt in Scotland ; also they are sensible of my share in it, and of my having a wife and throng family of children to maintain. I plainly understand they have compassion for us, which will give my nephew the better chance for the regiment,—which I attribute to your Majesty's being so good as to recommend my nephew to them, of which I was advised this day by a letter from my wife, from Graveline's being told so by Major Ogilvie of our Regiment,



as also by my cousin Ballhady, who acquainted me of your Majesty's sympathy in our loss through the death of my brother, which gives us, the remaining part of Lochiel's family, great pleasure to think that any assistance or little services our family was ready to offer towards the royal cause should have such a grateful impression on your Majesty; but as there is no return in my power, for your Majesty's constant care of us, but what in duty I, as well as others, at all times will promise, which is my readiness to serve your Majesty, the sincerity of which your Majesty cannot have proofs of except the royal standard was displayed in British fields,—but if that was the case, I hope I will have the loyalty and courage to draw my sword,—whereas, on this side of Dover, I can be of no use, rather a trouble to your Majesty. As that of the Cabinet is above my capacity and ambition, I never attempt dabbling in state affairs; my whole study, while abroad, is to keep as free as possible from being a burden on your Majesty, but sorry to be obliged to trouble your Majesty in recommending the maintenance of me, my wife, and family to this Court, to whom I am much obliged for my support, having got no pay, nor no appearance of it as yet, from the Court of Spain; and the reason I was not named Lt.-Colonel of my Brother's regiment, as H. H. and my Brother intended long before the Regiment was obtained, was, that at the time the regiment was granted, it was thought my pay in Spain would punctually answer, tho' I even all that time had not absolute faith in its being paid duly, which my family would require. However, how soon Cluny was named, upon the supposition of my being provided for in Spain, both in obedience to H. R. H., and the regard I had for Clunie, as a worthy, honest, and brave man, who suffered by the common misfortunes, I not only succumbed but approved, and does still, of Clunie's enjoying it,—especially as it is reported that he will be over this winter; but if either he do not come over, or if the Court, despairing of him, will propose to name another Lt.-Colonel, it's allowed by every body as well as all our corps that I have the best title to expect it, especially as my nephew puts his whole confidence in me, in relation to the management of his affairs during his minority. I am heartily sorry to be this troublesome to your Majesty, and I beg leave to be, in the most grateful manner, lay'd at the feet of my great benefactor the Duke of York, and to assure your Majesty that I am, with the greatest submission and respect,

Your Majesty's

Most obedient and faithful subject and servant,

ARCHIBALD CAMERON.

PARIS, 23d December, 1748.

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\* No. CLXVIII.

*Anonymous Letter addressed "à Monsieur, Monsieur Meighan, Docteur en Médecine chez Messrs Compagni et Libri Banquiers, Italie, à Florence."*

a FLORENCE, December 23, 1748.

DEAR DOCTOR,

It is above a month since I wrote to you, but the great distance between us must have allowances: however, were it twice as great, I shall expect to hear from you now and then, as I suppose you judge me desirous of knowing the state and progress of the good Lady. As you give me no room to quack any further about her health, and there is little or no news, an extraordi-

nary event, relating to the Prince, and of which you must hear in some shape before this reaches, shall be the sole subject of this letter : at the distance you are, 'tis not to be wondered if the real truth should be unknown to you, since it is not easy to find it here ; but I think you may depend upon what I advance.

The great advantages to France by the diversion in Scotland were, in the eyes of the world, a little to the Prince's being well used in every sense ; besides the convention made with him and the promise of an azyle in France. The article of the preliminaries that renewed the quadruple alliance shewed that all these reasons were forgot. The peace was not yet sure, therefore it was convenient the Prince should stay in France. An allowance was offered him of 8000 livres a month, and by force of persuasion he was engaged to send some of the ordonnances to the Treasury, where the payment was refused. In August a Commissioner was sent to tell him the preliminaries had been signed in April. The minister of the foreign affairs went himself, and, at the second visit, changed the title of Royal Highness to Monsieur. The Duke de Gesvres, who has almost as much head as a sparrow, then became the negociator to engage the Prince to leave France. Many others did all they could to persuade him to it, but in vain. It was impossible he could expect to stay here in spite of the masters. Had he then a mind to be somewhat revenged for having been deceived when in Scotland, or to shew the world the mauvaise foy of the French ministry, or that he was not in his enterprize their tool, nor did not design to be it hereafter, whatever his reason was, which I can find nobody that knew but himself, he refused to go. The King his Father's Letter to order him to go was thought an efficacious means, but he did not or would not believe it to be his, and I doubt whether to this day he has read it. This letter was made as public as they could make it, and the generality of people wondered at the reproaches therein made him. I don't speak my own opinion about it. The 6th four of his gentlemen left him, I suppose partly by the instigation of the ministry, partly from the King's letter attributing his obstinacy to bad counselors ; but I don't see that he has fallen out with the four. He was advertised from different hands of the day and hour he was to be arrested, and again just before it happened. He went to the opera the 10th at 5 and a quarter, where were sergeants of the blue guards stationed, with their Major, Mr de Vaudreuil, and some captains. When got into the Cul de Sac the barriere was drawn and the doors of the opera shut. The sergeants raised him off the ground, and carried him thro' the porte Cochere, at the bottom, into a room of a Surgeon of Duke D'Orleans. They took two pocket pistols and a knife from him, and were preparing to tie him with a black ribbon three fingers broad and 36 ells long. He offered his parole to hurt neither himself nor any other, and said that so many were enough to contain one man disarmed. The Major went to Duc de Biron, who was in a post chaise in the Court, to go give the account at Versailles, came back, and had him tied in five places ; his upper arms close to his body, his hands behind his back, round his waist, his thighs, and legs. Thus they put him into a coach, the Major and two Captains with him, four grenadiers behind and two before, their bayonettes screwed. In the way they asked his parole, which he refused, as they had refused it before, and said he'd not wonder to be so treated had he been at Hanover. They drove to Vincennes, but changed coaches at the Throne. At Vincennes they carried him to the dungeon or tower 54 steps high. Marquis du Chatelet, the Governor and his friend, call'd for the Major's orders, untied the Prince, and treated him with all possible respect and care. He remained in this hole, 7 feet wide and 8 feet long, till the 14th, that M. du Chatelet conducted him to the Garden. Sixty

musqueteers had orders to be ready to conduct him. He wrote a short letter to the King, offering his parole to go without guards. The 15th, in the morning, he went off with Messrs Stafford and Sheridan, and Mr de Perussy, an officer of the musqueteers. He staid at Fountainbleau the 16th, the 17th arrived at Auxerre, and is supposed arrived the 21st at Lyons, and the next day at Pont Beauvoisin.

The three gentlemen that went with him to the opera were put into the Bastille, and five others that were by chance at his house, and all his servants. All the French were let out the next day, the others the 20th, Stafford and Sheridan were let out to go with him. Sir James Harrington and Mr Goring have orders to remove leagues from Paris. 'Tis impossible to say how unanimous the resentment was in people of all states here for the Prince's being seized. They say it has produced the same effect in England. The creatures of the ministry will have it that his head was turned, and that he was determined to kill himself and the officer that would take him; but this is a jest. They gave him all his arms at going away. His house was seiz'd, the Lieutenant de Police staid there from 6 at night till 3 in the morning, and it's supposed visited his papers. This is the true story. You may tell it to Mr Edgar, but name me to nobody else.

Yours always.

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\* No. CLXIX.

*Mr Edgar to Young Glengary.*

ROME, 24th Xber, 1748.

SIR,

I RECEIVED last week the letter you were pleased to write to me of the 1st of this month, and have had the honor to lay it before the King, in return to which His Majesty commands me to let you know, with many kind compliments in his name, that, having some posts ago recommended young Lochiel to the Court of France for his Father's regiment, he cannot now recommend any other body for it. H. M. is sorry to find you so low in your circumstances, and reduced to such straits at present as you mention, and he is the more sorry that his own situation, as to money matters, never being so bad as it now is, he is not in a condition to relieve you as he would incline. But His Majesty being at the sametime desirous to do what depends on him for your satisfaction, he, upon your request, sends you here inclosed a duplicate of your grandfather's warrant to be a Peer. You will see that it is signed by H. M., and I can assure you it is an exact duplicate copie out of the book of entries of such like papers.

I am much obliged to Lochgary and your Brother for the notice they take of me, &c.

P. S. The Duke commands me to return you his kind compliments, and H. M. and H. R. H. assure Lochgary and your Brothers of theirs, in return to their duty towards them which you mention.

## \* No. CLXX.

*Prince Charles to Mr Edgar.*

AVIGNON, the 31st December, 1748.

THE bearer, George Lockhart, was one of my aid-de-camps in Scotland, and I am well satisfied with him. I believe you may know his father, an old honest man. As he intends to stay some time rolling in Italy, I hope his Majesty will be so good as to give him his protection and countenance. I am in perfectly good health, so adieu.

CHARLES P.

P. S. I believe you will not forget his pay.

## \* No. CLXXI.

*Mr William Murray, "Lord Dumbar," to Mr Edgar.*

AVIGNON, December 31st, 1748.

I HAVE no Letter from you, Dear Sir, by last post, and at present I have the pleasure to acquaint you that H. R. H. the Prince arrived here in perfect health on Friday morning at 7 o'clock. I never was more surprised than to see him at my bedside, after they had told me that an Irish officer wanted to speak to me. He arrived, disguised in an uniform of Irland's regiment, accompanied only by Mr Sheridan and one officer of the same regiment, of which H. R. H. wore the uniform, but with no servant. In this situation he thought fit to remain incognito, and to accept of such entertainment as my sister could give him, in hopes that his servants and baggage would be left at Pont Beauvoisin, might be able to join him, which also left the Vicedegat at liberty to receive the Infant Don Phillip, who is expected to-night. But I believe he intends to go to the Palace to-morrow or next day. As to all other circumstances relating to H. R. H's affairs or intentions, I am noways informed, &c.

## \* No. CLXXII.

*Prince Charles to the Chevalier de St George.*

AVIGNON, 1st January, 1749.

SIR,

I RECEIVED yours of the 26th Nov<sup>r</sup> on the road. Your Majesty well knows it was not in my power of writing sooner. I arrived here on Friday last, and am in perfect good health, notwithstanding the unheard-of barbarous and inhuman treatment I met with. I lay myself at your Majesty's feet, most humbly beseeching blessing.

Your moste dutifull Son,

CHARLES P.

## \* No. CLXXIII.

*The Chevalier de St George to Dr Cameron.*

ROME, January 14th, 1749.

I RECEIVED, some days ago, your letter of the 16th Dec<sup>r</sup>, and since that of the 23d, with one from your nephew Lochiel of the same date. It is true I took a very particular share in the great loss you have lately made, being well acquainted with your Brother's and your family's merit with me, and truly sensible of the many marks they have given us of it, as I now am of the sentiments expressed in your letters. By what I lately heard I am afraid Lochiel's regiment will be reformed, but in that case I understand that the officers will be still taken care of, and your nephew and his mother have pensions. I should be very sorry for this reform, neither do I see what I can well do to prevent it, after the very strong recommendation I had already made that the said regiment might be given to your nephew; but you may be sure that nothing that can depend upon me will ever be neglected which may tend to the advantage of your family, and of so many brave and honest Gentlemen. This would be a very improper time to mention you to the Court of Spain, but some months hence I shall be able to recommend you to that Court, and in such a manner as I hope may succeed, if they are any ways disposed to favour you. The Duke takes very kindly of you the compliments you make him, and I have often heard him speak of you with much esteem and in the manner you deserve. I don't write in particular to your nephew, since I could but repeat what I have here said, and to which I have nothing to add but to assure you both of my constant regard and kindness.

## \* No. CLXXIV.

*Account current.—Prince Charles with George Waters, junior, Banker, Paris.*

1748.	No. 2.		
Jan. 28th.	Balance due by me at last accmpt,		Lrs.79,412 18 9
	Charged in last accmpt paid to Peter Middleton,		
	since in the list of gratifications,	300 0 0	
March 6th.	Received of Mr Lally, to be kept at the disposal of		
	H. R. H. being part of Lrs.36,000 ordered for		
	the last gratification,	12,000 0 0	
	27th. Received of ditto to complete said gratification,	24,000 0 0	
Aug. 30th.	Received of Mr Thomas Kennedy for H. R. H.		
	accmpt,	40,064 0 10	
			155,777 8 9

## PAID.

1748.			
Feb. 3d.	His Royal Highness order to Bearer Daniel,	6000 0 0	
	For a muff for H. R. H.	Lrs.96	
	For Gazettes to the 1st January,	61	
	For mending the brick track,	25	
	For 8 days' coach hyre for Mr Buxton,	96	
	For 6 idem for H. R. H.	12	
		350 0 0	

March	9th.	For Paper, . . . . .	Lrs.24	8	0
		Mr Theodore Hay of Boulogne paid to William Coilliot for extraordinary charges on sundry messages, . . . . .	60	0	0
		To Mr Lally, viz.—			
		For the fees on new year's day to the minister, servants, and officers, 23 Louis-d'ors, . . . . .	552		
		For a coach and six to go to Versailles, when H. R. H. went to see the king, . . . . .	45		
		To the coachman and postillion, . . . . .	9		
		H. R. H. order to bearer Daniel, . . . . .	6000	0	0
		Given Major Kennedy, according to H. R. H. order, a letter of credit for 50 guineas, . . . . .	1200	0	0
		His R. H. order to said Major Kennedy, . . . . .	1200	0	0
	10th.	Idem to Le Moin, sculptor, . . . . .	400	0	0
	11th.	Idem to Mr Stafford, . . . . .	1200	0	0
		Idem to Mr Sheridan, . . . . .	1200	0	0
	18th.	Idem to Sir John Arbuthnot, . . . . .	600	0	0
		Idem to Mr Menzies, . . . . .	400	0	0
		Idem to Mr Seton and Mr Anderson, Lvs. 400 each, . . . . .	800	0	0
		Idem to Mr Tod, . . . . .	400	0	0
	26th.	Idem to Mr Grant, . . . . .	300	0	0
	27th.	Idem to Mr Kelly, . . . . .	2400	0	0
	31st.	To de Romilly for a quarter's rent of the house rue Rampart, due 1 July, prix . . . . .	1000	0	0
April	1st.	His Royal Highness' order to Bearer Daniel, . . . . .	6000	0	0
		Idem to Mr Lally, . . . . .	1080	0	0
	6th.	Idem to Mr Murray for the use of the Forrester, . . . . .	300	0	0
	14th.	Idem to Sir John O'Sullivan for four horses, . . . . .	3400	0	0
	15th.	Idem to Bearer Michel Vizzosi, . . . . .	1200	0	0
		Idem to Mr Bent, . . . . .	300	0	0
	18th.	Idem to Bearer Michel Vizzosi for Begé Horse merchant in full, . . . . .	2114	5	7
		Idem to Bearer Marson, taylor, in full, . . . . .	4819	9	0
	29th.	Idem to Bearer, Mr Sheridan for a coach, . . . . .	1200	0	0
	30th.	Idem to Bearer Daniel, . . . . .	6000	0	0
May	4th.	Idem to Bearer Roettiers for medals, . . . . .	1858	18	6
	5th.	Idem to Bearer Brennan, . . . . .	150	0	0
	22d.	Idem to Roettiers, engravers, for 400 silver counters and 200 brass-medals, . . . . .	1539	10	9
		Idem to Daniel, . . . . .	1200	0	0
	25th.	Idem to Sir James Harrington, . . . . .	960	0	0
June	1st.	Idem to Bearer Daniel, . . . . .	6000	0	0
	12th.	Idem to my uncle for balance of his accompt, . . . . .	7691	0	0
		To Lauson for 6 bottles Morache wine, . . . . .	18	0	0
July	1st.	H. R. H <sup>s</sup> . order to Bearer Daniel, . . . . .	6000	0	0
	3d.	To Chartrau de Romilly, for a quarter's rent of the house, due 1st October, . . . . .	1000	0	0
	4th.	His R. H <sup>s</sup> . order to Bearer Clanranald, . . . . .	600	0	0
	10th.	Idem to Bearer Daniel, . . . . .	1200	0	0



July.	18th.	Idem to Stuart of Ardsbiel, . . . . .	Lrs.400	0	0
	26th.	Idem to Mr Grant for 50 maps of Scotland, . . . . .	500	0	0
Aug.	1st.	Idem to Bearer Daniel, . . . . .	6000	0	0
		Idem to Mr Brin for the maintenance of this year, . . . . .	600	0	0
		Idem to Mr Murray for Mr James Redpath, L <sup>rs</sup> . 240, and to the Bearer Mr Craigg, L <sup>rs</sup> . 240, together, . . . . .	480	0	0
		Idem to Mr Maxwell, . . . . .	1200	0	0
	3d.	H. R. H. to Ran. Macdonald of Clanranald for this month, . . . . .	200	0	0
	12th.	Idem to Bearer Daniel, . . . . .	2400	0	0
Sept.	1st.	Idem to ditto, . . . . .	6000	0	0
	2d.	To Ran. Macdonald of Clanranald for this month, . . . . .	200	0	0
	9th.	His Royal H <sup>s</sup> . order to Bearer Daniel for lease, . . . . .	3730	0	0
	23d.	Idem to Gordon of Glenbucket, . . . . .	400	0	0
	26th.	Idem to Roettiers for ten silver medals and 200 brass, . . . . .	584	8	0
Oct.	1st.	Idem to Bearer Daniel, . . . . .	6000	0	0
		To Ran. Macdonald of Clanranald for this month, . . . . .	200	0	0
	14th.	H. R. H <sup>s</sup> . order to Mr Kerr, . . . . .	300	0	0
		Idem to Mr Kennedy, . . . . .	2300	0	0
		Idem to Bearer Daniel, . . . . .	1200	0	0
	22d.	Idem to Sir James Harrington, Mr Goring, . . . . .	2400	0	0
	23d.	Idem to bearer for 300 bottles Spanish wine, . . . . .	900	0	0
		Idem to Thomas Lynch, value of £66:8:6 per amount of his bill for clothes for Col. Ratcliffe, . . . . .	1527	15	0
Nov.	1st.	Idem to Bearer Daniel, . . . . .	6000	0	0
		To R. Macdonald of Clanranald for this month, . . . . .	200	0	0
	14th.	H. R. H <sup>s</sup> . order to Mr Kerr, . . . . .	300	0	0
		H. R. H <sup>s</sup> . order to Stafford and Sheridan, . . . . .	600	0	0
		Idem to Bearer, Sir John Græme, . . . . .	1200	0	0
		Idem to Mr Jackson, . . . . .	300	0	0
	22d.	Idem to Sir James Harrington, value of £35, . . . . .	806	0	0
	23d.	Idem to Mr Oxburgh, . . . . .	2400	0	0
	30th.	Idem to Mr David Murray, . . . . .	300	0	0
Dec.	1st.	Idem to Bearer Daniel, . . . . .	7200	0	0
	2d.	Idem to amount of commission and charges, . . . . .	555	0	0
	5th.	To R. Macdonald of Clanranald for this month, . . . . .	200	0	0
	7th.	H. R. H <sup>s</sup> . order to Bearer Daniel, . . . . .	2400	0	0
		Idem to Durlie, amount of his bill, £42:8:6 for . . . . .	985	7	0
	22d.	Idem to Sir James Harrington or Mr Goring, . . . . .	1200	0	0
		To Michel Vizzosi, . . . . .	1000	0	0
	24th.	To ditto, . . . . .	1000	0	0
1749.					
Jan.	1st.	To R. Macdonald of Clanranald for this month, . . . . .	200	0	0
	2d.	To Michel Vizzosi, . . . . .	1000	0	0
	4th.	To Mr James Oxburgh, . . . . .	300	0	0
		To De Romilly for a quarter's rent, of the house due first current, . . . . .	1000	0	0
	13th.	To de la Tour for H. R. H <sup>s</sup> . picture, . . . . .	1200	0	0
		To Michel Vizzosi, . . . . .	1200	0	0
	14th.	To ditto, . . . . .	3000	0	0



H. R. Hs. order, Pont Beauvoisin, 23 <i>vins.</i> per bearer, . . . . .	<i>Lrs.</i> 5300	0	0
For 12 Setts of Table-linen sent from Contray, . . . . .	£1481	3	6
Carriage and duties, . . . . .	39	15	0
15th. H. R. Hs. order 23 <i>vins.</i> to Bearer Mr Stafford, 150 L. d'ors, . . . . .		3600	0 0
Post of letters and packets, paper sent to the Ho- tel, and £106 per Gazettes, from 1st January to 1st October, both included, . . . . .		6111	16 0
		<hr/>	
		£161,921	16 4

*The following payments left out in former accompts.*

To my uncle, reimbursement of his advance to Donald Cameron of Lochiel, . . . . .	£1000		
	600		
	600		
	600		
To said Lochiel for three months' advance on the gratifications, commencing the 20th August, 1747, and £400 per month, . . . . .	1200		
To Mr James Graham, . . . . .	500		
To Archibald Cameron, . . . . .	1000		
To Major St Clair, . . . . .	1200		
To Col. Windham, . . . . .	600		
To Donald Robertson, . . . . .	400		
To Lord Nairne, . . . . .	500		
	500		
	500		
	300		
	1200		
To Gordon of Glenbucket, 1300			
	300		
	200		
	300		
	2100	12,800	0 0
		<hr/>	
		£174,771	16 4
	Deduct,	155,777	8 9
		<hr/>	
16 remains due to me to ballance, . . . . .		£ 18,994	7 7

No. CLXXV.

*Mr Edgar to Lord Elcho.*

ROME, 11th February, 1749.

MY LORD,

I AM commanded by the King to acknowledge the letter you writ to him, and to tell you in return to it, that H. M. is very sorry not to find himself in a condition to satisfy you upon the article your Lop. mentions, and he is persuaded the Prince is at present no more in a condition to do it than he.

Besides, H. M. thinks that the money which you say you advanced to the Prince in Scotland having been on account of the then public service, that it can never be claimed as a personal debt either for the Prince or himself. His Majesty is much concerned on your account : he can give your Lo<sup>p</sup>. no other answer to your letter. He will be glad of occasions where he can shew you the esteem and value he has for you, and, in writing you this, directs me to make many kind compliments in his name.

## No. CLXXVI.

*Prince Charles to the Landgrave of Hesse Darmstadt.*

MON COUSIN,

Je ne puis vous exprimer Monsieur le plaisir que j'ai de vous écrire en cette occasion pour vous demander ce que feroit le Bonheur de ma vie : Mes intérêts exigent de moi de me marier incessamment et les rares qualités de la Princesse votre fille, ne m'ont point parmi de balancer un moment pour vous La demander. Je n'ai pas malheureusement une couronne à lui offrir actuellement comme elle le mérite mais j'espère bien de l'avoir un jour, et d'être alors en état de vous prouver La Reconnaissance due à un Prince qui m'auroit accordé une telle Grace pendant mes malheurs. Le Sieur Douglas porteur de cette cy a mes pleins pouvoirs et je vous prie d'ajouter foi et crédit à tout ce qui vous dira comme je parlais moi-même.

Votre affectionné Cousin,  
C. P.

Prince Landgrave d'Hesse Darmstadt.

AVIGNON, le 24 Fev<sup>r</sup>. 1749

## No. CLXXVII.

*Commission,—Prince Charles to the Sieur Douglas to contract as to the intended marriage with the Landgrave's daughter.*

CHARLES PRINCE de Galles Regent de la Grand Bretagne, France et Irlande, &c. &c. &c. notre intention étant d'envoyer une personne à la Cour du Prince Landgrave de Hesse Darmstadt pour traiter et conclure un mariage entre nous et la Princesse Charlotte Luise fille du ditte Landgrave avons choisi à cet effet le Sieur Douglas Sala duquel la probité et autres qualités nous y a fait mettre une entière confiance et par celui lui donnons pleins pouvoirs de traiter et conclure définitivement notre mariage avec cette princesse, tenant pour bon et stable tout ce qui sera en cette occasion comme si nous étions présent, confirment et approuvent le tout, nous lui donnons aussi le pouvoir d'espouser la Princesse en notre nom, et de nous La conduire dans les endroits où nous serons. Nous exemptons ici toute omission de style ou formalité et voulons celle ci pour aussi bon que aucune que nous puissions faire étant tout écrit de notre propre main.

C. P. R.

AVIGNON, le 24 Fev<sup>r</sup>. 1749.

## \* No. CLXXVIII.

*Lord Elcho to Prince Charles.*

SIR,

I HAVE wrote many letters to your Royal Highness, begging the payment of the 1500 guineas I lent you in Scotland. I earnestly entreat your R. H. to let me have an answer about it, for I dare say my letters have mostly miscarried, otherwise I don't think your R. H. would chuse to be owing me money. I am with profound respect,

Sir,

Your Royal Highness's most obedient humble servant,

ELCHO.

BOULOGNE, *March 2d.* 1749.

## \* No. CLXXIX.

*Prince Charles to Mr Edgar without signature.*

SIR,

*Ye 26th April, 1749.*

IT was not possible for me to write sooner, as all letters are opened. I would have run risk of being by that teased, and afterwards stopt. One dying is enough to be willing to avoid the second. Put me with the greatest respect at his Majesty's feet. I cannot venture to say more at present, but hope soon to be able. In the mean time, I remain all yours. My health is perfect.

## \* No. CLXXX.

*Mr Oliphant of Gask to Mr Edgar.*

SIR,

I WAS favoured with yours of September 8th, in which you inform me that you did me the honor of presenting mine to the King. I do most cordially, and without reserve, submit to whatever is his Majesty's pleasure concerning me, and am fully sensible of the great honor his Majesty does me in the unmerited expressions of his kindness. I would not, in my illegally attained state, have troubled his Majesty on the subject, had I not thought it my duty to do my part in keeping the titles of an old family from being taken up by usurpers, to whom I have ever had an utter aversion. It gives me the greatest pleasure to be assured from you, that his Majesty and the duke of York are in very good health. I pray God may long continue it to them and all the Royal family, and give soon the happiness all their true subjects wish them. I desire you'll make an offer of my most dutiful and most obedient services, and of my sons to His Majesty, and our humble duties to the Duke of York. As I am wholly ignorant of the manner in which I should have addressed my Great Master, I hope the King's goodness will excuse all my faults. I give you hearty thanks for the kindness you have already done me, and what you still continue to offer, and ever am,

Sir,

Your most obedient and most humble servant,

LAU. OLIPHANT.

TOULOUSE, *May 6th,* 1749.

My wife wrote me lately. She had got an extract of the Resignation which shall be sent if his Majesty thinks fit to call for it.

## \* No. CLXXXI.

*Extract of a Letter from Mr Christopher Stonor to the same.*

ROME, May 28th, 1749.

I WAS favoured yesterday with the packet of letters which you was so good as to send me, &c., among them was one from my sister, containing the following particulars about John Murray. As some of them may perhaps be new to you, I hope you will excuse the trouble of this. My sister writes thus:—As to the pamphlet you ask me about with the title of a Letter to Lord Traquair, 'tis said to be wrote by Secretary Murray, and is a most abusive scurrilous thing both as to the present Lord and his father. Said Murray is at present in a spunging house till he can find bail and give security for his good behaviour, which I fancy, all things considered, will not be an easy thing, as his late actions have not only the appearance of a knave but a madman, and 'tis the opinion of most people he really is also the latter, several of his family having been disordered in their senses, and his present situation sufficient to cause it in him, as he can't but feel the sting of such a conscience, finds himself the outcast of mankind, and is in circumstances extremely indigent. The bail is fifteen hundred pounds, and few people would care to trust that to the actions of a madman, was nothing else considered. If you have not had the account of his late behaviour, this will appear a riddle to you. You are to know then Murray sent two challenges to Lord Traquair,—one some time ago in a letter by a person who told my Lord he was to read that, and send it back, to which his Lordship answered that he never received a letter he was not to keep, and accordingly returned it unopened in the presence of several persons. The other was sent about a fortnight ago, but not signed, which is all Murray has in favor! 'Twas wrote in a most abusive threatening stile, in which he tells my Lord his own fireside shant screen him. Thereupon his Lordship took the advice of his friends and lawyers, which was to follow the course of the law, and accordingly he was seized by a warrant from my Lord-chief-justice. The place of rendezvous appointed was behind Montague house, where the secretary was seen to walk at the hour; but being wrapped up in a cloak, his arms were not discovered. This affair detains Lord and Lady Traquair, who were come up to town in order to go to Bath.

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No. CLXXXII.

*Anonymous note taken from a draught in Prince Charles's hand, to be admitted into the Emperor's dominions without any address.*

Le 26th May, 1749.

EST il permit Monsr. à un anonyme d'exprimer les sentimens d'un Prince Exilé et abandonné si indignement de ces allies? Le zele que vous avez temoigné à ses adherents lui fait avoir cette confiance en vous Monsieur. Il s'agit de lumière si l'Empereur ou La Reine d'Hongrie recevroit un telle Prince dans ces etats n'aient pas d'asyle qui convenient à ces interests. Il est pret à

porter le masque à ce Prince qu'il voudra protege un soldat et une honête homme.

P. S.—La responce me parviendra avec l'adresse suivante à Mr John Douglas.

Recommandé à Mr Waters l'ainé Rue de université à Paris.

### No. CLXXXIII.

*Note from the Prince to Waters, inclosing the above.*

I SEND here inclosed a letter that you must forward with safety. Your nephew in the house can carry it without saying (who) he comes from. Any letter in answer to that or other under Mr Choiseul de Stainville, the address of John Douglas, recommended to you is for me. Give the bearer an answer. I (a word here illegible) after the delivery of the letter.

### No. CLXXXIV.

*Prince Charles, under the signature of John Douglas, to Mr Bulkeley, from a draught in the Prince's hand.*

To G. Bulkeley.

*Ye 3d June, 1749.*

I WRITE you last, the 26th of May from Venice, with a letter inclosed. This is sent by one that promised safe delivery. My friendship for you does not permit me any longer a silence as to what regards a person you esteem. His situation is singular, and tho' now rejected by many, he may be soon as much courted, being desperate honest, and only one *point de vieu*!!\* What cannot be compassed? Bologna was said to be his residence, but that was but a blind. I can firmly assure you never any of the Pope's dominions shall ever see his face: the only one in Italy would have been Venice: that same person never intends to make but a passage over of France or Hanover, having no living relations in either kingdom. Now my friend must skulk to the perfect dishonour and glory of his worthy relations, until he finds a reception fitting at home or abroad.

JOHN DOUGLAS.

Compliments to your Lady.

### \* No. CLXXXV.

*Young Glengary to Cardinal York.*

SIR,

IT is with the utmost respect I take the liberty to give your Royal Eminence this trouble; but the countenance your royal Eminence was pleased to honor me with, when I had the honor of laying the sentiments of the loyal clans, which were intrusted to me, before your royal Eminence at Baigneau,

\* Sic in orig.

makes me presume, from your wonted goodness towards those ever faithfully attached to the Royal Family, that you'll countenance and protect me in our present circumstances. When I was taken prisoner and conducted to the Tower of London, where I remained twenty-two months, the Court of France sent me unlimited credit. This order of the Court was different from that sent other French officers, and none were comprehended in it but Sir Hector Maclean and I. It was sent to us as the order expressed in quality of highland chiefs. Monsieur Carpantiro, resident for the King of the two Sicilies, and charged with our affairs by the Court of France, acquainted me at the time that his opinion was, that the French Court's intention in sending us unlimited credit, was to supply such needy prisoners as they could neither publicly own nor support. I readily judged this order was procured at your Royal Eminence's instance, with intention to enable us to provide for such poor people as was then taken and thrown in dungeons for their attachment to their king and country ; several of whom, had it not been our timely assistance, had starved. Being satisfied that this was your Royal Eminence's intention in procuring us such an order, I supplied several of those unfortunate countrymen, who out of their feeling sense of your Royal Eminence's compassion, daily prayed for your preservation and prosperity. When I was liberated, Sir John Græme informed me also that your Royal Eminence had procured this order. The war-office pretends to lay the money I laid out for these people to my account, and by this deprive me of four years' appointments, which, since I was in their service as Captain, tho' I was mostly absent, being in Scotland on his Majesty's affairs, and came to France on the same business, as your Royal Eminence may remember. What I take the liberty to beg your R. E., is to acquaint the war-office by means of my Lord Lismore, that it was your R. E.'s intention in procuring me that credit, that I should supply some of the then distressed prisoners. My Lord Lismore and your R. E.'s desire will do me this piece of kindness, and will entirely satisfy the minister of war ; and as it may be my fate to remain some time in this kingdom, if your R. Eminence would be pleased to send me a line recommending me to Cardinal de Tencin, it would remove all obstacles, and would prove conducive in procuring me any relief, a great assistance to me, as I can't receive my ordinary supply from home, my father being still a prisoner, and his lands entirely destroyed. I hope your R. E. will pardon this long and troublesome account, as none is with greater attachment and respect than,

Your Royal Eminence's most obedient, obliged,  
and faithfull humble servant,

MACK DONELL.

PARIS, 8th June, 1749.

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\* No. CLXXXVI.

*The same to Colonel O'Bryen, " Lord Lismore."*

MY LORD,

I THOUGHT to have had the honor of waiting of your Lordship at your Hotel ; but your absence preventing me, I take the liberty, as you was so kind as condescend to interest yourself in the affair of my relief to send the inclosed for the Duke, with a copy of the memorial to M. D'Argenson for obtaining my relief. In perusing of both, your Lordship will easily perceive the goodness of my claim, for nothing can be harder than that my relief should be

stopt for the matter of £460 I expended in support of the poor sufferers, that otherwise would have starved in prison. I know your Lordship's zeal for every thing that regards his Majesty's faithful subjects and party, such as suffered in the late attempt, to have the least doubt, as your Lordship's interest is so greatly established at Court, but by your means I will obtain this relief; for without that I may safely tell your Lordship I shall be obliged to abandon this country, having no means at this juncture, as my father continues still prisoner, to support myself, if I can't obtain this relief. If your Lordship has any commands for me before your return to Paris, in directing for me to the care of Mr James a Mr de Mack Donell de Glengary, your Lordship's letter will come safe to hand. I hope your Lordship will excuse this trouble, as none is with greater esteem and respect than,

My Lord,

Your Lordship's most obedient and very humble servant,

MACK DONELL.

PARIS, 8th June, 1749.

\* No. CLXXXVII.

*Memorial referred to in the foregoing Letter.*

MACK DONELL de Glengary chef de la Tribus des Mack Donells et Capitaine au Regt. Royal Ecossois demande le payment de ses appointment depuis l'an 1743 tems de la creation de ce corps jusqu'au mois de Nov. 1745 sur le pied François, et depuis ce tems la jusqu'au mois de Juillet 1747 sur le pied Anglois, c'est-a-dire sol pour sol et depuis le mois de Juillet 1747 jusqu'à Mars 1748. Son absence pendant quil que tems du Regiment ne point être un obstacle à sa pretention, les ordres du Prince de Galles l'ont rendu necessaire en Ecosse et aussitot que ce motif a cesse il a eu d'honneur de rejoindre ses Drapeaux. Il ne seroit pas raisonnable de voloir lui deduire quelque sommes qu'il a tronce en Angleterre, cette somme lui ayant été accordée par un ordre expres de Mr le Comte D'Argenson obtenu aux instances de son Altesse Royale le Duc de York et que la destination en etoit pour le service de son Altesse Royale le Prince de Galles et cet objet a été rempli.

\* No. CLXXXVIII.

*Prince Charles to Mr Edgar, (without signature.)*

Ye 31st July, 1749.

As yet not finding an abode, I cannot send you a fixed address; but whatever letters sent to either of the Waters under the name of *John Douglas*,\* shall come safe to my hands. Be pleased to lay me at his Majesty's feet, and remain assured of my constant friendship for you.

P. S.—My health is perfect.

MR EDGAR, *Rome*.

\* Sic, in orig.



## No. CLXXXIX.

*Prince Charles to the King of Poland, from a draught in the Prince's hand,  
(without date.)*

MONSIEUR MON FRERE ET COUSIN,

JE viens d'arriver dans les Etats de votre Majesté, et je mené avec moi La Princesse d'Hesse-Darmstadt qui a bien voulu d'unire à moi et par consequent partage mon sort. Je la recommandé à la protection d'un grand Roi qui connois les adversités et dont les vertus sont si bien connu. La Princesse ma Femme desir et à intention de rester dans ce pais; d'autant plus quelle est proche de la maison paternelle pour moi mes interets. Exige d'y rester privé comme peuvent avoir occasion de me transportirant differents lieux l'inconnu il ne me rest present que d'assurer votre Majesté du vif desire que j'ai de lui prouver le respectueux attachement avec laquelle j'ai l'honneur d'être,

Mons<sup>r</sup>. mon Frère et Cousin,

De votre Majesté,

Le bon Frère et Cousin,

C. P.

A Sa Majesté Polonoise Mr }  
Mon Frère et Cousin. }

## \* No. CXC.

*Mr John Græme to the Chevalier de St George.*

SIR,

GIVE me leave to return your Majesty my most humble and dutiful acknowledgements for your goodness and generosity, in being most graciously pleased first to pardon my offences, and then to re-establish me in the pension I have so long enjoyed by your Majesty's royal bounty and liberality. I want words to express the full extent of my gratitude for so much kindness, and of my sincere grief and concern for having imprudently incurred the displeasure of so good and so great a master. I beg leave to assure your Majesty, that as nothing can be more sincere than my repentance for what is now past, so for the time to come I shall make it my constant aim to deserve your Majesty's kindness; and by shewing on all occasions, to the last moment of my life, my duty, my gratitude, and the most profound respect, with which I am,

Sir,

Your Majesty's most faithful, most dutiful, and most obedient  
subject and servant,

JO. GRÆME.

DIJON, August 26th, 1749.

## \* No. CXCI.

*Young Glengary to Colonel O'Bryen, " Lord Lismore."*

MY LORD,

PEU de jour après que J'ay eut l'honneur de vous ecrire de St Amant J'ay passé à Londres par avis reitese de mes amis, ces Messieurs croyant que

je ne ferais point de difficulté de me conforme aux intentions du Government mais etant toujours determiné de ne me point egare des principes de mes ancetres ne du devoir que je dois à mon Roy je me lui tenir je puis retire. Pendant mes sejour à Londres j'ay envoyer une de mes vassan au Nord d'Ecosse pour être au (a word here illegible) informé du l'etat du pais. Les sujets du Roy sont fort opprimer mais au lieu de les reduire par l'extreme cruauté qu'on exerce sur eux et par l'act du Parlement que defend deperte l'habillement montagne; tous ces defence ne sert qu'à les exasperé et agrissent tellement les esprits que tous les clan sautrefois pour le Roy ne demande mieux qu'on occasion favorable pour eclater, et je suis assure par des avis certains de ceux de la premier condition parmi les clans qui si ont prenois des mesures convenable qu'on pouvois faire une son levement de quinze milles montagnards. Il seroit glorieux pour vous, my Lord, de conduire une telle project à une hereux reussité. Il ne vous serois pas, my Lord, si difficile tous ceux de notre Pais etant convaincu de votre merite et de la confiance que Sa Majesté repose envous, une confiance my Lord que vous avez si digneement merité par votre attachement et eclantes services dans toutes les occasions; mais pour moi, my Lord, bien des choses qu'engagé votre bonté pour moi dans toutes les occasions et les obligations dont je vous suis redevable par raport à mon relief. Debut je pense Mon<sup>r</sup>. d'Argenson ne ferai plus de difficulté ladessu sachant que l'argent que j'ay reçu en Angleterre a été distribuée à d'outres qui sans une telle secours avoient infalliblement peris. Pour moi, my Lord, je ne fais le moindre doute de l'obtenir ayant votre protection et la recommandation du Roy et de Son Altesse Royale et Eminence. Si la response du ministre me serai favorable je ne qu'a vous, my Lord, à qui je attribué le success de cette affaire, et j'aurois l'honneur de vous faire mes remerciements à (a word here illegible) mais en cas qu'on fait encore de difficulté je serai malgré moi obligé de repasser en Angleterre comme je ne recois le moindre secours de chez Nous, mon Père etant toujours retient au Chasteau d'Edimbourg. Je vous prie, my Lord, d'excuser toutes les peines et embarras que cette affair vous cause et être persuader qu'il n'y à personne qui à l'honneur d'être plus parfaitement.

My Lord,

Votre très humble et très obeissant serviteur,

MACK DONELL.

BOULOGNE-SUR-MER, }  
Sept. 23<sup>d</sup>, 1749. }

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\* No. CXCH.

*Mr George Kelly to Prince Charles.*

SIR,

WHEN your Royal Highness reads the inclosed letter, I believe you will not be surpris'd at my leaving the family without your knowledge, since you may plainly see I could not, as an honest man, remain any longer in it, for to be accus'd of excluding from your business the only person who for some years has been generally thought the most capable of serving you, is treating me as the greatest enemy imaginable to you and your cause, and consequently laying me under an absolute necessity of retiring to clear myself of such an odious imputation. I am confident, Sir, you will not take this step amiss of me, for if I cannot serve I will never be instrumental in disserving you. Nobody ever

had less reason or worse authority than Lord Marischall, for such an accusation; for your Royal Highness knows well I always acted the contrary part, and never failed representing the advantage and even necessity of having him at the head of your affairs. I am sure, Sir, you will do me the justice, and what is more, that I never did any man an ill office with you in my life. His Lordship may think of me as he pleases; but my opinion is still the same of him, and that nothing can tend more to your Royal Highness's interest than to engage him at any rate to undertake the direction of your councils.

My zeal, Sir, shall be inviolable for your service, and if ever I can be of any use without such reproaches, your commands will be always extremely acceptable to me. I have the honor of being, with the greatest submission and respect,

Sir,  
Your Royal Highness's most obedient  
and most devoted humble servant,  
GEORGE KELLY.

AVIGNON, *November 16th, 1749.*

Lest this packet, Sir, should miscarry, I have left a copy of it with Mr Stafford, who knows nothing of the contents, and Mr Oxburgh's original letter.

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### No. CXCH.

*Letter,—Mr Oxburgh to Mr Kelly, referred to in the above.*

I WAS extremely surprised this morning at a discourse which Mr Bulkeley had with me, as if you had been a hindrance to the Prince's having Lord Marischal near him and at the head of his affairs. I assured him it was not so, for to my knowledge you had done all that was in your power to bring it about, and of all the unjust aspersions laid to your charge, this was the most ridiculous as well as the worst grounded: he told me upon that, that having given room for it, was very unhappy, and that Lord Marischal had been made to believe it. I answered, I could not imagine Lord Marischal could give credit to such a story, knowing you so well as he did, upon which he shewed me a letter from Mr Floyd, where he tells him Lord M. had wrote to him so. The words of the Lord's letter are to this purpose;—that he was informed by a good hand that you had opposed his coming near the Prince,—that you had told him he was a Republican, a man incapable of cultivating Princes, of a genius that could live with nobody, and must have every thing done his own way, or was never to be satisfied. I cannot imagine who his Lordship had this fine story from, but am astonished he should give any credit to it. I shall satisfy Bulkeley and Floyd of the falsehood of it as well as I can, but nobody can justify you so well as the Prince himself, and I don't doubt but he will do it, when you are so happy as to see him again. You know it was our opinion from the beginning, that nothing could be of greater advantage to the Prince than to have Lord M. near him, and the steps that were taken before and after your going to Avignon to bring this about, and if matters have not fallen out as you wished and hoped, you must console yourself with having done all you could, and despise all the little dirty aspersions with which you are so unjustly charged. Have you no news of the Prince? We have none here. I can't express my uneasiness about him. God Almighty direct and preserve him. I can tell you nothing new from

hence, nor should I have sent by this post, were it not for this extraordinary story. My service to your Gentlemen. Adieu.

\* No. CXCIV.

*Young Glengary to Mr Edgar.*

BOULOGNE-SUR-MER, 16th January, 1750.

SIR,

WITHOUT doubt Sir Hector Maclean has forwarded my letter about two months ago, acquainting his Majesty of the reasons that prompted my cousin Lochgary and me to go to Scotland, notwithstanding of my cousin being attainted. But neither personal dangers nor any views, however disadvantageous soever, shall ever balance with us his Majesty's interest and the promoting upon all occasions the royal cause. I have the satisfaction to acquaint you, that you may lay it before the King, that since the revolution there never reigned such an unanimous spirit amongst the clans, nor never were readier to join did the least occasion offer, and as it is to be feared if timeous and proper methods be not taken, that oppression may in time damp their spirits. I am obliged, according to my promise to them, to go myself and lay their sentiments before his Majesty. It's with regret I find myself obliged to acquaint you, in order that you may inform his Majesty of the conduct of Doctor Archibald Cameron, brother to the late Lochiel, whose behaviour, when lately in the Highlands, has greatly hurt his Majesty's interest by acquainting all he conversed with that now they must shift for themselves, for that his Majesty and Royal Highness had given up all thoughts of ever being restored. I have prevented the bad consequences that might ensue from such notions; but one thing I could not prevent, was his taking 6000 Louis-d'ors of the money left in the country by His Royal Highness, which he did without any opposition, as he was privy to where the money was laid, only Cluny Macpherson obliged him to give him a receipt for it. I designed not to have mentioned this until I had the honor of personally informing his Majesty of it; but I thought it my duty not to delay acquainting you, as I hear Mr Cameron set out from Montsarible a few days before my arrival; and I am credibly informed that he designs to lay this money in the hands of a merchant at Dunkirk, and enter partners with him. I hope his Majesty will judge it proper, if going to Rome, to detain him till my arrival, as the consequences of this may prove very prejudicial if care be not taken to remedy it. It's very disagreeable to me to be obliged to make so dishonourable a report of my countryman, but particularly of Lochiel's brother. I beg you'll lay me at his Majesty's and Royal Eminence's feet, and assure them of my most dutifull sentiments. I beg you'll accept of my best compliments and sincere wishes for your happiness the first of this year, and do me the honour to believe me, with great esteem and sincerity,

Sir,

Your most obedient and very humble servant,

MACK DONELL.

## \* No. CXCv.

*Young Clanranald to Prince Charles.*

SIR,

It was the greatest pleasure in the world for me to learn by the same hand that forwards this, that your Royal Highness was well. Many an anxious and uneasy hour have I spent for you, since I had last the honour to see you. When I have that pleasure again, God grant it may be in a happier time.

As the same person informs me this will come safe to your hands, I take the liberty of troubling you to ask if your Royal Highness has any commands for your friends in Scotland. My wife will carefully carry them as she goes there with a design to lye in. If God gives us a son, I hope your R. H. will do us the favour to stand Godfather, which we will take as the greatest honour and obligation. Her cousin Duke Hamilton, who has been here, desires to stand alongst with your R. H. if you do us that honour, which I flatter myself you will not refuse. If I have a son it shall be my care to educate him in principles agreeable to you, to render him worthy the honour of bearing your name. My wife begs leave to offer your R. H. her most humble duty, and both of us wishes you many happy and successful years, and I am, with the truest sincerity and loyalty,

Your Royal Highness's most obliged,  
And most obedient, and most devoted subject and servant,

R. MACDONALD.

SCEANSE, *January 17th, 1750.*

## \* No. CXCvi.

*Sir Hector Maclean, supposed to Mr Edgar.*

SIR,

By accounts I have from very good hands, I think myself obliged to put you upon your guard about any informations you may receive about affairs in Scotland, that you might not for some time give too high credit to them. I hope in a little to be able to lay an exact state of these things before his Majesty: but in the mean time think it my duty to give you this hint, to hinder other people's imposing, or the bad effects of their being imposed on themselves. I hope to write soon to you again, and am in the mean time most sincerely,

Sir,

Your most humble and most obedient servant,

MACLEANE.

PARIS, *January 24th, 1750.*

## No. CXCvii.

*Extract of a Letter,—the Chevalier de St George to Lord George Murray.*ROME, *20th April, 1750.*

THERE are now here some of your countrymen who came to make a visit, and who are much your friends. I find they are very sanguine, notwithstanding late

misfortunes, and seem to be of opinion that your countrymen are as willing as ever to enter again into action, and that they might do even much by themselves. I know not whether you would be of their mind, but what I see very plainly is, that whatever was done, we could expect no support from abroad, and were I to determine on the point, I should take it to be a very nice and important affair, which would require to be well examined, and that whatever might be undertaken should be well considered and concerted before the execution. But the situation I am in at this present makes it but too easy for me to know what to say to them on this subject, for as I remain an entire stranger to the Prince's views and projects, and do not so much as know where he is, it would be the greatest imprudence in me to take any step of any kind in the obscurity I am in, neither can I foresee how long that obscurity will last; but as long as it does, I can do nothing but wish and pray that it may end well.

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\* No. CXCVIII.

*Memoire of B. ye 3 May, 1750.\**

B. LEFT the affair of a collection in the hands of D. K. (Qu. Dr King?) who gave assurances of prosecuting it with vigour.

C. S. proposes to endeavour to prevail upon the persons in possession of the hidden treasure to have the whole or any part of it remitted, and hopes to succeed, especially if any order can be obtained for that purpose, and does not doubt that he shall be able to make a handsome collection at Ed—— if it shall be approved.

It is said Mr Walsh has a commission to supply the French colonies in America with arms, ammunition, &c.

Le Croix says that the D. de R. will undertake the Royal cause upon certain terms, and that Mr Walsh is ready to give security for the performance of £50 to be made £100 upon the success:—

*Names of*

*Name for W——*

*John Douglas, Daniel Jones, James Brown.*

To acquaint the two principal persons of the resolution taken, which will certainly be put in execution,—to require one of them to come over immediately,—remittances to be made with the greatest expedition,—the person who makes the proposal of coming over assures that he will expose nobody but himself, supposing the worst.

*To acknowledge to B. ye 100 P. of Bla. ye 8 June, 1750. What follows same date, but remitted to B. ye 22d June.*

Instructions for Mr —— who is to inform himself whether (a word here illegible in the original) receive the P. upon occasion, who is willing to trust his person in his hands: if he should decline it, to find out some other proper person for that purpose *as ye P. is determined to go over at any rate.*

To speak to Sir C. G. about a ship, that it may arrive at Anvers to carry over his brother, and to be there some time in the beginning of August.

To visit Mr P. of D. and to see what he has done in his own and the neighbouring counties, and to agree where the arms, &c. may be most conveniently landed, the grand affair of L. to be attempted at the same time. To inform

\* The words in italics in the "Memoire," are in the hand-writing of Charles Edward. This document has reference to the intended attempt to raise an insurrection, alluded to by Dr King.



principal persons that the Prince desires the whole may be forwarded with the greatest expedition, and that no time may be lost, that a declaration may be prepared, in which the funds are to be referred to a free Parliament, and the army encouraged to join the P. by shewing the nullity of the obligation of the oaths they have taken for the E. To acquaint particular persons that the K. will R—— in order to prevent any proclamation as lately happened at N., and to return as soon as may conveniently happen to me, B—t—n to be presented at L—— races if nothing can be done before.

*Memoire concerning some things to be proposed to B. for adding to y<sup>e</sup> P. Declaration. To remove what prejudices so unjustly grounded against the K., and something concerning y<sup>e</sup> bribery in the F. M. which has hitherto prevented the assistance that would have been given me, always agreeable and fitting the inclination of both the K. and I.*

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## No. CXCIX.

*The Chevalier de St George to Prince Charles.*

*May 5th, 1750.*

SINCE I last wrote to you of 11th March, I received my dear friend's letter of the 16th February, to E——r, and a few days ago Sir James H——— lets me know by your directions, that you were in good health the 10th March. It is a comfort, and a great comfort to me, to know at least, that you are well, and tho' I see with concern the little confidence you have in me, and the continuance of your reserves towards me, yet I think it proper to inform you of some things that are lately come to my knowledge, for whatever your behaviour towards me may be, it shall never be in any body's power to say that I have omitted any thing that could be of the least service to you, or have taken any step which might possibly in any manner prejudice your affairs.

There came here lately Sir Hector M——e, young Glen——y and Loch——y : the two last were last year in Scotland, and they have, at my desire, given me in writing all they had material to say, and to which I told them I could say nothing myself at present, for that I looked on what regarded the money left in Scotland to be a personal affair of which you were master, and in which I would not meddle ; and that as for other matters, tho' I was master to act in them as I pleased, yet they could not but see, that as I was an entire stranger to all your views and projects, it would be the greatest imprudence in me to take any step in such sort of affairs as long as my present obscurity lasted. But that I would send their papers to you, that you might give what directions you thought proper as to the money, and let me know your thoughts on other matters, on which they are ready to give you what further information you may want whenever they can know how to apply to you. In the mean time I send their papers along with this to young George W——s in a cover apart in the same manner, and with the same directions as when I sent him the packet of Archy C——'s papers. They gave me a list of the names of some persons they saw in S——d, but that I dare not venture to send you till I am more sure than I am now of the safety of my letters, but all the rest I now send, being 3 in number, and that is sufficient to make you form a judgment on those affairs, and on which I can form none myself in the darkness I am in ; and all I shall further say on that subject, is to repeat what I writ to you in my last letter, viz.



that since your return from S——d I have never employed nor authorised any body to carry any commissions on pol—k affairs to any of the three k—ms, and now I shall add nothing more here but to wish you the health and true happiness of every kind that can be wished you by your friends, as I am sure I am.

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\* No. CC.

*Lord George Murray to the Chevalier de St George.*

SIR,

YOUR Majesty's most gracious letter of the 20th April, I received last post, for which I return my most humble and hearty thanks.

I have notified to Lord Macleod your Majesty's favorable sentiments towards him, and shall cause remit from Holland the 1200 livres your Majesty has been pleased to gratify him with, and which I am convinced will be of singular use to him on the occasion to put him in some equipage at his joining the Regiment. I have in my own particular so many instances of your Majesty's royal goodness and favor, that I cannot find words to express my grateful sense thereof. Would to God that my acknowledgments could be indeed useful and acceptable to your Majesty and Royal House. I should then with pleasure and cheerfulness spend the last drop of my blood in so glorious and just a cause. Your Majesty having had the goodness to recommend me to the Court of France is an additional mark of your royal remembrance, and tho' it should not be attended with the desired success, my obligation to your Majesty is the same.

I am very glad that some of my countrymen have lately had the honor to approach your Majesty's person. It will, I am sure, be an infinite satisfaction to them, and that it will, if possible, double their zeal in your Majesty's service, that they have had that happiness. The inveterate malice of your enemies by obliging your Majesty to be at such a distance from your kingdoms, to hinder as much as they possibly can, your subjects from approaching your royal person, shews how much they fear the effects of those virtues, who all that have access to know must admire; but their government is founded in wickedness, and is supported by falsehoods.

I am convinced, Sir, that the Highlanders will always persevere in their fidelity, and will be ever ready to enter cheerfully into action, when your Majesty in your wisdom thinks it proper to order them. How far they are as able as they were a few years ago, I cannot take upon me to say. Doubtless they have got a violent shock, and have lost many worthy brave men; but there are daily young people rising up, who, I hope, may supply these. As we all rest assured of your Majesty's paternal goodness, so that whenever you are pleased to order them to the field, they may promise themselves success not only from the justness of the cause, but that they may depend upon your Majesty's weighing thoroughly what measures are properest to be pursued to attain the desired end as well as the most proper time for undertaking it. If a war should break out in the north, the Hanover family, whose interests are diametrically opposite to those of Great Britain, would in all appearance dip in the quarrel; and as they have already injured the Swedish nation and the Prince successor in the most tender points, your Majesty knows best how far they could be prevailed with, (it being visibly for their own interest) to send ten thousand regular troops under an experienced General, (and such an one there is of your Majesty's faith-

ful subjects in the north,\* whose immediate master would, I apprehend, not only agree, but promote the thing,) so as to strike the stroke at or near London, where if the affair were not finally ended, at least the sinews of war could be secured. At the same time, without doubt the Highlanders would make a powerful and useful diversion, especially if they had a 1000 men to support and countenance their rising.

If I have presumed to say too much on this subject, I humbly ask pardon, and I hope your Majesty will impute it to my ardent good wishes for your service. For my own particular, so long as I live, my obedience to your Majesty's orders shall be implicit, and next to that the orders of the Princes your sons. That the Almighty may prosper and preserve your Majesty and them, and in his good appointed time restore you to your kingdoms, is, and ever shall be, the constant prayer of him who counts it his greatest honour and happiness to be,

Sir,

Your Majesty's most faithfull and obedient subject and servant,

GEORGE MURRAY.

EMMERICK, 19th May, 1750.

\* No. CCI.

*Lord Macleod to the Chevalier de St George.*

MALMOE, June 17th, 1750.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR MAJESTY,

As I never had the honour and happiness to be known to your Majesty, but that perhaps my best endeavours to do my duty and serve your Majesty might have made my name be heard of amongst many others, who have lately been sufferers in so just a cause; I did not presume to trouble your Majesty in my distress. I was also quite ignorant in what part his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales was, so that having seen my Lord George Murray at Berlin, where I was staying with Field-marshal Keith, I made his lordship acquainted with my situation, and asked the favour of him to recommend me to your Majesty, which I had hopes he would not refuse to do, as he was no stranger to the part I had acted. By a letter I have from his lordship this morning, I find he has not only done it, but that your Majesty has been graciously pleased to order 1200 Livres for me, for which bounty and royal favour I return my most dutifull and humble acknowledgments to your Majesty; and indeed it has come at a time that I had the greatest occasion. I shall think myself happy if I can in the state of life and station I am now in, render myself more capable to serve your Majesty and Royal Family, which is my utmost ambition, being with the greatest submission,

May it please your Majesty,

Your Majesty's most faithful and dutiful subject and servant,

MACLEOD.

• Lord George here alludes to Field-marshal Keith.

## \* No. CCII.

*Lochgarry to Prince Charles.*

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR ROYAL HIGHNESS,

NEXT to my own salvation, the interest of your Royal Highness has ever been my chief concern, and ever shall be so in whatever shape of life fortune may throw me. Therefore, altho' I cannot at present shew myself useful in the great work of a Restoration, I can at least be instrumental in putting some transactions with regard to this money your Royal Highness left in Scotland in a true light.

The natural regard which I ought to have for a wife and young family, made me venture last winter to make a step to Scotland, where my zeal to serve your Royal Highness in every capacity made me find out means to have a meeting with Clunie, whom, to my real satisfaction, I found the same person I always believed him,—a true, worthy, good man, and, in a word, a man of loyalty and honour. After long conversations concerning your Royal Highness's affairs, he, with great concern, told me in what manner the money your Royal Highness had trusted to his care, had been torn from him, and then gave me a state of it to be shewn to your Royal Highness, with the tender of his respectful duty. Had it been proper that I should know the place of your Royal Highness's present residence, no distance should have prevented my having the honor of presenting them personally. But as that honor cannot be allowed me, I make use of this means to forward the present letter which covers a just copy of the state Clunie gave me. By it your Royal Highness will observe that no less a sum than 16,000 Louis-d'ors may still be recovered of the money, so as to be applied in such a manner as your Royal Highness shall judge proper. But if some step towards it is not speedily taken, I have reason to believe that the recovery may soon prove difficult, perhaps even impracticable.

For that purpose, therefore, if your R. H. shall think proper to intrust me with a power to go to Scotland, accompanied with a person who has knowledge in remittances of money,—that Doctor Cameron have likewise orders to go along, so as to join with Clunie and me in proper measures for bringing together and remitting the whole to whatever place your R. H. shall direct,—I hereby offer and undertake to do it, under the penalty of losing for ever the valuable honor of the countenance of your R. H., and which I would not renounce for any consideration below that of seeing the face of my God in mercy. Your R. H. will easily judge for what reason I propose Doctor Cameron should go; for in fact a great part of the money cannot be recovered without him, and it's very probable that interested views may make him decline the journey. It will therefore be necessary that your R. H. lay some absolute commands upon him to go along, and then I shall charge myself with obliging him to comply, whatever pretexts he may make use of to avoid it. For as I run equal risk with him I am at full freedom to urge that argument, and really nothing below the interest of your R. H. would make me undertake it.

I hope your R. H. will do me the justice to believe that nothing but my willingness to serve your R. H. in any shape has prompted me to lay this state and proposal before you. So your R. H. is judge whether it is proper to lay your commands on me or to employ some other person; but the sooner it is done will be the more for your R. H.'s interest.

I shall ever consider it my greatest honour and happiness to have allowance from your R. H. to say that I am,

Sire,

Your R. H.'s most dutifull and most obedient  
subject and servant,

LOCHGARY.

PARIS, 22d June, 1750.

\* No. CCIH.

*Extract of a Letter,—the Chevalier de St George to Prince Charles.*

ROME, 4th August, 1750.

You must not wonder if there should be schisms, as you call it, amongst our people, and if some of them have not all the confidence in you you might expect. For my part, I do, and always shall, encourage all my subjects to have no reserve with you ; but the great misfortune is, that, by your behaviour towards me, you give an example of which I wish you may not one day feel the smart both now and hereafter ; and can you wonder that other people should have reserves with you, when one like O'bryen seems not to be allowed to satisfy my just curiosity about you : for which reason, tho' I should have been glad to have spoke to one who knows, I suppose, more of you than I do, I could not in decency see him. . . As to the new power of Regency you want, you must be sensible that you have acted towards me, for these five years past, in a manner which noways deserves so great a mark of trust and kindness ; but far be it from me to act, especially towards you, by pique or resentments. It is true the treatment you give me is a continual heart-break to me ; but it excites my compassion more than my anger, because I will always be persuaded that you are deluded. If you seem to forget that you are my son I can never forget I am your father ; and whatever you may think I can have no other interest but yours, and therefore I send you with pleasure the commission you want, in hopes it may be soon of use to you, and that so great a mark of my goodness at this time may touch your heart and open your eyes ; for I am sensible, that, should I have refused to send it, it might happen to be of great inconvenience to you. But let me recommend to you not to use other people as you do me, by expecting friendship and favors from them while you do all that is necessary to disgust them, for you must not expect that any body else will make you the return I do.

\* No. CCIV.

*Young Glengary to Cardinal York.*

SIR,

NOTHING could embolden me to give your Royal Highness this trouble but the ardent desire I have always had, and shall ever have, to convince your Royal Eminence of my constant and unalterable attachment to your royal person. Nothing but the (two or three words here torn away in the original) each, and to pay my duty to his Majesty and your Royal Highness

engaged me to come to this country—that alone was a powerful motive to attach me. But now I find myself obliged, out of private necessity and my Father's continued illness since he was enlarged out of prison, to endeavour to return home, tho', by an act of the Usurper's Privy Council, I am banished.

I now throw myself at your Royal Eminence's feet, and humbly begs your royal protection and recommendation at the French Court to any your Royal Eminence judges most proper. By this I shall obtain from the French ministry to be recommended, in case of my going to Britain, to their ambassador at London.

I humbly beg your R. H. would interfere with his Majesty to favour me in the same manner, or in any other shape his Majesty judges most proper. What I most sincerely wish for, and for what I beg leave to be an ardent suitor for to your Royal Eminence, is for a relick of the precious wood of the Holy cross, in obtaining which I shall think myself most happy. I more boldly solicit your Royal Eminence for this, as our name is the only catholick now in Scotland since the family of Gordon changed, and thereby I may say in Britain, that, without any mask, has preserved the true religion since they first embraced Christianity. I hope your Royal Eminence, out of your wonted goodness, will be pleased to pardon this liberty, as none more than I is more unfeignedly attached to your royal person. That God Almighty may long preserve your Royal Eminence, is the most ardent wish of,

Sir,

May it please your Royal Highness,

Your Royal Highness's most obedt. and most  
obliged, dutiful, humble servant,

MACK DONELL.

ROME, 4th September, 1750.

\* No. CCV.

*Extract of a Letter,—Lochgarry to Sir Hector Maclean.*

DOUAY, 25th September, 1750.

By several accounts lately from Scotland, (and by people that came directly from the country,) the Highlanders have had some smart engagements with the regular troops, the former always getting the better. This all in defence of the Highland clothes. God Almighty send these poor people a respite, and an opportunity to show what they would do to restore their King and relieve their country. The troops have orders to kill upon the spot any that's seen wear the least part of the Highland garb. This cruelty makes all Highlanders of one thought, and may be of good effect, tho' a melancholy situation at present; but must of necessity irritate all Scotch blood to see matters come to such a height, which is the only way to relieve them from being ruined for ever, being so much threatened to be made slaves.

## No. CCVI.

*The Chevalier de St George to Prince Charles.*

October 5th, 1750.

I HAVE not writ to you since the 4th August, since which time I have received yours of the 15th July and 14th August, and am very glad to find you continue in good health. I know not what your reason may be for not entering into the subject of the papers I sent you from A——d C——n and G——y; but as on my side I am always desirous to omit nothing that may be of the least use to you, I send by this post to G. W——s a packet for you marked A. 3. with the same directions as were formerly sent for the other two packets you have already received, and that is all I know or can say on these subjects, and you know best what use to make of the lights that these and the former papers may give you; but I durst not send you now the originals, but only copies in a hand I suppose you know, not to expose to any risk the hand-writing of G——y. He wanted I should have given him a c——n of C——l; but I told him, as you had authority to give him such a c——n, he should apply to you for it, and that anything he had a mind to write to you he had but to send to young G. W——s, who would know how to forward it to you. Neither did I give him any commission or message of any kind, being very cautious in the obscurity you keep me in as to all that relates to you, at least not to do any thing that may any ways clash with your measures and projects, since you put it out of my power to be of any service to you. G——y left us about the time I came here into the country, which is above a fortnight ago, and I delayed writing to you till he was gone, to be able to write to you in one letter all I might have to say on this subject. Sir H. M——n was not able to go with him, and I take it to be very uncertain whether he will ever get the better of the different fits he has had. I hope you have got long before this my packet of the 4th August, and shall add nothing further at present to my ardent wishes that all that is great and good may attend you, and that those in whom you confide may love you half as well as I do.

## \* No. CCVII.

*Extract of a Letter,—Lord George Murray to Mr Edgar.*

EMMERICK, 6th October, 1750.

I own, in my apprehension, that the more of his Majesty's faithful subjects in the different services of the Powers of Europe the better for the cause, as they will not only have an opportunity of rendering themselves more capable of serving the King when occasion may offer, but they will also have many opportunities of shewing the injustice of a faction, who, under pretence of their religion and liberty, make a sport of all that is good, honest, and just. The generality of people—I mean foreigners—go no further for information in our affairs than a newspaper. Living and knowing witnesses can undeceive them.—How happy would you and I be to sit over a bottle in Angus or Perthshire after a Restoration, and talk over old services. May that soon happen.



## \* No. CCVIII.

*Mr Drummond, "Lord Strathallan," to the Chevalier de St George.*

SIRE,

I HOPE your Majesty will excuse this further trouble, which is to beg a favor of your Majesty to interest yourself at the Court of France in my behalf, to obtain a Colonel's brevet for me, which his Royal Highness the Prince promised to get for me when at Paris; but as I was obliged to leave Paris, Mr Kelly, who never was a friend to any Scotsman, neglected it, when several Irish have got it, who are younger Captains than I in the French service; and as I have the honor of the Prince's commission of Colonel, dated October 30th, 1745, when I commanded a regiment of the Duke of Perth's men, and I am now ten years past in the French service, and as I cannot have the cross of St. Louis as I'm a Protestant, and as there is an officer in our Regiment, one O'Donaghue, who is a younger officer than me in the French service, has got it, I hope your Majesty will ask the Colonel's brevet or a pension for me, which indeed I have more need of instead of that cross which is my due, and which my religion hinders me to take. It gives me more concern to know that your Majesty is not in circumstances at present to help me than it does to stand in need of that help, without which I never would have troubled your Majesty. I have the honour to subscribe, with all respect,

Your Majesty's most faithful subject and obedient humble  
servant,

STRATHALLAN.

DUNKERQUE, October 7th, 1750.

## \* No. CCIX.

*Mr George Kelly to Prince Charles.*

(Without date.)

SIR,

MANNE, the Surgeon, has given a new scene to the town, and nothing could please the people more except your arrival; for his son, upon taking his Doctor's degree two days ago, had the honor of dedicating his Thesis to your Royal Highness. This ceremony was performed in the Archbishop's Palace, where he and a great concourse of people were present. Your picture was displayed in state at the head of the hall, and Gastaldy and two other physicians made elegant orations in praise of your exploits. At night there were bonfires and music in several parts of the town. This affair has likewise made a great noise at Rome; for the young man's reception being opposed by a few of the physicians, a process was entered upon it, which was determined by a congregation of Cardinals in his favour. Several of them have desired the Thesis, which contains a pretty good print of your Royal Highness adorned with martial hieroglyphics. A relation of the whole will soon be published, and, if you have a curiosity to see it, I shall have the honour of transmitting it. I will send copies to any places you think proper. I believe it has cost Manne 4000 Livres; but that he says he does not value, since he hopes your Royal Highness will approve of his zeal and good intentions.



Tho' the guards have been removed, I am assured that travellers are still examined at the post houses and other public passages.

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\* No. CCX.

*The Chevalier de St George to Prince Charles.\**

ROME, December 30th, 1750.

TO-MORROW you end your 30th year. May you see many more than double that number, and happier ones than those you have already past. The hardships you have gone through, and do perhaps still undergo, are not small, and it is to be hoped they will contribute at last to what they are chiefly directed. But in the darkness you keep me, as to all that relates to you, I can pray and wish, but I can neither judge nor advise, except on one single article, which is so obvious and so important that I should think everybody, who really wishes you well, should be of the same opinion in that respect, and that is, your securing the succession of our Family by marrying. I cannot think you so selfish as to have yourself only in view in all you suffer. The happiness of our country must undoubtedly be your motive, and, by consequence, you would never surely restrict that happiness to your own life only, but endeavour to perpetuate it by a succession of lawful kings, who may have no other interest but those of our country. Your giving lawful heirs to the crown will not only be a constant security to your own person, but it will make you more considered and respected abroad, and will undoubtedly give new life and vigour to the cause, and your friends, whose zeal can never be so warm when all their hopes are centered in you alone. Had you entered into the view I formerly gave you, you had been probably at this time the Father of a family, with a wife whom it would not have been beneath you to have married had you been in England. But it is useless to look backward, and what gives me the greatest concern in all this is, that you have put yourself in a situation and way of living which renders your marrying anybody absolutely impracticable. This, as long as it lasts, must appear extraordinary and singular to persons of reflection and sense, because the motives and object of your marrying are obvious to all, and that those of your pursuing your present conduct and scheme, whatever they may be, can be only known to such as are the authors and promoters of them. For my part I can have no other view but your real good and advantage, and I am so much convinced of the necessity of your marrying, that I could almost say that I would rather see you married to a private gentlewoman than that you should not be it at all; and therefore I cannot but recommend earnestly to you to think seriously on the matter, and, as you cannot now hope to make a marriage suitable to yourself, to endeavour to make one that may be at least as little unequal as possible; for I can only, on this occasion, exhort you in general, since I cannot think of any particular person to propose to you who might be any ways proper and at the same time willing to marry you. If this letter has the same fate with many others I have writ to you, I might have saved myself the trouble of writing it; but whatever reception it may meet with, or impression it may make, I shall still have the comfort of having acquitted myself of the duty of a

\* The draught, also, of this highly interesting letter is among the Stuart Papers.

Father, in telling you what I really think for your good, and of shewing you, at the same time, that no behaviour of yours can alter the warm concern I shall ever take in all that relates to you, whom I beseech God to bless, protect, and prosper, and direct you upon all occasions.

JAMES R.

\* No. CCXI.

*Mr Drummond, "Lord Strathallan," to Mr Edgar.*

SIR,

I RECEIVED the letter you wrote to me by his Majesty's directions, shewing me to write a memorial with my claim for a Colonel's brevet, which please deliver His Majesty, and be so good as let me know if it be in a right stile : if his Majesty would be so good as ask a pension along with it, I dare say this Court would not refuse it. Please offer my most humble thanks to his Majesty, for being so good as to interest himself in my favor, and I have the honor to be, &c.

STRATHALLAN.

BOULOGNE-SUR-MER, }  
January 30th, 1751. }

\* No. CCXII.

*Lord Nairne to the Chevalier de St George.*

SIR,

ALL that I have suffered or lost for the royal cause never gave me so much uneasiness as I now feel, in finding myself under an absolute necessity of giving your sacred Majesty the trouble of this letter to acquaint you that Lady Nairne and Lady Clementina have been obliged to leave their native country and come to this for bread. They stay'd in Scotland until all the money they could get for any little plate or moveables that the troops had left, after plundering my house, was exhausted, and in their plundering they went so nearly to work that they even took Lady Nairne's watch and clothes, all the corns and hay, horses, sheep, cattle, &c. : the present Government, tho' in possession of my whole estate these three years past, have never given her one farthing for her subsistence, but has made her pay these two years past rent for the garden of one of my houses they allowed her to live in, all which obliges me, with all humble submission, to lay my present bad situation at your Majesty's royal feet, but still to assure my Royal Master, that, whatever happens to me in this world, nothing, by the assistance of Almighty God, shall ever alter me in the duty and loyalty I owe to your sacred person and royal family, but shall ever remain to the last drop of my blood,

Sir,

Your Majesty's most faithfull, most obedient, and  
devoted subject and servant,

NAIRNE.

VILLE NEUVE, ST GEORGE, }  
February 5th, 1751. }

## \* No. CCXIII.

*Young Glengary to Prince Charles,**(No date.)*

SIR,

IF I take the liberty, in the present juncture of times, to renew my frequent assurances of the sincerest and strongest attachment to your royal person, it's what I would not presume to do had I not been ordered when at Rome by his Majesty. I should not have so long delayed had I not some hopes of knowing your Royal Highness's orders regarding the memorials sent by Sir Hector Macleane, and I forwarded by his Majesty to your Royal Highness when I was at Rome.

I will not trouble your R. H. with a long account of the present situation and inclination of the people, now readier than ever, and whose sole hopes, for their future happiness, is centered in your royal person, encourag'd to this from the great idea they have most justly conceived of your R. H.'s heroick actions, which naturally leads them firmly to believe that so faire an opportunity as the present times offers won't be let slip, as nothing can more contribute to the success of a bold attempt than Frederick's death, besides that it's the general opinion, and even declared by the Elector's physicians, that he can't stand it out long. A minority must ensue, consequently a Regency, which the Parliament, before the present session breaks up, is to name: from this naturally follows the greatest confusion, and even at this moment the people in general are in very great ferment.

As I set out for Britain in a few days, that I may acquit myself of the trust reposed in me by my countrymen, I can't faile acquainting your R. H. of what I am informed of from all quarters, and it's what I often had the honour of hearing your R. H. say, and is now the general say in the Highlands, that we must have one bold stroke for it, and that now is the time or never. I hope your R. H. will excuse so strong expressions, since I can affirm it from the sincerity of my heart that it proceeds from the ardent desire I allways will have to shew myself more by action than by words. I can further assure your R. H. that the Highlanders are now, if not more so, as capable to take the field as ever, and providing an attempt be now made, are ready to stand by what Sir Hector and I asserted in our memorials, which I hope came safe to your R. H.'s hands. As to the account I sent of the embezzling of the money by Clunie and Dr Cameron, with some others of his family, most of that money is still in the country, and whenever your R. H. judges proper to give your orders to any active person that has some credit in the country, tho' I never will have any meddling in it myself; yet I will assist and countenance any you'll please to employ, in order to have the whole remitted to your R. H. No doubt as I discover the villainy of others in regard of that money, but they have spread a report that I touched considerably of it when last in Scotland, but so convinced your R. H. of the sincerity of my intentions. If your R. H. does not approve of the sincerity of my intentions, and does not approve of the trifle I or any of my friends received, tho' I fully satisfied his Majesty on that article, as your R. H. may have noticed by the last account sent when I was at Rome, I am fully determin'd, as I hope soon to be allay'd to a very Honourable and loyall familie in England, to repay to the last sixpence of it, if so be your R. H. desires.

That God Almighty may long preserve your R. H., and soon restore you to your loving subjects, is the most ardent wishes of,

Sir,

Your most obedient and most faithful humble servant,

MACK DONNELL.

\* No. CCXIV.

*The Chevalier de St George to Prince Charles.*

ROME, April 19th, 1751.

AFTER having been for so many months without hearing of you, and then some weeks without hearing from you, you will readily believe with what satisfaction I received your letters to me and Edgar of the 24th February, and saw, under your own hand, that you were in perfect health. I find you had got all our letters except the last I writ to you in the month of January, upon your Brother's recovery of the smallpox. It is plain that as long as you continue in the situation you are you cannot think of marrying; but I am afflicted to remark that you have resolved to continue in that situation, and to keep me in the dark as to all that relates to you; for, tho' you do not say in direct terms, yet what little you say can have no other meaning. I should think I wronged you if I attributed this conduct to yourself, for you can take, to be sure, no pleasure in the solitary and perhaps fatiguing life you lead, and I am sure you can have no motive to behave as you do towards a father who has had more occasions than most others to give you the greatest proofs of the extent of his tender love and affection, and, by consequence, I must conclude that your conduct, in all respects, has been, and is still, directed by others. Who those others are I cannot tell; but are you sure they wish you sincerely well? for without you have the strongest and clearest proofs of that sincerity and good intentions, I should think that there were reason to fear that they would rather intend to betray than serve you. I doubt not but that they supply you with money, and buoy you up with hopes from one epoch to another; but all that may be done with the only view of preventing your marriage, and making you pass your life in the way you are in, as the most effectual means of ruining you and serving the Hanover family. If their intentions were good, why should they be affrayed of me? but if they are bad, it imports them no doubt to keep you to themselves, and, above all, from me, for fear their treachery should be discovered. This is a supposition which does not seem probable, but I do not think it impossible. What might be more reasonably suspected is that they really intend to serve you, but that merely for their own ends and private interest; and that they think that they may more easily deceive and make you subservient to their projects, if they can deter you from all other advice, and chiefly from mine. If that be the case, they act out of self-interest and not by principle, and, by consequence, will drop you as they do me whenever it may serve their turn. These are my fears, which I thought I ought not to conceal from you; for tho' I speak in the dark, I own I cannot put a favorable construction on the intention of those who direct your present conduct, whatever supposition I can frame to myself on these matters.

You will see by this that I am neither tyred nor rebutted by your reserves towards me, from urging to you what I think for your good and advantage.

That God Almighty may enlighten, direct, and bless you, shall always be my constant prayer. Sir William Hay growing old and infirm, has asked my leave to retire. He is going to live in France. If ever it comes in your way to be kind to him, I hope you will be it, since as for the present he wants nothing, because I continue to him his pension, and even increase it. I beseech God Almighty once more to bless you, and tenderly embrace you. Adieu.

(No Signature.)

\* No. CCXV.

*Lord Ogilvy to the Chevalier de St George.*

SIR,

I AM sorry to acquaint your Majesty that you have to-day los'd a very worthy subject, Sir William Gordon of Park, Lt.-Colonel of the regiment I command. Your Majesty will have many solicitations about his commission, no doubt, as all the Captains of my regiment have their commissions of the same date. I ask it as a particular favour of your Majesty to allow me to name John Ogilvy of Inshewin, my near relation, and a Captain just now in the regiment, to that employment. The family I am come of have had so many marks of your royal predecessor's favours, that I flatter myself your Majesty won't refuse me this grace. Mr Eggar can inform your Majesty particularly as to this gentleman's reputation, who, upon my word, I wou'd not propose if I were not sure he w'd be agreeable to the greatest part of the corps. He has only Lochgary who has any pretensions before him, who, I'm sorry to say, wou'd give both the Regiment and me a very bade aire, both at home and abroad, did he ever get that commission. I aske your Majesty pardon for writing so long a letter, and am, with the profoundest respect,

Sir,

Your Majesty's most dutifull and most obedient humble  
servant,

OGILVY

DOUAY, June 6th, 1751.

\* No. CCXVI.

*Mr Drummond, "Lord Strathallan," to the Chevalier de St George.*

SIRE,

THE Lieut.-Coloneley of Lord Ogilvy's regiment being now vacant by the death of Sir William Gordon of Park, who died the 5th of this month at Douay, is the reason of my troubling your Majesty, to beg your interest with the Court of France to obtain for me that post, which I don't doubt but I shall easily do if your Majesty supports me, being nearly 12 years in the French service, seven of which I have had a company. I lost all I had in Scotland, and has neither got either pension nor advancement: since my mother, who became a widow at the fatal battle of Culloden, my wife's sisters, and a growing young family to maintain, out of my bare pay, makes me hope that these considerations

will move your Majesty's compassion in my favor, and I shall for ever be, with the greatest gratitude,

Your Majesty's  
Most faithfull subject and humble servant,

STRATHALLAN.

DUNKERQUE, *June 8th, 1751.*

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\* No. CCXVII.

*Dr Cameron to Mr Edgar.*

DOUAY, *11th June, 1751.*

SIR,

I RECEIVED the favor of yours of the 4th of May, and since I can make no other grateful return for your kindness, I'll make the ordinary one of wishing it in my power to serve you or yours. I wrote to you in April, which I hope you received, and I would have answered your last sooner, but thought proper to let June come in first, that the *sic de fida* might be of the latter date, and may come to your hands about the time you shall come with the royal Family back from Albano to Rome. I send you here one received of this date, and I hope soon to hear of your success, as you have taken the most promising steps towards it. I am sorry to acquaint you of the death of our Lt.-Colonel, Sir William Gordon of Park, who died last Saturday of a fever, after 12 days' sickness, much regretted, as well known to be a man of honour and honesty: his fidelity and sufferings in the royal cause, no doubt, you are known to the particulars of, yet there is a lucky relief turned out lately for his children and family, which is, that the Parliament of Britain has given the estate to a brother of Sir William's, who is in the British army: as it was tailzied they could not forfeit it. As there is now a Lieut.-Colonel to be made in this regiment, I cannot, in justice to myself, but acquaint you, that, att the forming of it first in January, 1747, a little before I went with the Prince to Spain, my lord Ogilvie having his Royal Highness's approbation, gave me a commission as oldest Captain in his regiment, which I enjoyed, till, in October thereafter, I was made Captain of Grenadiers in my brother's regiment, and ever since I got a company a second time in this regiment, it's allowed by the most experienced officers of the army that it's my due to be oldest Captain now, and as there is a Lt.-Colonel awanting, I cannot help being so vain as to think myself more entitled to it than any other in the regiment, and I find all the gentlemen in the regiment think it a great hardship upon them if any shall be named who has not already a commission in the Regiment, as it may prove a precedent for a step of preferment being lost (both now and upon any vacancy hereafter) to every individual, from the Lieutenant upwards; so, if you think it proper, I wish you would apply to the King for a recommendation to my Lord Clare and my Lord Ogilvie, (who were always my good friends,) towards naming me Lieutenant-Colonel. The principal advantage I propose by this is to be a means to procure me a retreat if at any time I see occasion for it according as things turn out, especially if the ball received at Falkirk, and is still in my body, give me as much trouble and pain as it did in winter and spring last, which help'd the continuance of my sickness at that time,—so I should propose, in case it may render me incapable of serving, to live in the way it may give me least trouble. However, I refer all to your prudence. I have not heard from Bal-



hady since August till lately I had a letter from him at Paris. He only mentions his being away some months. As I did not see him I did not ask where he was. Some were conjecturing he was att Rome, others that he was in England.

I am, Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

ARCHIBALD CAMERON.

\* No. CCXVIII.

*Lady Balmerino to the Chevalier de St George.*

To his most Sacred Britannick Majesty, King James the Eighth, King of Scotland,

The information of Margaret Lady Balmerino, relict of Arthur Lord Balmerino, who was beheaded anno 1746.

BEFORE my dear Lord's execution, he leaving this world, and having no other concern in time but me, he wrote a letter to your Majesty, dated 17th August, 1746, recommending me and my destitute condition to your Majesty's commiseration and bounty. You are well informed of his undaunted courage and behaviour at his death, so that even your Majesty's enemies and his, do unanimously confess that he died like a hero, and asserted and added a lustre which never will be forgot to the undoubted right your Majesty has to your three realms. He had the honour to have been in your Majesty's domestick service in Italy, and ever preserved, before his last appearance, an inviolable, constant attachment to your royal honour and interest, which at last he not only confirmed by his dying words, but sealed it with his blood, than which a greater token and proof it is not of a subject to give of his love and fidelity to his sovereign. Some time after his execution a gentleman came to me at London, for I was there then, as I was all the time during his prosecution, and gave me a purse of £60 sterling, assuring me it would be continued to me yearly during my life, but would not tell me by any means who were the benefactors. Having never had any more since, and seriously reflecting I can imagine no other, but that it was by your Majesty's order I had got it. This I thought fit to send an information of, that in case any furdur bounty has or shall be ordered for me, as I can make no doubt after this information but there will, it may be ordered so as to come safe to my hands, and no otherways misapplied or disposed of. An exact copy of this information was sent to your Majesty in October, 1748, by Mr John Stewart, brother to my Lord Blantyre, to which there never was an answer, which leaves doubtful if ever it came to your Majesty's hands. Therefore, I presume to renew my application in the very same words, since I can think of nothing stronger or more moving. This goes by Mr Wm. Douglas, brother-German of Sir John Douglas of Kellhead.

All the days of my life my earnest prayers shall never cease for your Majesty's preservation and restoration, and the increase and prosperity of your Majesty's royal family.

Your Majesty's most loyal and most humble servant,

MARGARET BALMERINO.

EDINBURGH, 15th June, 1751.

I am to be found at the shop of Mr David Nevay, merchant, Edinburgh.

## No. CCXIX.

*Prince Charles to Lord Marischal from a draught in the Prince's hand.*

*Ye 21st June, 1751.*

L<sup>d</sup>. MARISCHAL,

You know the value I have for an honest man, and how glad I would be that such a one was able, or had occasion of shewing himself effectually now for the relief of his King and country. I now charge Col. Goring, who will deliver you this, to shew you the powers I thought fit to give him, and to consult with you as to the best method of effectuating his message, as also of what might be attempted at the Court of Prussia, or any other except that of France, their unworthy proceedings rendering them not fit to be trusted. I hope you are persuaded of the true friendship I have for you, and the pleasure I would feel to prove it. My health is perfect, and remain your sincere friend,

C. P. R.

P. S.—My kind compliments to your brother, assuring him of the particular regard I have for him.

For the Earl Marischal of Scotld., Berlin.

## No. CCXX.

*Note of instructions given Col. Goring, from draught in Charles Edward's hand-writing.*

*Instructions for Goring ye 21st June, 1751.*

You are to go forthwith to Berlin there to deliver my letter to L<sup>d</sup>. Marischal, and take his advice in further execution of the full powers I have given you, after which you are to reperi to the Court of Sweden, and return with all ye expedition possible, giving me a genuine account of every thing that has passed in yr. absence.

C. P. R.

## \* No. CCXXI.

*Young Glengary to the Chevalier de St George.*

SIR,

THE least surmise of your Majesty's being acquainted of the situation of those kingdoms might prove of such dangerous consequence both to the royal cause and the informer, that I delay'd writing until a sure and proper occasion offer'd. The bearer hereof, who is to deliver this to Mr Waters, would be a very fitt person to carry any letters or message when returning to England, as being related or allay'd to the most distinguished families in this country.

I think it my duty to acquaint your Majesty of the change that appears in this capital. Now, more than ever, people of rank speak more freely, and declare their sentiments more openly, which greatly proceeds from the expectation they

are in, that something of moment will effectually be attempted in case of a minority, or at any event, before the Elector's grandson becomes of age, as the popularity he affects, and his being born a Briton, may prove of the worst consequence if not timely prevented. Many here are concerned at his Royal Highness not keeping a regular correspondence in this important capital, and not having a particular person vested with authority to transact his affairs, the want of which makes people here more backward, and their sentiments less known, fear of being discovered. The rumours of his R. H.s's situation some does, and others does not believe. At all events they have lately sent him some supply, tho' several seem to doubt whether it is applied to his use, or embezzled by his Trustees at Avignon and Paris. Suspicions of this nature may prove fatal, as they seem to intimate that nothing of consequence has been transacted during so strict and so long an incognito. I can assure your Majesty, whatever people may pretend, that people here will never stir without regular forces to assist them, and that they do not pretend ever to act upon their own bottom. I am sorry to say it, that they seem to have lost entirely the warlike spirit of their ancestors; but if proper methods were taken very considerable sums of money might be collected. Your Majesty will be pleased, I hope, to allow me now to discharge myself of the trust had in me by my countrymen, (which has been heavy upon me of late,) by acquainting your Majesty that they are still ready to stand by what I in their name assur'd your Majesty of when at Rome, providing some bold attempt be soon made.

I have, perhaps, presum'd more than I ought in this letter. I hope your Majesty will forgive it, having only complied at the ardent desire of others, and that nothing could prompt me to take so great a liberty, but the backwardness of some here would say much more than I can, did not personal danger intimidate them. That God Almighty may long preserve your Majesty, and soon restore you to your loving subjects, is the most ardent wishes of,

Sir,

Your Majesty's most devoted subject and most humble servant,

MACK DONELL.

LONDON, 15th July, 1751.

\* No. CCXXII.

*Mr John Græme to the Chevalier de St George.*

SIR,

HAVING felt in some measure a disposition to enter into the pale of the Church, and more frequently since I have been here at Dijon; but having been diverted from so good a design either by negligence, the shame of general confession, or by temporal views, I have at last, with the grace of God, surmounted those difficultys, and abjur'd my errors yesterday morning in the hands of one of the vicars of the diocese. Your Majesty will easily conceive my reasons for not communicating to you sooner this important action of my life. The motive of your enemys, and even of many of those who call themselves your friends, being too apt to impute to you things you have no manner of hand in, I was resolv'd to carry on this affair, so as your Majesty may say to any one who may happen to mention it, that it was finished before you knew any thing of it. But as decency and my duty to your Majesty required that the first knowledge you have of it should come from myself, all has been done very pri-

vately, and under an engagement of keeping it secret until this letter is so far on the way that there be no fear of your knowing it sooner from another hand. I flatter myself you will approve of this conduct with regard to your Majesty's situation and circumstances, and that you do me the justice to believe that no change in life will ever alter my duty and zeal for your Majesty's person and interest, which I have always extremely at heart.

I set out (God willing) on Wednesday or Thursday next for Paris, when I shall go publickly to mass; but this letter will be pretty far advanced before that time. I shall never forget to pray for your Majesty's prosperity and that of their Royal Highnesses, and am ever, with the most profound respect,

Sir,

Your Majesty's most faithfull, most dutifull, and most  
obedient subject and servant,

JO. GRAML.

DIJON, *July 24th*, 1751.

\* No. CCXXIII.

*Lord George Murray to the same.*

SIR,

I PRESUME, with the most gratefull heart, to throw myself at your Majesty's feet, and to offer the poor tribute of my most faithful duty and humblest thanks for your royal goodness and bountyfull favors which, from my earliest youth your Majesty has heapt upon me. I have not words to express the sense I have of what I feel so deeply impress'd upon me by so many transcendant marks of so much undeserved grace. The letter your Majesty has had the bounty to procure me from the Cardinal Secretary of State, is so glorious an instance in my favours of your royal approbation of my endeavours in doing my duty, that I shall always reckon it the most precious as well as the most honourable instance of favour that a subject is capable to receive. I have the most perfect sense of its inestimable value. I shall ever revolve it in my mind with the gratitude I ought. I am persuaded it will have all the effect your Majesty had the goodness to intend for me and my son, and the Apostolick Nuncio has assured me all the good offices that depend on him.

Lord Macleod is now in Finland; as he has got a company, and that your Majesty has had the bounty to enable him to make his equipage, he will now be in a condition to do for himself. I am sorry at a time when your Majesty has many straits and difficultys to struggle with, I should have ventur'd to have askt in his name what I believe indeed he had great occasion for in the present situation of his going to Findland. As he is a young man of real merite, I hope he will not only gain the good oppinion of those he serves under, but render himself capable of serving your Majesty and royal familie.

I pray the Almighty in his good providence so to order it, as we may all have some opportunity to do our duty in our most gracious Sovereign's service, and that your Majesty's people may yet be blest by living under your benign Government, which, with my constant petitions to your royal person and familie, is the trust and hope of,

Sir,

Your Majesty's most dutifull and most faithful subject and servant,

GEORGE MURRAY.

DRESDE, *30th July*, 1751.

## \* No. CCXXIV.

*Extract of a Letter,—the same to Mr Edgar*

THE letter his Majesty has been graciously pleased to procure for me from the Cardinal Valenti to the Nuncio here, was so much above my hopes, and so great a recommendation it contained, that I cannot express my sense of the King's transcendant goodness, and I esteem it as the most glorious mark of his royal favour. The value of such a recommendation I perfectly comprehend, and it cannot miss of having the best effects for my son. So soon as my son had got his uniforms, I presented him to the Velt Marishal and to the Comte de Bruhl who introduced us to the King and Queen, and we were most graciously received. I was told since that the King said he would take care of my son, for he is not unacquainted with every thing that has hapned to me. But much greater protection can I expect from them by the effects the Cardinal Secretary of State's letter will have. So soon as I received it I endeavoured to know when it would be agreeable to the Nuncio my waiting upon him. He told General Magher that he expected me for some time, as he had received other letters he believed to the same effect that I had to deliver him. We waited upon his Excellency the 22d, and I need not say how well he received my son and me. Having so great a recommendation, I acquainted him of all the steps I had taken with relation to my son. He was pleased to assure me he would speak soon to the King and Queen, as also to the Prince and Princess Royal, and recommend my son, in the strongest manner, to their protection, and he does not doubt but the King will speak to the Field-Marshal in favours of my son. The Nuncio was pleased to say that he would also talk to the Field-Marshal in favour of my son, who indeed, I told him, was disposed to render me all the friendship possible, and had told me that he would in winter have my son mostly at his house, for seeing company would be of great use to the young man who is applying close to the military and other exercises. I shall only add that I have the most agreeable prospect of my son's advancement so soon as he can render himself capable of what is design'd for him, and which I entirely owe to the King my master's infinite goodness for me. I shall set out in a few days on my return to Emmerick, being quite at ease about my second son, as he is recommended in so great and glorious a manner for him and me. . . . My wife left me on the 20th of May. She had not so good a passage as usual, having been twelve days at sea. She was something out of countenance to go home to be brought to bed after 23 years' marriage; for she was four months gone with child when she left me.

## \* No. CCXXV.

*Extract of a Letter,—Sir James Harrington supposed to Prince Charles.*

AVIGNON, August 6th, 1751.

SIR,

I RECEIVED yesterday the following account from Capt<sup>n</sup>. Holker of Ogilvy's regiment, which I have the honour to send you. Blairfetty is just re-

turned from Scotland, and says it is currently reported among the Prince's friends there, that one Grosert, collector of the customs at Alloa, hath left the country with intention to assassinate the Prince. He is a middle-aged man, about five feet ten inches high, well made, of a black complexion, and pitted with the small-pox, his eye-brows large and black, inclining rather to lean than fat. He was married to a German woman, the daughter of the old Elector's milliner. He hath a remarkable genius for clock-work and all sorts of mechanism. In case you meet with this person described, very little ceremony is to be used. I have taken all the precautions necessary here to secure him, and shall certainly watch all carriages in case he should take this place in his way.

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\* No. CCXXVI.

*Young Clanranald to Prince Charles.*

SIR,

THE inviolable zeal and attachment I have for your royal person and interest, to which I wish from my heart more success than to my own, makes me offer your Royal Highness this trouble to acquaint you of a scheme which an undoubted friend to your royal family proposes to raise by it a fund which may enable you to live in some manner near your dignity till it pleases God to open a way for your getting your just rights, which even your bitterest enemies allow is no less than your virtue deserves.

The proposal is if your R. H. would obtain a liberty from the Spanish court for one good ship to trade annually to the Spanish plantations in the Indies for a number of years, that by selling the said permission to certain merchants in England, you would draw a revenue of at least £50,000 sterling yearly, besides a large premium for getting the permission at first subject, and moreover your subjects would see by your getting such a privilege, that you have more friends than your enemies.

As the Court of Spain has often granted the like permission to others, it's to be hoped they will not deny to their blood relation, especially as its putting no money out of their pocket.

If your R. H. approves of this scheme, I hope you will, as soon as possible, honour me with a return to this, that I may send you what further information you think necessary. The person by whose advice this scheme was sent to me, is well known to all your friends in England, and much trusted and deservedly esteemed by them, and as I have a fixed correspondence with him, can convey to them any advice you shall think fit to send them. I beg leave now to assure you of the great esteem, and sincere respect and loyalty with which I am while living,

Your Royal Highness's most devoted subject, and most  
obedient and most humble servant,

R. MACDONALD, *younger of  
Clanranald.*

PARIS, September 9th, 1751.



## No. CCXXVII.

*Colonel Goring to Lord Marischal, from a copy in the hand-writing of Charles Edward.*

MY LORD,

As soon as your arrival at Paris was confirmed I took post immediately, and am arrived this instant. If your Lordship thinks it proper to receive my message, you will be so good as direct the manner you would have me observe in waiting on you. My instructions are not to let myself be seen by any body whatever but your Lordship. If you please to honor me with a line, the bearer, who is not known by any one to be employed by our family, and who is trusty, will safely convey it. I am your Lordship's most humble and most obedient servant,

HARRY GORING.

PARIS, *y<sup>e</sup> 20th September, 1751.*

For Ld. Mareshall.

## \* No. CCXXVIII.

*Answer by Lord Marischal to the foregoing.*

PARIS, *y<sup>e</sup> 20th September, 1751.* For H. G.\*

I JUST now have yours, and as soon as I can think of a way and place of seeing you without any one's knowing it, shall let you know. If you yourself can let me know any safe way for us both, tell it me. There was a garden belonging to a Mousquetaire famous for fruit by Piqueprice beyond it some way. I could go there as out of curiosity to see the garden, and meet you to-morrow towards five o'clock; but if you know a better place, let me know it. Remember I must go with the footmen, and remain in coach as usual, so that the garden is the best, because I can say, if it came possibly to be known, that it was by chance I met you. Yours, adieu.

*Wednesday Morning.*

## \* No. CCXXIX.

*Colonel Goring to Lord Marischal, from a copy in Charles Edward's writing, written on the same slip with No. CCXXVII.*

*21st September.*

THE garden your Lordship mentions in yours is subject to many inconveniences. I may be known by any whose curiosity carries them to walk there. Your own footmen very probably may know me, as I was formerly at all spectacles and public walks. I have very positive orders not to be seen, so that if your Lordship approves it, the night would be the surest time. I could wait on

\* Thus marked in Charles Edward's hand-writing.

you, at what hour you think convenient, in disguise as an Abbé, or in a livery, or any other manner you shall think better. Perhaps the Tuilleries, as soon as it is literally dark, would be a good place. I leave all to your Lordship's better judgment, and am with all respect, &c. &c. &c.

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### No. CCXXX.

*Note of instructions by Prince Charles to Colonel Goring, from a draught in the Prince's hand, titled "Instructions for H. Goring made use of ye 23d September, 1751."*

To repair without loss of time to Paris there, and in your road taking the greatest precaution not to be seen. You are absolutely to meet no body but L<sup>d</sup>. Marishall. Tell him that your message is to know if he has leave to disclose the secret that was not in his power to do last time you saw him. If what he says requires an answer, you are charged to be silent, as I cannot give any instructions to what I cannot foresee. In that case I am ready to come myself and meet him where he pleases. Whatever happens, exact from him the strictest secrecy as to all transactions that has past, or may pass between us. C. P. R. Let L<sup>d</sup>. Marishall know that I never herd any thing about him but in ye publique papers.

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### \* No. CCXXXI.

*Lord Marischal to Colonel Goring. Marked by Charles Edward, "For G——, ye 23d September, 1751."*

ONE of my servants knows you since Vienna, so we cannot meet at my lodgings to-morrow. I will go to the Tuilleries when it begins to grow dark if it does not rain, for it would seem too odd that I had choose to walk in rain, and my footman would suspect, and perhaps spy. I shall walk along the step or terrace before the house in the garden. Adieu.

*Wednesday, ten at night.*

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### \* No. CCXXXII.

*Dr John Macdonald, brother of Kinlochmoidart, to Mr Edgar.*

SIR,

I BEG leave, tho' unacquainted, to recommend to your charitable good offices the distrest situation of the family I belong to, which has suffered more rigorously than any other that was concerned in the Royal cause, without having had the least douceur to this day.

I came here to accompany the son and representative of my late Brother, Kinloch Moidart, to the Scots College at Paris; and as I am obliged to leave this place in a day or two, (that I may get back to the Highlands before the season advances,) I hope you will be so good as lay att His Majesty's feet what

my Brother Aeneas writes you with respect to the merits or pretensions of our family in His Majesty's service, that he may do what in his royal wisdom shall seem most agreeable.

I have given my brother as true a state of the Highlands and the present situation of the people as I could, to which I refer you. I shall only add, that I am very respectfully, &c.,

JOHN MACDONALD.

BOULOGNE-SUR-MER, }  
Sept. 30th, 1751. }

\* No. CCXXXIII.

*Aeneas Macdonald, Banker in Paris, to the same.*

SIR,

You will receive, along with this, a letter from my Brother, the Doctor, who came here very unexpectedly; and I should, according to my last, have had the honour of writing you sooner, but that I was obliged to make a long tour into Flanders. I have made a shift to settle two of my nephews and a niece the best way I could. I beg that you would be so good as to recommend to His Majesty's protection the oldest boy who is now at the Scots College at Paris, and for whom we design a genteel education, if we knew how to support it.

I am obliged, by the importunities of my Family, to trouble you with the inclosed account of it, which is indisputable fact, as far as ever I heard, and you will please to observe that the late Sir Thomas Sheridan and Mr Kelly, while the Prince was at the House of Kinlochmoydart, 1745, as one instance of His Royal Highness' full approbation and satisfaction with my late brother's conduct, did propose giving him a commission of a Colonel of Horse Dragoons, and a promise of a Peerage to him and his heirs for ever, which was done accordingly, as Mr Kelly can still testify if he thinks proper so to do, and was in like manner made first Aid-de-camp to His Royal Highness.

Now, I am solicited by my family to beseech his majesty that he would be most graciously pleased to confirm this promise under His Royal Sign Manual, that whenever it shall please God to restore the Royal Family, Alexander Macdonald, now of Kinlochmoydart, or his heirs, shall have his estate restored to him free of all incumbrances, shall be made a Baron of His Majesty's ancient kingdom of Scotland, and a competent allowance assigned for the support of that dignity. I told you in my last that my demand was to rise very high; but you will also please to observe, that not one family of the Macdonalds has made so good alliances since we came off the original stock as the family of Kinlochmoydart has had in the four persons that have represented it. None of them lost so much blood in the Royal cause, or had the honour to be more distinguished in their loyalty.

As what I here propose is noways the effect of any jealousy or to make a competition; but in consequence of an absolute obligation laid upon me by the memoir of my family, and as I have also studied to take any thing out of the way that would obstruct his Majesty's service by any family disputes, so I promise that I shall always make a discreet use of whatever His Majesty, in his Royal wisdom, may think proper to do on this occasion. I hope that you will be so good as pardon this and the many other repeated troubles I have given you since I came here. As I must now be thinking of steering my course to some other country, unless there was some appearance of coming in for one of

the vacant pensions that the Court of France allowed to His Majesty's subjects on this side of the water. I have by this post begged my Lord Lismore to let me know his real opinion of that matter, whether there is any dependence to be made upon it or not, and I shall not at any rate leave this place for 2 months to come or three.

Before I send this letter, I cannot but observe one thing to you; of which you will be pleased to make your own use of; and I protest to you, I say it not out of any will at the person, tho' I confess I have a very bad opinion of him. The affair is this:—Mr John Macleod, whose son Alexander Macleod was one of His Royal Highness' aid-de-camps, and are both the most loyal people of that name, and in every other respect of consequence and merit, this gentleman was here with me some time ago, and is actually here at present. He saw Bahaldie at Paris, who told a great many things that he had better kept to himself. One thing especially which I never heard of was, that the late Lochiel told him that when they were in Scotland His Royal Highness had proposed declaring himself King. The other thing I had heard of, tho' it was too audacious to be believed, that is, that Glengary had counterfeited His Majesty's signature to gett the money that he gott in Scotland. I humbly think it should rather be every good subject's business to lament such misfortunes, and to sett his foot upon them rather than divulge them. I once had greater hopes of Glengary than of any youth of his whole name, and I was at great pains and expense to inform him, and nothing could have lost him but falling too soon into the hands of bad counsellors. I lent him £50 when he was going home in 1744, and I saw him in London just at the time as I gott out of gaol in December, 1749, and tho' in all appearance he had plenty of cash, yet he not only did not offer to pay me my fifty pounds which I had lent him, when nobody else would have lent him fifty pence: but he never so much as asked what condition I was in as to money matters.

As I have taken up so much of your time, I cannot help mentioning another particular friend of mine, and I may say pupil also, of whom I once had the most flattering hopes, and who has no less suffered by bad counsel than the former, I mean Lord Elcho. He has just left this place after being here with me two months. Nothing can excuse his conduct; but still most of the wrong steps he took were ambuscades dressed for him by his enemies. He wants much, and I think with reason, to have a Colonel's brevet without pay in the service of France or Spain, that he may have somebody to retain in case of any accident. He told me he had wrote a letter to His Majesty, and was to write again upon this subject. I cannot say but I have a great deal of sympathy for his case, and I think that it would be worthy of His Majesty's Royal goodness, if such a commission could be procured for him.

I am, &c.,

ÆNEAS MACDONALD.

BOULOGNE-SUR-MER, }  
12th October, 1751. }

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\* No. CCXXXIV.

*A Short Account of the Family of Macdonald of Moidart, commonly called Clanranald, referred to in the preceding letters.*

ALLAN MACDONALD of Moidart, last undisputed representative of the Clanranald Family, and called by the Highlanders *Allen Mac Ian*, lived at his

house of Castleterrim, in Moidart, about the end of the reign of James the 5th. He was great-grandfather to Allan Macdonald of Moidart, called Captain of Clanranald, who was killed in his Majesty's cause at the battle of Dunblane or Sheriffmuir, in 1715, and also great-grandfather to Ranald Macdonald, brother to the above said Clanranald, and his Lieutenant-Colonel in same regiment in 1715, and who died at Paris 1726. Also great-grandfather to Ranald Macdonald of Kinloch-Moidart, Major of the second regiment of Clanranald in 1715, and also great-grandfather to Macdonald of Benbecula, a captain in the same regiment in 1715, and since called Clanranald.

The history of the above-mentioned Allan Macdonald of Moidart, or *Allen Macian*, according to all the genealogists in the Highlands, was as follows :—

He first married a daughter of Macleod of Harris, by whom he had a son, but some years afterwards, paying a visit with his Lady to Maclean of Duart, he fell in love with a daughter of the said Maclean, and carried her off directly in some of his long-boats, or *Birlins*, to Castleterrim, leaving his own Lady at Maclean's house at Duart, where she did not remain long before Macdonald of Keppoch seeing her, and taking a fancy to her in her misfortunes, took her away home to his house and cohabited with her.

Allan of Moidart in the mean time kept Maclean's daughter with him at Castleterrim, and had two sons by her, who proving to be youths, and the mother seeing that the former son which Allan had had by Macleod's daughter should be the heir, she fell upon a stratagem to put him out of the way, and make room for her own children to come in his place.

It was Allan of Moidart's custom to pass with her a part of summer at a place called Keppoch, in Arisaig, which was but a few hours' rowing from Castleterrim. Near this place the sea forms a Lake, called in the country dialect Lochnakeaul, much frequented to this day by vast numbers of seals, which is a sort of sea animal that delights to stretch himself upon the rocks in hot weather.

Allan of Moidart's three sons often diverted themselves with shooting these animals upon the rocks, and the mother of the 2 younger brothers finding this apt opportunity for completing her design, gave her 2 sons their lesson so well, that, one day as their elder brother was taking an aim at one of these seals, they shot him dead upon the spot ; so that those two sons were then the only offspring of Allan Macdonald of Moidart, or Allen Macian.

The eldest of these 2 sons was grandfather to Allen Macdonald of Clanranald, who was killed as above in 1715, and the younger brother was grandfather to Macdonald of Benbecula, since called Clanranald.

Some time after the murder of Moidart's eldest and only lawful son, Maclean's daughter died, as did also Macleod's daughter, who was in Keppoch's possession, and was properly Allan's lawful wife.

Upon this Allan, being then free of all engagements, married a daughter of Macdonald of Glengary, by whom he had a son, John, commonly called *Ian Mac Allen*. This John was grandfather to Ranald Macdonald of Kinloch-Moidart, who was Major to Clanranald in 1715, and died in Moidart in 1725. The above-mentioned *Ian Mac Allen*, not being powerful enough to contend with his 2 brothers about the right of succession, as they were headstrong men, and he but a youth and without support, and his father Allen in his dotage, he was obliged, after some vain attempts, to take what fortune was allotted to him, and was the first Kinloch-Moidart. He married the last daughter of the ancient Macleod of the Lewis, Mackenzie of Cromarty having married the other : by which means his eldest son takes the title of Lord Macleod.

This John, or *Ian Mac Allen*, has several sons by Macleod of the Lewis'

daughter, the first Alexander Macdonald of Kinloch-Moidart; also John Macdonald of Borodale *extinct*, Roderick Macdonald of Borisdale *extinct*, &c. Alexander Macdonald of Kinloch-Moidart was contemporary with Donald Macdonald of Moidart, called captain of Clanranald, who, being sensible of Alexander's right to the estate, made a full and true disposition to him and his heirs for ever, which disposition is still extant: it was only in case his 2 sons should die without children, which did happen, by the one being killed as above, at the battle of Dunblane, in 1715, and the other dying a Bachelor at Paris in 1726; but this disposition, nor any other claim of right, were not found of any use in law, as the Estate was then under attainder, but given up for behoof of the creditors, who were masters, to give it to whom they pleased, and they thought proper to confer it upon Macdonald of Benbecula.

The above-mentioned Alexander of Kinloch-Moidart was always engaged in the Royal cause during the troubles of His Majesty Charles the 1st. He went over to Ireland to act against the Cromwellians, and carried over a number of the clan, but was wounded in a battle of which he never recovered.

His eldest son, Ranald Macdonald of Kinloch-Moidart, inheriting his father's loyalty with his fortune, was a great favorite of my Lord Dundee, and was at the battle of Killiecranky with him at the head of the Clanranald, as the late Allan Macdonald of Moydart and his brother Ranald were then but boys.

He was also at the battle of Sheriffmuir as Major of the Clanranald, with his two sons, Donald and John, which Donald was the first who joined the royal cause in 1745, for which he laid down his life the 18th October, 1746. He had married a daughter of the Stuart of Appin, by Catherine Campbell, daughter to Sir Duncan Campbell of Lochnell, first cadet of the Family of Argyle, and by her has left five sons, very young, viz. Alexander, Charles, Allan, Angus, and Donald.

\* No. CCXXXV.

*Lord Marischal to the Chevalier de St George.*

PARIS, October 11th, 1751.

SIR,

YOUR Majesty has seen by the Gazettes my nomination as minister of the King of Prussia. I could not refuse yielding to the desire of the King of Prussia, after the obligation I have to him. I gave many good reasons for refusing, and before I accepted I told him fairly my attachment to your Majesty and family, that I did not see at present any prospect of a reasonable scheme for your Majesty's interest, but that if it should happen I must quit his service for your cause. He writ me a most kind letter, but not a direct answer. Some days after he declared his nomination at table with the Queen and others, amidst (here follow five lines of ciphers which are not interlined). I am, with the greatest respect and faithful attachment,

Sir,

Your Majesty's most dutiful and obedt. subject and servant,

M.

— Allow me to entreat that none but Mr Edgar see this.

NOTE.—The foregoing letter was inclosed in one from his Lordship to Mr Edgar, in which he desires him to return any answer the Chevalier might send



“under the cover of the person who sends this, and only to *M.* as I have signed.” Lord Marischal also desires that orders be given thro’ Belloni, the Chevalier’s Banker at Rome, to the Waters’s to pay his pension at Paris as formerly.

\* No. CCXXXVI.

*Lord Elcho to the Chevalier de St George.*

SIR,

I DID myself the honor to write to your Majesty last winter, begging your Majesty to ask a Colonel’s brevet for me in the French service. Your Majesty, by Mr Edgar, was so gracious as to let me know it could not be got, so I dropt all thoughts of it. I was last summer at Aix-la-Chapelle and Spa for my health, and in those places, and wherever any of the present Government of England’s ministers or Agents are, I find their spite and malice so great against me, or any other of your Majesty’s faithful subjects, that it might be of very bad consequence least an accident should happen to me where they are, and have influence. As I have nobody to apply to for protection, and looked upon as belonging to no country, it is therefore I most earnestly entreat your Majesty to procure for me a Spanish or a Neapolitan Colonel’s commission, so that I may have protection in case of necessity. I am quite ashamed to be so troublesome to your Majesty; but your Majesty’s goodness towards your subjects is so remarkable, that I dare hope for forgiveness. I am, with the greatest submission and dutiful respect,

Sir,

May it please your Majesty, your Majesty’s most  
faithful subject and obedient servant,

ELCHO.

PARIS, 18th October, 1751.

\* No. CCXXXVII.

*Extract of a Letter.—Lord George Murray to Mr Edgar.*

EMMERICK, 30th November, 1751.

I SHALL be pretty lonely this winter, for my wife, who was brought to bed of a daughter the middle of September, recovered but very slowly, and now the season of the year is too far advanced for her to venture so long a voyage, besides she has some thoughts that Lady Sinclair may come over in spring with her.

I am told that the Duke of Atholl is desirous of selling the roialty of the Isle of Man to the London Government, for which, they say, he is offered 15,000 pounds sterling. Had it not been for my situation, I believe he could not have done it without my consent; but I’m sorry to say it, and it is a truth that he is full as much my enemy as any of that Government. He has sent my eldest son abroad, but, as I understand, with positive orders not to see nor correspond with me. All this is the more extraordinary, that, thirty years ago, before he turned Courtier, he seem’d to have very different notions. Most people in

Britain now regard neither probity nor any other virtue—all is selfish and vainal. But how can I complean of such hard usage, when my royal Master has met with what is a thousand times more cruel. He bears it like a Christian hero : ill would it suit me to repine. I thank the Almighty I never did, and I think it my greatest honour and glory to suffer in so just and upright a cause.

Upon receipt of the nett you sent me I have gott the carabin, for which I return you many thanks. I expect to kill a wild bore with it ; but I fain hope Providence may still order it that I may make use of it at Rome, and if all succeeds to our wishes, how happy should I think myself to send you, when you returned to Angus, a good fate stag, shott in the forest of Atholl with your own gun.

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\* No. CCXXXVIII.

*Lord Marischal to the Chevalier de St George.*

SIR,

By Mr Edgar's letter to me I have reason to believe that my accepting the employment of minister to the King of Prussia has been represented to your Majesty in a way to hurt me in your good opinion, whereas I flattered myself that it would appear to your Majesty in the same light as it did to your friends in general, who were glad of it,—as it appeared also to your enemies, who had a formal opposition at the Court of France to my being received. I thought that the King of Prussia choosing to confide his affairs in one who is attached to your Majesty of so many years, could in no way be prejudicial to your interest, and I hope your Majesty will think so too. As to my not wearing the order you honoured me with, I did not wear it in Venice for the reason I then wrote, and of which your Majesty did not disapprove. The same subsisted at my arrival in Berlin, where I went merely to see my brother, without other design or expectation, and when the King of Prussia, unasked by any one, gave me a pension by which I could live with more decency, and in some manner support that necessary to one, who has one of the first orders in Europe, it would have been odd to have put it on in the face of the Queen-Dowager of Prussia ; neither could I have done it without asking leave of the King of Prussia, and exposing, perhaps, your Majesty's dignity to a refusal ; for I do not remember that any of those who have had your order have worn it in all places where they have been, except those who were actually in the service of Spain, and not all of them neither. I am very sorry, Sir, your situation is such that any Court can make difficulty to acknowledge all that is justly due to your Majesty, and wish that it may soon be otherwise, and that you may be restored to your kingdoms before this year be at an end, which, I hope, shall be followed by many happy to your Majesty, having the honor to be, with the most faithful attachment and most perfect respect,

Sir,

Your Majesty's most faithfull and most obedient subject  
and servant,

MARISCHAL.

PARIS, *January 8th, 1752.*

## \* No. CCXXXIX.

*The same to Mr Edgar.*

PARIS, 8th January, 1752.

SIR,

I SEND you inclosed one to the King. I am very sorry to think that his Majesty has given ear to misrepresentations of me for accepting the employment I am in from his Prussian Majesty, who pressed me to accept it in such a manner as I could not refuse at last, for I did twice by different letters. I cannot help saying, that, whoever endeavours to persuade his Majesty to find fault with one faithfully attached to him for so many years, for complying with the desire of one of the greatest Princes, and greatest men, that perhaps any age has produced, informing him at the same time that he must know his attachment to the King, I say that such a man does his Majesty a prejudice. I have explained my reasons for not wearing the green ribbon. I shall add one more—that I am morally sure, had I wore it, the Court of France would have represented against my nomination. I ask you, Mr Edgar, who are an honest, sensible man, is it rendering service to the King to shew the King of Prussia that he looks on it as a crime, in any one attached to his interest, to serve the King of Prussia? for blaming me at present is declaring so in the plainest terms. Surely he deserves to be manged on our part, if it were only for the azile he gives to severall of our unfortunate countrymen; and you will, I am positively sure, agree with me that it is impolitick to offend him. As to myself, I accepted the employment pressed on me; for I excused myself more than once, and I did then think, and do so still, that it was far from diserving the King, to shew the world that his Prussian Majesty chose to employ those he knew attached to his Majesty. I entreat you will lend a word to set all this in a right light. Depend on it you will do no hurt to the King. Speak also to his Majesty concerning the pension, which I hope he will continue, and believe me, with particular regard and friendship, &c.

## \* No. CCXL.

*Lady Balmerino to the Chevalier de St George.*

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR MAJESTY,

I RECEIVED, the 10th January, 1751-2, from Mr Theodore Hay, merchant of Boulogne, by the hands of Mr John Stephen, merchant in Edinburgh, £50 stg, for which I give this and another receipt of the same date and tenor, both implying only but one payment of the said sum of £50 stg.

This is the first of your Majesty's bounties, and I confess I want words to return thanks, being struck silent with your love and commiseration of justice to my destitute condition, and still much more to express the sentiments of gratitude I felt within me. All I am able to express, may the great God of Heaven and Earth reward your Majesty, here and hereafter, for so generous an act of bounty. All my concern is here to render myself not unworthy of such good-

ness and condescension. As for myself, I can claim no other thing but to be amongst your mean subjects. But as widow of my dear Lord, whose greatest honour is, and will be, to have lived and died for your Majesty's cause and service, I humbly expect and implore the continuance of your royal aid and favour, which will (here about three lines are torn away) venture to tread upon the footsteps of my deceased Lord. As for me, a weak woman, I shall, in as far as in me lies, endeavour to emulate your royal virtues of justice and economy, the first by (a word here torn away) the overplus, whatever it may be, upon your Majesty's suffering subjects, the o<sup>r</sup> by using, in the strictest moderation, what your goodness will appoint for me; for I esteem what your bounty bestows as sacred as the offerings of the Holy altar, neither to be wasted or misapplied under pain of sacrilege. I again return your Majesty my most humble and hearty thanks. I recommend my destitute cause, and I flatter myself that you will continue termly or yearly what you have so gloriously begun. I shall never cease to pray for the preservation and restoration of your sacred Majesty and your royal family. These are the sentiments of your Majesty's most dutiful, obliged subject, and humblest of your servants,

MARGARET BALMERINO.

EDINBURGH, 5th February, 1752.

## No. CCXLI.

### *The Chevalier de St George to Lord Marischal.*

ROME, February 21st, 1752.

I RECEIVED but a few days ago your letter of the 8th January. I know not upon what foundation you suppose that I should have been disappointed (your being minister to the King of Prussia at Paris); for I have looked over again Edgar's letter to you, which you now mention, and cannot find any thing in it that should give you such a suspicion. What I know is, that I never heard of anybody that blamed that step in you, and I doubt not but all those who wish me well were pleased with it, both on your account and mine; and as for my own particular, I was not only glad of it on yours, but I was much pleased that so great and so wise a Prince as the King of Prussia should give such marks of his favor and confidence to one who had so distinguished himself in my cause. By all this you may see that you may be entirely at ease on this head. I heartily wish you all satisfaction in your present employment. I know you too well ever to doubt of the constancy of your attachment to my cause, and you would wrong me much if you were not well persuaded of the particular value and kindness I have, and shall ever have, for you.

## \* No. CCXLII.

*Rev. James Leslie, to Mr Peter Grant, agent of the Scots Catholic Clergy at Rome.*

SIR,

THE first knowledge I had of what happened in Scotland in the year 1745, was on the 1st of May. That day young Glengary, who had come

from the Highlands to Edinburgh, sent an express to me at Traquaire to come and see him, which I did. He told me that he was obliged to go abroad with Letters which ought to have been delivered sooner. He desired me to take care of some papers while he stay'd in town, which I did, and had I been the man I am said to be, then I had it in my power of doing business to purpose. On the 4th of May he rode to Drummond Castle. About 2 hours after he was gone, Lochiel came to acquaint me that Ross the Messenger had got orders to take him up, and that I ought to advise with Mr Murray about sending an express after him to put him on his guard. At their desire I sent Andrew Macfarlan, hirer in the Grassmarket, with a Letter to the Duke of Perth, who returned me thanks, and about 20 days after I had a letter of thanks from Glengary, then ready to embark. After his landing in France I heard no word from him till the month of August, that he wrote a letter to the Duke of Perth, which I sent by a private hand to his Grace much about the time he was to march from Perth to Edinburgh. Major Stuart wrote me back that the Duke would thank me if I could procure a pass. I spoke to a friend of mine at Edinburgh, who wrote 2 letters to the Solicitor in a friendly manner, promising a right use should be made of it, and that he might send his answer to Peter Rosses, merchant. Thus the pass was granted, and next day I brought it to his Grace at Mrs Kenmure's in Lithgow. The Duke spied me from his window, called me up stairs. Lochgary was in the room with him when he brought me directly into the bedroom, where I gave him the pass; and he assured me it would do service to Sir Hector, as Sir Hector himself testifies in the following manner:—

“This is to certify the particular services Mr Leslie did for me during my confinement in London, especially his procuring a pass in the month of September, 1745, for an express sent me on affairs relating to His Majesty's interest and my safety. I was likewise witness to his fidelity and zeal in serving the prisoners at London and Tilbury Fort, in all necessities of body and soul, and this during the whole time of their sufferings.

MACLEANE.

“PARIS, 12th January, 1749.”

Glengary's son, who was killed at Falkirk, and Lochgary, were both desirous that I should take particular care of their men. The Countess of Traquaire, and her daughter, Nidsdale, desired the same. Accordingly I preached to them with all the zeal and fervour of a dutifull subject. I waited on them the morning of Gladsmuir, was assistent to them on all occasions. The day the army marched from Dalkeith, Lochgary desired me to wait the Colonel's coming up with about 300 recruits. I stayed at Millhead, near Dumfries, till I had a Letter from the Family of Traquaire, telling me that the recruits from the north had formed their camp at Perth. I returned to Edinburgh, where I stayed till after Culloden, on account the roads were guarded. Lady Lucy Stuart can attest my behaviour during that time, as I lived mostly with her, never saw anybody, nor did I breathe the fresh air during the greatest ferment of the war. After Culloden great searching was made at Edinburgh for people who had been with the Prince, and my friend, who, at my desire, had writ to the Solicitor for the pass, thought it necessary for both our safetys that I should leave the town. If I pleased to go to England he would look out for a safe opportunity, and accordingly got Wm. Gordon, Merchant in Forres, to bring me, in quality of his servant, as far as Newcastle: he from thence went over to Holland to buy goods. Before I left Edinburgh I acquainted Lady L. Stuart how I was threatened and exposed to the resentment of the Government for the pass I had obtained, and the liberty I took in preaching in the Canongate to the Prince's

followers, and she was sensible of the danger I was in. Thus I left Scotland, came in foresaid manner to Newcastle, and from thence to London, where my chief business was, during a part of the year 1746 and of 1747, to serve the prisoners, as Mr Macdonald, now at Rome, is one of the many witnesses to attest the considerable services I did them all the time of their great misery, when it was looked upon as a crime to shew them compassion. I was with them the day they embarked at Gravesend, brought them necessaries for their voyage, as many of them were in a wretched condition of health. I had also procured them recommendations from Merchants in London to their correspondents in Jamaica. After this I came to Paris in the month of November, 1747; and in the month of October, 1748, Mr Kelly had a letter of accusations against me, whereof Bishop Macdonald acquainted me, in whose presence I immediately wrote to Mr Kelly, and had his answer in the following terms:—"PARIS, 11th October, 1748,—Sir,—Bishop MacDonald, and the Superiors of the Scots Colledge, have a copy of the accusation sent against you from Scotland; if you can give account of your conduct to them it will be sufficient, and, in that case, you will find me always your humble servant,—GEORGE KELLY."

I then presented myself according to orders, was examined, and had the following declaration:—

"Whereas Mr Kelly lodged with us, in October last, an accusation against Mr Leslie, alleging that he had kept a close correspondence with the ministry at London during the years 1745 and 6, as likewise that he had been sent to France by Mr Murray of Broughton, had gone back again to Great Britain, and returned a second time here for further intelligence, the said Mr Kelly, by His Royal Highness's orders, requiring of us to examine Mr Leslie's conduct, leaving the decision to our judgement, we here declare that we are entirely satisfied with the account Mr Leslie gives of his conduct, and are convinced of his innocence by the undeniable proofs he has given us, and that the most of the articles alleged against him are notoriously false, according to our own certain knowledge. Given at the Scots College of Paris, 15th December, 1748, (signed) Hugh Macdonald, George Innes, Andrew Reddoch, J. Gordon."

And to clear up the truth of this sentence, from the month of November, 1747, when I came first to Paris, I was every day in company with Bishop Macdonald and superiors of the Scots College, till the month of January, 1749; so these, and others of the first character, saw evidently that I had made no journeys at all, as was falsely alleged. That I was not sent by Mr Murray of Broughton was as well known by the same gentlemen; and the following paragraphs out of Glengary's Letters are full to the purpose, and here I set down his words:—

"Dear Sir,—These malicious groundless reports need not give you one moment's uneasiness, for one needs not be a wizard to perceive that only mentioning you was a feint, and the whole was aimed at me; I would not grudge a journey to Paris to make some people sensible of their mistake. I have too great an opinion of His Royal Highness to persuade myself that ever he would give ear to so mean and low insinuations, which never would come from any man of honour and distinction; and it surprises me mightily, as I know myself to be the person who made you take journey, and that my private affairs detained you four months at London before you came off—to say that you went over to Britain again, and returned here for intelligence, is the most barefaced assertion I have heard of—you being lodged in the same hotel with myself. and I seeing you every day till last month, when I came here, where I have frequent letters from you dated from Paris. (Signed) Macdonell."



Bishop Macdonald, Sir H. Macleane, and Glengary, represented my case to His Royal Highness, who was satisfied with my behaviour, and Mr Kelly told Clanranald and others that he did not doubt of my innocence, nor could any one do otherways, as I had so many eye-witnesses of the falsehoods contained in the accusation, and vouchers for my conduct who were intimate in what actions I did, and, consequently, when the Court of France named some Scots principal officers to give a due character of those who had done service, the attestation they gave of me is, that I always behaved well, and for my services, that I deserved the particular attention of the Court. Their subscriptions are still to be seen at the Scots Colledge. As my Lord Traquaire was said to doubt of my behaviour by the advice of Bishop Macdonald, and of the Superiors of the Scots Colledge, who gave me money to bear my expenses, I went in February, 1749, to London, on purpose to disabuse his Lordship if he had any prejudices; but finding he was in the country, I spoke to his ancient Governor, Mr Guthrie, about going to see him. Mr Guthrie thought proper that I should write, and he would deliver my letter. I did so, and had the following answer:

LONDON, *April 12th, 1749.*—This evening I waited on my Lord Traquaire, and delivered a letter from Mr Leslie to his Lordship, who expressed great concern that Mr Leslie should give him any uneasiness about a malicious report that his Lordship was dissatisfied with his conduct. On the contrary, my Lord declared he always esteemed and liked Mr Leslie. This is truth.—PAT. GUTHRIE.

This was the first time I went to London from Paris, and had no other business, and I assure you it was by the advise of friends and of my Bishop that I went. So you may judge what justice they do me who say otherways. Being soon returned to Paris, Glengary would have me to go along with him, that as he did not intend to appear publickly at London, I might bring his friends to his lodging, and have the advice of some Counsellors about an act of the Privy Council against his returning to Great Britain. This was my second business to London, which did not detain me 2 months, when I came back to Paris in expectation of getting some place in France to settle in, which I was promised. My having business with Mr Murray of Broughton, is a great objection against me. Before he declared himself against His Majesty's subjects, he sent money to me to be given to some of the prisoners. After he had been evidence against Lord Lovat, and had liberty in the day-time to go abroad, he came without any previous word sent me, to let me know his intentions about my Lord Traquaire, whose trial was expected, to wit, that he was resolved to fly from the kingdom rather than appear as evidence a second time. This he confirmed with great oaths, and begged me to inform his Lordship of this. Next day I went to the Tower and told my Lord of all that passed. I was obliged, after this, to get the receipt from the prisoners for the money I delivered to them, which I did and gave them. All this happened in the month of October, 1747, when I was ready to come over to France, and at that time a gentlemen desired the favour I might charge myself with a gold repeater to dispose of it at Paris, where no sooner arrived than I had a letter telling me the watch belonged to Mrs Murray. Thus I never offered it to sale till the year 1749, that Glengary, after selling his sword and shoe-buckles to my certain knowledge, was reduced to such straits, that I pledged the repeater for a small sum to relieve him, and wrote to Mr Murray that I had done so. I had his answer by post, allowing all the money the watch could make to be used in that manner. After this, when I was gone over to London, Mr Lewis Innes, cousin of the late Mr George Innes, came one day to my lodging to acquaint me that Mrs Murray was resolved to pursue me for the watch. I was obliged to call for Mr Murray to see him, to make

his Lady easy. He met me at a tavern in Holborn. Mr Lewis Innes was with me. He told me if I made his Lady a civil visit, I would come better off than by any thing he could say. This I did to shun being put to trouble, as I had not money to pay the watch, which I disposed of to Clanranald at the time Glengary was in wants. You must pardon me for being so tedious. My present situation obliges me. People are pleased to put a quite different construction on my actions; but on the faith of a Christian this is the truth, as I tell it you; it is well known here by my acquaintances, and every thing attested, as I have marked down. I hope you will be pleased to acquaint Mr Edgar with the contents of this letter, to which I shall add, as I expect mercy from God Almighty, my intentions were always to serve and never to hurt any one of His Majesty's subjects, for whose safety and Restoration I pray with the same sincerity of heart as I do for my own eternal welfare. I have the ample testimonies of my Bishop in Scotland, from Bishop Chaloner at London, and from the Bishops in France, in whose houses I have stay'd, for my good behaviour and piety, yet I have the misfortune to be thought a wicked man. If I knew any one thing I ought to do, I should be most willing to do it; so I entreat you represent my case to Mr Edgar, and beseech him if he can suppose me innocent to give you his advice, for I am most willing and ready to do any thing he can think agreeable. I hope you will not delay writing to me, nor neglect what I recommend to you in the most earnest manner, nor imagine that I write you any thing but truth, and what is attested as such. So I expect you will make the best use of it. I have writ the same thing to Bishop Smith, much against my inclination to send such stories to Scotland; but my present situation is such, that I cannot avoid giving an account of myself to those I have a concern with. Please (present) my compliments to Mr Allan Macdonald. I am, with utmost sincerity and regard,

Sir,

Your most obliged humble servant,

JA. LESLIE.

PARIS, 27th May, 1752.

NOTE.—Mr Grant returned an answer from Rome on 2d July, in which he says that he had delivered Leslie's letter "to the King, who had perused it, and that he was authorised to inform him, that, notwithstanding his conduct had been strongly represented to the King in a light unworthy of a loyal subject," and one of his character, yet he was so indulgent as to mean him no manner of harm, and, therefore, the wisest and best course he could now do was to repair without delay to his mission (in Scotland) in whose service he was engaged by his College oath, from which he had not been dispensed since. By employing himself there in pursuit of the great end he was so solemnly bound to, he could, by his future good behaviour, have opportunities, in case he were innocent, of convincing the world of the injustice and falsehood of what had been laid to his charge. He also informs him that, in August last, Cardinal Rivera, at the request of Bishop Smith, and at the instance of the congregation of Propaganda fide had written to the Nuncio at Paris, empowering and even charging him to oblige Leslie to return to the mission

## \* No. CCXLIII.

*The Duchess of Perth to Mr Peter Grant, agent for the Scots Catholic Clergy at Rome, thus quoted in Secretary Edgar's hand-writing.*

*"The Duchess of Perth's Letter to Mr Grant, and copies of a memoire and of a Letter to Mr Gordon, Sept. 5th, 1752."*

EDINBURGH, June ye 7th, 1752.

SIR,

I depend upon our acquaintance before you left Scotland, as an apology for the trouble I give you of delivering the inclosed to Lord Lismore,\* to whom I have been advised to write an account of the situation of our family, that he might lay it before his Majesty. The consequences of 1745 have involved my Lord in such difficulties as reduces us to the disagreeable necessity of importuning the King's assistance to live; not that we mean his Majesty should be at that charge himself, but that he would procure it from the French Court, or any other way his Majesty shall think most proper, which I hope is not an affair too difficult for the King to do; and it is told as often by our friends here, that to be sure his Majesty will never see the heir of a family who has always been so much attached to their duty in straits. I need not repeat what I have said in the inclosed, which I hope you will see, and I expect you will be so good as do all you can to get it answered favourably. I assure you, good Sir, this is a subject I never thought to have troubled any body with; but after going thro' all the expensive parts of the law, entirely upon my own Lord's charges, without the assistance of a shilling from either relation or creditor of the family, besides a considerable sum for his stock, at least he was bound for upon his eldest nephew's account in 1745, which he could not put in a claim for; all this he now gets to pay, which must reduce us to nothing, and as my Lord is not able to go abroad to tell his own story himself, it will be very hard if there is nothing done for him. It is but a melancholy prospect at his time of life to think of being troublesome to any upon this score, and especially where we know so much is done, and adds not a little to our misfortunes to give the King any trouble who has so much to think upon. I beg you will also represent this to Mr Edgar, whose good offices, I hope, we may depend upon for a favourable return to my letter. I defer writing to him at this time, but hopes you'll all concur, and were it not the view of the difficulties we must be now very soon in, I should never have put pen to paper upon the subject; but alas! where can we apply to if not to the fountain-head, to do for us in some shape or other? So as I flatter myself I've said enough upon this subject to convince you and all about his Majesty who can talk to him, that an application for us is absolutely necessary, so shall only add, that besides what my Lord has lost by the Government, any moveables of value that was saved, as plate, &c. is all kept from him by his sister-in-law and niece, Lady Mary, who were living at Drummond in the 45, so consequently had all in charge. I've said nothing of the particular in the inclosed, as I think it's needless to let strangers know the unkindness of so near friends who we never expected would have done so by us, especially they knowing what he has risked first and last to preserve the family, which his eldest nephew was always very sensible of. This is not a time to make a publick noise, as you know a third may claim all as their right. This

\* Colonel O'Bryen.

I would not (have) even mentioned to you, but to shew you what my Lord has to expect, and how he is grudged at all hands, and that you may make your own discreet use of it : the acquaintance I had of you when you may remember we had the pleasure of your company some days at Drummond castle when we lived there, makes me now give you as much trouble, and use the freedom with you. I've a great esteem and regard for your brother, who lives just now near Stobhall, and is very often in my brother's family, who is married, has a family, and lives some miles distant from where your brother is. Brother John reckons himself very lucky to have him so near, as he has young children coming up, and really your brother takes so much care of them in his way as is possible. My brother and his Lady has a vast liking and regard for Mr Grant, which makes every thing go the easier on. She is a woman of very good sense, but differs in the main point from my brother. Now, good Sir, all this long ill wrot letter I hope you will forgive, and depending much upon your friendship, I shall conclude that I am with sincerity and esteem,

Sir,

Your most humble servant,

MARY PERTH.

The following is written on an envelope containing the foregoing letter. "I wrote the inclosed some days ago, expecting the ship that (it) is to go by would have sailed sooner. What return you get please to send it to the Principal of the Scots College of Paris, who shall get directions to forward it to me."

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## No. CCXLIV.

### *Memoir referred to in the preceding Letter.*

THE duty and attachment of the Family of Perth in Scotland towards their lawful Sovereigns, is so well known that little needs be said upon it. Not to go further back, the old Duke of Perth, well known in France, was chancellor of Scotland, and a most faithful servant to the late King James the 2d, before the revolution, after which, and a long imprisonment, he came and joined his Royal Master in France, and was made Governor to the Prince, now the French King. His son also, Duke of Perth, distinguished himself in the royal cause in the year 1715, and left two sons, James and John. The oldest, who was Duke of Perth, was amongst the first who joined the Prince in Scotland upon his landing there in 1745 : he behaved gallantly and with much reputation during all that unfortunate expedition, for which he was put by the present English Government in the act of attainder ; but he dying before that took place, the estate of the family was not nor could be forfeited. Upon his death his brother John became Duke of Perth. Some years before the court of France gave him authority to raise a regiment, to be called the Royal Scots, and gave him the command of it, and during the Prince's expedition in Scotland he was made a Brigadier, and ordered by the Court to go with his regiment and join the Prince's army in that kingdom. He went thither in obedience to this order, and his regiment transported in ships provided by France for that purpose, and notwithstanding he acted in that unfortunate affair as a French officer, and in obedience to the orders he received from Court, yet the present Government also attainted him. He is designed in the act of attainder, brother to the Duke of

Perth, who was then alive, upon whose death he became Duke of Perth, and upon his attainder the estate of the family is confiscated, the present Government of England being resolved to ruin that family by all unlawful means for their constant attachment and adherence to the cause of their lawful sovereigns. This appears so plain, that the present Duke of Perth, uncle to the two last Dukes, would have saved, under an unbiassed Government, the estate to the Family by the just rights and pretensions he had to it, notwithstanding of the last attainder; and the present Duke, who has no children, being entirely ruined by the expensive processes at law for that effect, is reduced old and very infirm to the greatest misery. The case standing thus, and the Estate of Perth being seized on by the present Government upon the pretence only of the attainder of the Duke of Perth last dead, who served in Scotland as a French officer, and in consequence of the orders he had from Court, the present Duke humbly thinks that the Court of France, now in peace with the English Government, should in justice insist upon, and procure that unjust attainder to be annulled, and that he be put in possession of the Family estate, and in the meantime, until that be accomplished, that the Court should allow him and his family a suitable pension for their support and maintenance. The king of England not being in a condition to relieve this most deserving family, and which has so much merit with him, recommends this memorial in the strongest manner to the Court of France.

The foregoing memorial was translated into French with a little "Projet d'un memoire en faveur de la maison de Pert," of which a copy is among the Stuart Papers.

At the foot of the Memoire the following was added by James in his own hand:—

Mr De la Bruere est prié de recommander de ma part avec instance à la Cour le memoire cy-dessus en faveur du Duc de Perth, dont la famille merite tout auprès de moy, elle n'est pas sans merite auprès de la France et Mr de St Con-test m'obligera sensiblement en appyant auprès du Roy les pretensions de ce Duc.

JACQUES R.

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## No. CCXLV.

*Mr Edgar to Mr John Gordon, Scots College, Paris.*

ROME, September 5th, 1752.

SIR,

Mr Grant gave me the letter you sent to him from the Dutchess of Perth, that I might lay it before the King, which I have done, and His Majesty read at the same time what her Grace writ to my Lord Lismore, His Majesty thinking it best that I and not Mr Grant should write to you on the subject, I beg, by his directions here, to tell you, and which you will easily believe, that it was with the greatest concern he learned by these letters the melancholy situation, a Family that has so much merit with him, and for which he has the justest concern, was reduced to at present. There is nothing in his power but he would willingly do to remedy it, and the most effectual way he could think of was to recommend them in as strong a manner as he could to the Court of France. For this purpose he got a memorial drawn up which he sends by this



past to that court, recommended by him in the strongest manner. You will find here inclosed a copy of that memorial, that you may inform the Duke and the Dutchess of the contents of it in a prudent, private, and safe manner, and inform them also, at the same time, of the contents of what I here say upon that subject. His Majesty heartily wishes that his memorial may have the desired effect; and as he is sensibly touched with the straits and difficulties my Lord Duke and Dutchess labour under at present, he sends you here inclosed an order upon Waters for 3000 livres, payable to you for Perth, which he desires you would remit to them from him, letting them know, at the same time, that he is very sorry that his own narrow and bad circumstances don't allow him to send them a greater relief at present. My Lord Lismore, for fear of accidents, does not write to the Dutchess in return to her letter to him; he desires you would tell her so, and assure her of his readiness to serve her, and of his humble respects. As for myself betwixt you and me, I can't express to you how much I am affected with the present cruel situation of that noble and great family, and what I would do were it in my power for their relief, &c.

### No. CCXLVI.

*Extract of a Letter,—Mr Edgar to Mr William Hay.*

ALBANO, September 26th, 1752.

I LAID your letter before the King, who took very kindly of you the sentiments you express for him, and your concern for what has happened lately in the family; that is a subject I cannot write upon; but I remember well of what you told me before you left this, that you saw acoming. I did not then indeed see so far; but not to say any more on the matter, I obey His Majesty's commands, in assuring you of many thanks and compliments in his name. His Majesty took notice of what you say of Lord D—h. As there is a report generally spread at present, but I am persuaded without foundation, that the Prince has declared himself Protestant: the first rise of it, by what I can learn, came from what it is pretended that Lord should have said in the South of France. If he had ever he had done, he certainly, since he spoke with such freedom and openness to you, could not have missed to mention to me, which makes me rather conclude that all that is said is mere invention and a story.

### No. CCXLVII.

*Extract of a Letter,—Mr William Hay to Mr Edgar.*

SENS, October, 1752.

WHAT you mention concerning Lord D—h, I must inform you, that while here he did communicate to me and some others here of the Prince's having declared himself a Protestant, and exprest himself that it was the best and happiest thing he could have done in regard to his interest in England, for they could not have any objection against him, and it would remove all their fears and apprehensions by such a change. I took the liberty to ask him if his authority was well founded. He then acquainted me he had a letter before he



left the south of France, from Sir James Harrington, informing his Lop. of this charge, and that he might depend upon it, for he had authority to declare the same to all his friends and wellwishers, so that his Lop. might do the same to me. This seems, as Sir James was authorized by the Prince himself. As I have not the honor to know Sir James personally, I can say no further as to the veracity of the matter of fact; but as I then gave my opinion, I could not see the immediate cause for the Prince's taking such a step in his present situation without some lucky event happening whereby he could propose success. I laid so little stress on this affair, that I do not care to write reports at random, and that even I desired the gentlemen here not to mention any thing of it in their letters to any of their acquaintances, for if Sir James had any such authority, it was to be propagated through England, as it was mere chance that we knew of it. This is the whole matter of this affair; but since that time I have heard from Paris from other hands, and that Sir James is the author. The Lady D——h is a most zealous smart woman. At their leaving this I had by me some of the Prince's hair, which I presented, and was received with great thanks, and told me she now was sure that it was the true, and would regale 3 or 4 of her acquaintances, and each of them set in heart-form encircled with diamonds.

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\* No. CCXLVIII.

*Cardinal York to the Chevalier de St George.*

BOLOGNA, *October ye 25th, 1752.*

SIR,

THE paternal and tender expressions made me by Monsignor Lascaris in your Majesty's name, encourage me and oblige me to express myself to your Majesty the sense of my gratitude, together with the assurance of the profound and dutiful respect I profess to your person. I beg your Majesty to believe I have been truly sorry for whatever displeasure you may have had occasion, by my absence from Rome, which absence has never proceeded from the least want of that respect I owe to you; but, on the contrary, by a just and reasonable anxiety of not losing your good graces. Wholly, however, confiding at present on the tender expressions I find in Mr Lascaris's letter, I shall dispose my return, after having complied with some necessary acts of attention with the Cardinals of this neighbourhood, and particularly with Cardinal Crescensi, having engaged myself with him in the time he was here to see me to pass some days with him at Ferrara. I hope your Majesty will not doubt of the comfort and satisfaction I shall have to find at your feet, and most humbly beg your blessing. I remain, with the utmost respect,

Your most dutiful son,

HENRY CARDINAL.

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No. CCXLIX.

*Answer by the Chevalier de St George to the foregoing.*

ROME, *November 1st, 1752.*

IT is very true, my dear Son, that your leaving me has been a subject of grief and affliction to me chiefly on your account for these four months past, so that

you may easily imagine with what satisfaction I perused your letter of the 25th October. I am sensible your absence was the effect of ill advice; but I have the comfort to see that your return is your own work alone. Return, therefore, my dear child, without delay, and with all confidence, into the arms of a tender father and true friend, who will forget what is past, and who will be, as he has always been, wholly taken up with whatever may contribute to your real good and satisfaction. I beseech God to bless you, and give you a good journey, and tenderly embrace you, my dear child.\*

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\* No. CCL.

*Cardinal York to the Chevalier de St George.*

BOLOGNA, November ye 8th, 1752.

SIR,

I RETURN your Majesty my most humble thanks for the honor of your letter of the 1st of this month, that has been of much comfort to me in perceiving the goodness with which you have received the sincere expressions of my dutiful respect that were contained in my last. For to procure me as soon as possible the satisfaction of finding me at your feet, I shall part from hence Monday next, hoping to be with your majesty the Monday or Tuesday following, of which more certainly I shall take the liberty to acquaint your Majesty on the road. I beg your Majesty to believe I have an entire confidence in the loving expressions you are so good as to honour me with, and most humbly begging your blessing, I remain with the utmost respect,

Your most dutiful son,

HENRY CARDINAL.

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No. CCLI.

*Extract of a Letter,—Mr Edgar to Sir James Harrington.*

19th December, 1752.

I OBSERVE when you write you were quite in the dark as to the Prince. I am sorry to tell you we are so also here, only we have heard from Paris and Avignon that H. R. H. was in good health the beginning of last month. His incognito for so long, is one of the most surprising things has ever happened in the world.

\* The nature of the dispute between the Cardinal and his father is not known. Mr Edgar, in a letter to Mr Murray, "Lord Dunbar," of 25th July, 1752, thus alludes to it:—"You will, no doubt, have heard a good deal of odd news from this town, but I am discharged to write on the subject to any body, and I wont say so much to none as what I do here." And in a letter to Lord George Murray of 5th September, same year, Edgar writes,—“You will no doubt have heard of late a good deal about his Royal Highness the Duke; that is a subject I am discharged to write upon; but it is to be hoped a little time and reflection will set all things to rights again.”

## \* No. CCLII.

*Mr John Waters, Banker, Paris, to Prince Charles, under the name of  
Mr John Douglas.*

PARIS, April the 4th, 1753.

SIR,

I RECEIVED the great honor of your letter, dated on the first of last month, which I shall answer and direct by the old way, tho' your present signing would excuse in me a deviation from that rule. I have had delivered unto me in the presence of the Bearer a strong deal box with the key of it, in which box are the following things:—

One wooden cassette of inlaid work lockt, and the contents of it unknown to me.

One small empty writing desk.

One little round deal box containing printed papers, &c.

Two small packets of papers sealed up and indorsed by your own hand, all which I shall keep with the greatest care and attention in my closet, where not a soul goes into but myself: the chest of books will be sent to me I believe tomorrow or the day after; said things to be disposed of only by such orders as I may hereafter receive from yourself. You can see by what I mentioned of the above particulars, if all be right; what you said in your letter of two boxes I was to receive made me more precise in the account I give you.

Nothing in the world, Sir, can flatter me more than the assurance of your friendship. The attempts my ambition shall always excite me for the deserving of such a great honour, will be the moments of my life the most agreeably employed, for give me leave to say, Sir, that the poor old man is no more. He has left me a true heir of his great zeal, his veneration, his love and fidelity for you: it is a sally I was not master to command, forgive me pray saying so much,

Sir, &c.

JOHN WATERS.

## \* No. CCLIII.

*John Cameron of Lochiel to the Chevalier de St George.*

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR MAJESTY,

As your Majesty's enemies have taken possession of my estate in Scotland, and since I have nothing to depend upon in that country till it please God to restore the royall family, I have now no resource but to push my fortune in the French service. I have been a Captain since the year 1747, and am told, that, upon proper application, I might obtain a Colonel's Brevet, especially as the recommendation of his Royall Highness, the Prince of Wales, gave my Father, has made our family and their sufferings known to them. If your Majesty would be graciously pleased to write in my favour, I'm hopeful it will have the desired success. I beg your Majesty will pardon this freedom.

I am,

May it please your Majesty,

Your Majesty's most faithful subject and most  
obedient, humble servant,

LOCHIEL.

PARIS, April the 27th, 1753.

## No. CCLIV.

*Commission,—Prince Charles to Colonel Goring.*

I HEREBY order Colonell Goring to repair to Paris, and there to deliver to Lord M. ye Paiper here enclosed, at ye same time expressing to him how sensible I am of his friendship and attachment, which I shall never forget, and wish only to have an occasion of proving it effectually.

C. P. R.

*Ye 2d July, 1753.*

On the same piece of paper is the following:—

I desire my friend, that has twenty hundred pounds sterling for my service, to give ye Bearer, Colonell Goring, whatever you and he thinks necessary for my service.

## No. CCLV.

*Extract of a Letter,—the Chevalier de St George to Lord George Murray.**9th July, 1753.*

I TAKE very kindly of you the offer of service you make me on the occasion of your two friends returning home again; but I shall say nothing in return to it, but my hearty wishes for their welfare and compliments to them, for I am an entire stranger to all the Prince's affairs, and do not so much as know where he is, so that it would be very imprudent in me to take any step in such matters for fear of doing more hurt than good, and I can only pray and wish that he may be well directed. I am stranger in particular also to the motives which carried poor Archibald Cameron into Scotland; but whatever it may have been, his hard fate gives me the more concern, that I own I could not bring myself to believe that the English Government would have carried their rigour so far.

## \* No. CCLVI.

*Mr Edgar to Prince Charles.**ROME, July 10th, 1753.*

SIR,

I HAD the honor to write you the 19th December last by the king's directions, which I hope has gone safe to your hands. As there happens now a subject of great charity to write you, and having still no other way than by you to mention it to the Prince, I beg you would let H. R. H. know as soon as you can, that the king is persuaded he would be very much concerned for poor Archibald Cameron's untimely and cruel death, and for the forlorn condition his wife and 7 children are left in, especially since the appointments of a Spanish Colonel, in consequence of a commission H. R. H. obtained when he was at

Madrid, for Archy, now falls. It was a long while before H. M. could, by frequent and strong recommendation, bring the Court of Spain to begin the payment of these appointments. Archy's family needs now the continuance of it more than ever. The king, therefore, designs to recommend it in the strongest terms to the Court of Spain, to renew the commission of Colonel to Cameron's eldest son, and that the appointments of it should be paid at Paris, or to give an equivalent pension to his mother to be paid at the same place. But as H. M. foresees that this is a grace that will be very hard to be obtained, he thinks, that as the first favor was granted to the Prince, H. R. H. would write to him a few lines in French, such as he may send to the Court of Spain in recommending also the affair in H. R. H.'s name, that if any thing could do, might prevail on that Court to grant the charity so much wanted for poor Archy's Family, when you inform the Prince of the contents of the letter, I humbly beg, &c.

If the Prince should think fit to write, as is proposed, it will be charity to do it as soon as he can, and the king, in expectation of his letter, will wait 10 or 12 weeks before he recommends the affair in question to the Court of Spain.

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## No. CCLVII.

*Prince Charles to Lord Marischal.*

*Ye 5th September, 1753.*

SIR,

I HAVE heard with concern the illness of Mr Goring, which has obliged him to quit Paris for some time, that has engaged me to send you Beson (he is a little man, that you have seen already) he can safely conduct to me any person you might think proper to send me. If ye person I expect is not yet come to you, or that you have nothing at present to communicate to me, Beson will leave you his address, which will be the readiest way of coming at me. I hope, dear friend, you are persuaded of my way of thinking, and how glad I would be to have an occasion of proving it to you effectually. Remaining your sincere friend. My health is perfect.

C. P.

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## No. CCLVIII.

*Note of instructions by Prince Charles to his servant Beson.*

*Ye 5th September, 1753.*

BESON is to go without los of time to P., there to see nobody but Lord Marischal, and receive from him his orders. He may let no my sentiments. 1. I will nether leave this place, or quit ye D. 2d. I will not trust myself to any K. or P. 3. I never will go to Paris or any of the French dominions. Beson is to say he has come from London for to see to gaet money, not to look on what Lord M. has, as I shall want some soon for severall things, so that I wish there were some £ got ready for the first occasion. K. said ye D. has 5 h. P. besides a T. that the Prefect said he might gaet. But nobody wou'd see or hear

Beson at L being fritened at their shadow. Beson can make many compliments from me to ye G. Main, and desir her to get from Mr Campbell my doble chere.

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\* No. CCLIX.

*Extract of a Letter,—Robertson of Strowan to Mr Edgar.*

BEING under a necessity of addressing my Royal Master by the inclosed, it would be proper that H. M. had, at the same time, an idea of my situation and the present circumstances that have brought it about; but the facts I propose to touch upon, tho' in as few words as I can, would swell my letter to the King beyond due bounds. Therefore, Sir, I beg you may be so good as communicate them to H. M. when a fit opportunity offers.

In 1744, before my predecessor's death, I was advised to lose no time in endeavouring to secure my right to the Estate and Reputation of the Family of Strowan, as many rubs were like to be thrown in my way, tho' I was the undoubted heir-male of that Family, and heir of all the titles by which the Estate was held of the Crown from the beginning, for by the iniquitous forfeitures in 1690 and 1715, our Family held the Estate only by a Grant to Strowan's sister in 1723, which grant she transferred to Trustees for her Brother in liferent, and in reversion to me as the next heir-male of the Family; but this grant was judged too precarious a foundation, and therefore the friends of our Family push'd their interest so far, that my affair was soon brought to a conclusion, still reserving the liferent of the whole to Strowan as justly his due, and my Charter was ready to pass the sealls when H. R. H. arrived in Scotland. This I obtained, I thank God, without the least complaint with the prevailing measures; so far from it that in May 1745, when the Hanoverian Government form'd a scheme of hooking all the Highland chieftains into their military service, I had a commission sent me, with assurances from Argyle of further preferments, and the countenance of the Government.\* I had the happiness to resist all the arguments and persuasions of those very persons on whom my other affairs much depended. This refusal was afterward used as an argument against me, as if I had been privy to the Prince's intention, tho' in reality I was not in the secret.

Had the Prince landed in Scotland with a powerful army, any little service I could have done might have been dispensed with, and indeed nobody expected I should have joined, as I laboured at that time, and some years after, under an ailment that made me quite unfit for the field, nor was I then at the head of the clan; but as I saw the Prince's real person engaged, and other gloomy circumstances, I thought it my duty to use the little influence I had amongst my Friends and countrymen. Accordingly, just as the Prince was ready to march for England, I had a commission from the Duke of Athole to raise a Regiment, with blank commissions for other officers, which I had difficulty to fill, as the best people of my name and friends were already with H. R. H.; to post in Athole was absolutely necessary in many respects, particularly to favour the march of our friends, who often came to us in small bodies, almost without arms or money, and con-

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\* In a letter to Robertson of B'airfetty, 18 h September, 1753, he says he was offered a Lieutenant's commission in Lord Loudon's Regiment, with an apology from Argyle "to your friend the Duke, telling him he had not heard of me till the companies were given, and assuring him I should have the first that fell vacant in the Regiment." He says he was 49 years of age.



sequently must have staid at home were that post in the hands of the enemy. I was ever apprehensive of the Prince's finding a retreat difficult in case of any misfortune in England, if our enemies at Inverness should join those at Stirling ; to prevent this intention was the main point I had in view. How far this caution was necessary, and how far we did our duty, time and impartial judgement will determine.

I escaped the Bill of attainder, but was excepted by name in their pretended act of indemnity, and what they call a *Billa Vera* was found against me in 1748 : however, as my predecessor, the late Strowan, was very old and infirm, and that my title to the estate was still good, I was advised to skulk at home, that I might be at hand to advise with my friends about possessing the estate, in the event of Strowan's death, which happened in 1749.

Upon this I ordered my wife and children to repair to Carie, and possess a little Hutt that was built after the burning in 1746. The tenants of the estate alwise attach'd to their lawfull masters, received them with open arms, and cheerfully paid their rents to the Trustees approved by me. This was galling to the ministry, ever intent upon the destruction of all the ancient Highland families, and a Scots lawyer, who was alwise in the secret of my affairs, made a merit of discovering the only method by which they could ruin my Family, that is, by the extraordinary step of revoking the grant above-mentioned, and by which I held the estate. However, my friends struggled for sometime upon the score of old apprisings, and raised a 2d year's rent ; but all was overruled, and the Trustees were obliged to give up the 2d year's rent. Sentence after sentence was past against them, and even my wife and children were threatened with military execution, if they remained any where upon the ground of the estate beyond the time limited : they were obliged to yield, not knowing where to put their heads.

All imaginable care has been taken that no man who had the least connexion with my family should have any share in the management of the estate, lest some part of the profits should drop to me. Some of my friends offered the highest rents for my fir-woods, but were rejected : in short, nothing was neglected that could possibly contribute to deprive me and mine of common subsistences. At length, my funds being exhausted, and my person hunted as a fox, I had no resource at home.

I arrived, with my wife and children, at Paris 13 days ago, after tedious and expensive travelling by sea and land, and this moment I possess 39 Louis, which is all I can command at home or abroad, for subsistence to my Family, and the education of 2 sons and 2 daughters.

I am afraid I have troubled you here with many circumstances that might be let alone ; but whatever makes impression upon ourselves we are apt to communicate. It is a weakness most men are subject to, and the source of much impertinence both in writing and in conversation ; but I hope you will forgive a well-meaning Scotsman, that has been long out of the world, and who is, with much respect, &c.

ROBERTSON of Strowan.

MONTREUIL, 28th September, 1753.

My sheet did not admit of mentioning my Father's wounds, imprisonment, and banishment in 1715, and the loss of his beloved brother, who was cruelly butchered in calm blood at Prestoun. I might likewise mention that my family, at the head of the Athole men, was perhaps one of the chief supports of the royal cause, under the great Marquis of Montrose, in Scotland. It is plain,

from original commissions in my possession, that my great-grand uncle, then at the head of our family, in the minority of his nephew, commanded all the Athole men, and how he behaved in that station the King's letter of thanks to him, dated at Chantilly in 1653, will evince. The original letter does so much honour to the family that it is still preserved. In short, all our charters are proofs of our duty and loyalty to the royal family. As for me I was born in the dregs of time, but, thank God, my heart is sound.

D. R. of *Strowan*.

\* No. CCLX.

*The same to the Chevalier de St George.*

SIRE,

I know that your Majesty is so deeply affected with the distress and unhappiness of your subjects in general, but more especially the few who have persisted in their duty and loyalty to your Majesty; and I must conclude that every new instance of this kind raises concern afresh in your Majesty's royal breast. From this consideration it is with great reluctance I presume to advise your Majesty upon the present occasion; but as I have no resource, under Heaven, for the subsistence of my Family, and the education of my children, but yr M.'s wisdom and influence, I am obliged to use this perhaps too presumptuous method of applying directly to yr M.'s fatherly goodness.

Sire, I thank my God my family, and I may almost say all its branches, were ever allowed to be loyal and honest, and the heads of it, without excepting one, alwise ready when yr M. and your royal ancestors had use for their service, from King Robert the 1st downwards, always suffering or prospering with their royal Masters.

When yr M. suffers we have the less reason to consider ourselves: it is true the situation of me and other gentlemen seems grievous at present, yet I cannot help looking upon our banishment as a particular act of Providence for preserving a race of Scotsmen from the corruption with which our country is overrun at present,—a race who may sometime be fit instruments in yr M.'s hand for reforming the manners of your unhappy people, who, tho' they now seem generally sensible of their misery, and the errors of themselves and their forefathers, yet have neither the virtue or courage to shake off their chains.

That it may please God to preserve yr M. and your royal offspring, and make you happy in a throne of justice and mercy; for the reclaiming of these degenerate kingdoms, is alwise my sincere prayer.

I am, with all duty and submission, Sire,

One of your Majesty's loyal and most devoted and disinterested  
subjects, and servants,

ROBERTSON of *Strowan*.

MONTREUIL, near *Versailles*, }  
September 29th, 1753. }

## No. CCLXI.

*The Chevalier de St George to Mr John Græme.*

ROME, September, 1753.

I RECEIVED last week your letter of the 13th August, which I have already burnt according to your desire, and I take the contents of it the more kindly as you know that I was glad to be informed of several facts you mention, altho' at present they give me no particular light as to the Prince's present situation. All I know is that I am entire stranger to all his affairs and all that relates to him, and I should not so much as know he were alive did I not hear from second and third hands that those who have the same share in his confidence say he is in good health ; for it is now more than two years since he has writ at all here. I cannot therefore so much as guess how long my own obscurity and his incognito will last, and all I can do for him at present is to recommend him to God, and to wish and pray that he may be well-advised, at least for the future ; for I cannot suppose the case of his acting entirely of his own head, and conclude, I think with some reason, that he has all along received both money and advice from England, tho' I own I am in great doubt and fear as to the sincerity and zeal of such counsellors. As to the promise of a pension you have under the Prince's hand, it could do good to nobody to burn it, and it may be of use to you hereafter,—so that I should be sorry to encourage you to destroy it.

## No. CCLXII.

*Prince Charles to Colonel Goring, from a draught in the Prince's hand.*

Ye 12th November, 1753.

Colonel Goring,

SIR,

My last to you without date was of the 3d current, and another one by the post of this same day. My situation is such at present that it makes me resolved to know from such as profess to be my friends what I am to depend on. I hereby discard Dumon, as I have neither money or interest to employ strangers any more. I send you here two lines in French for you to shew him, and so I remain your most obedient humble servant,

JOHN DOUGLAS.

The bearer, Daniel, is charged absolutely to see nobody but such as he has letters for, and my worthy friend L<sup>d</sup> M., if he thinks it proper. You will find here one inclosed for him, which, if you are not able to deliver yourself, you will be pleased to make Daniel carry it, putting a cover over it.

## No. CCLXIII.

*Note by the Prince to Dumon.*

Mr Dumon auez peut voir sa d'avance.

LE triste etat dans le quelle je suis ne pouvant pas secourir *les miens*\* encore moins des Etrangeres, Comme il ne pouvez pas l'ignorez. Je suis très surpris de la permission qu'il m'avez demandé à se marier sans avoir des fonds et étant plus fâché que je suis oblige, &c.

## No. CCLXIV.

*Prince Charles to Colonel Goring, from a draught in Charles's hand.*

To Goring.

12th November, 1753.

Sir,

*I have wrote to Avignon for to discard all my Papist servants. Be pleased to write to Mr John Stuard, to know from him if my orders are executed. I shall still maintain y<sup>e</sup> two gentlemen and all y<sup>e</sup> Protestant servants on the same footing as usual. My mistress has behaved so unworthily that she has put me out of patience, and, as she is a Papist too, I discard her also!!!\**

P. S. to Goring—12th November, 1753.

*She told me she had friends that would maintain her, so that, after such a declaration, and other impertinencies, makes me abandon her. I hereby desire you to find out who her friends are, that she may be delivered into their hands. Daniel is charged to conduct her to Paris.\* I remain anew your sincere friend,*

JOHN DOUGLAS.

On the slip on which the preceding draught is written the following also occurs :—

P. S. to Goring's letter of 12th November, 1753.

*I have writ to Avignon to discard all my Papist servants, but that I shall still maintain y<sup>e</sup> two gentilmen and all y<sup>e</sup> Protestant servants. Be pleased to write to John Stuard (or make Morison do it) to know from him iff my orders are executed.*

## No. CCLXV.

*Prince Charles to Messrs Stafford and Sheridan.*F<sup>e</sup> 12th.

*I hereby order you to discard all y<sup>e</sup> Roman Catholic servants that are in the house, as I am not able to maintain them any more. If they go to Rome*

\* The words in italics are underscored in the original draught.

*and address themselves to James Edgar I dare say they will gaet bread. I shall send in a month or to new suplise for you and all ye servants that are Protestants.\** My health is good, and so remain your sincere friend,

J. DOUGLAS.

## No. CCLXVI.

*Prince Charles to Mr George Woulfe, cousin to Waters the Banker.*

12th November, 1753.

I RECEIVED yours of the 28th September, and find by it you have 100 Ld'ors at my disposal. Be pleased to make my kind compliments to the person that delivered it, and desire him to make my kind thanks to the person it comes from.

## \* No. CCLXVII.

*Mr Ludovick Cameron of Torcastle to Prince Charles.*

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR ROYAL HIGHNESS,

I WOULD not have troubled your Highness with these lines if I did not think my honour was engaged to clear myself of an imputation which has prevailed too much among my countrymen, and I am afraid may have made some impression on the generous mind of your Royal Highness. My nephew, Doctor Cameron, had the misfortune to take away a round summ of your Highness's money, and I was told lately that it was thought I should have shared with him in that base and mean undertaking. I declare, on my honour and conscience, that I knew nothing of the taking of that money until he told it himself at Rome, where I happened to be at the time, and that I never touched one farthing of it, nor ever will, having been mostly ignorant of the Doctor's proceedings, he never consulting me about any thing he undertook since we first came on this side of the water.

Your Royal Highness may remember, that, after the battle of Prestonpans, you ordered me up to the Highlands to recruit, and that I brought a reinforcement of 450 men from Lochaber to Perth at my own expenses, whom you was pleased to review at the house of Bannockburn a few days before the battle of Falkirk; the expense of which service amounted to about £300, having been 25 days on the road with the said reinforcement on account of the bad weather, as your Royal Highness may see by the paper here inclosed; and I never askt or received a penny of pay for myself from the time the Royal standard was displayed until our unhappy dispersion after the affair of Culloden.

Secretary Murray advanced me, on the occasion of going to bring out that reinforcement, £40. I received from my nephew, Lochiel, a little more than £100 in part of reimbursement for the said service; as likewise about £12 from

\* The words in italics are scored through in the original draught. It is probable that the necessities of Charles alone forced him thus to act, and that he dismissed his Roman Catholic servants from an idea that they would be provided for by his father.

the Laird of Gask at Perth. I received also from my nephew, Cluny Macpherson, £150, in order to support my wife and Family while I was obliged to skulk in the Highlands, the ennemy having plundered them of all, and to bear my charges to France, so that your Royal Highness may see there is more owing me than I have received.

I most humbly beg of your Royal Highness to believe that I don't mention these things with any intention of forming a demand, but only out of anxiety to clear myself of aspersions which my conduct noways deserves; being always proud and ready to serve your Royal Highness whenever you are pleased to command me, and God send soon a good occasion. I can likewise answer for the readiness of the remains of the clan, according to the late accounts I have had from Scotland. I have the honour to remain, with utmost zeal and inviolable attachment,

May it please your Royal Highness,  
Your Highness's most humble, obedient, and devoted  
servant,

L. CAMERON.

PARIS, November 21st, 1753.

\* No. CCLXVIII.

*Extract of a Letter,—Mrs Dr Cameron to Mr Edgar.*

PARIS, January 25th, 1754.

I saw your good friend Balhaldie some days ago. I was telling him what character I heard of young Glengary in England, and particularly that Sir Duncan Campbell of Lochnell told me, and others whom he could trust, that in the year 1748 or 49, I don't remember which, as he, Sir Duncan, was going out of the House of Commons, Mr Henry Pelham, brother to the Duke of Newcastle, and Secretary of State, called on him, and asked if he knew Glengary. Sir Duncan answered he knew the old man but not the young. Pelham replied, that it was young Glengary he spoke of; for that he came to him offering his most faithful and zealous service to the Government in any shape they thought proper, as he came from feeling the folly of any further concern with the ungrateful family of Stuart, to whom he and his family had been too long attached, to the absolute ruin of themselves and country. Balhaldie asked me if I had informed his Majesty of this by you. I told him I was afraid it would be thought malice in me to do it: he said that gratitude, had I no sense of duty, required a better return than to leave his Majesty ignorant of what concerned him and family so near, and that we ought to leave it to his Majesty to judge and make use of the information as he thought proper; but that it was our duty to leave him ignorant of nothing concerned him, for which reason I have now given you the trouble of what is above.



## \* No. CCLXIX.

*Prince Charles to Mr Edgar.**The 24th March, 1754.*

SIR,

I AM extremely grieved that our master should think that my silence was either neglect or want of duty ; but in reality my situation is such that I have nothing to say but imprecations against the fatality of being born in such a detestable age. There are only two things that, with all due respect, that I have, and shall always have, for my Master, who is so great a lover of justice that he will never exact from me, and that I can never be capable to do. These are such things as may be either against my interest or honour. My interest does not imply any human views, but only such steps as can conduct to the prosperity and happiness of our country. The unworthy behaviour of certain ministers the 10th December, 1748, has put it out of my power to settling any where without honor or interest being at stake, and were it even possible for me to find a place of abode, I think our family have had sufferings enough that will always hinder me to marry as long as in misfortune ; for that would only conduce to encrease misery, or subject any of the Family that would have the spirit of their Father to be tied neck and heel rather than yield to a vile ministry. As to any thing that regards my effects, I never answered about them, as I am sure every thing of that kind cannot ever be ill when in the hands of so good a man. I lay myself at my Master's feet, and desire you to believe me for ever your sincere friend,

JOHN DOUGLAS.

## No. CCLXX.

*The same to Mr Campbell, from a draught in the Prince's hand.**Ye 24th March, 1754.*

MR CAMPBELL,

I HAVE received advice of the change in the English ministry, and shall not be wanting on my side to seize the advantages it seems to offer. I expect the advice of my friends upon it, and shall be glad to procure you a seat in Parliament, as I am sure you have my interest at heart and can be of great use there.

Your sincere friend,

C. P.

## \* No. CCLXXI.

*Lord Marischal to Prince Charles.*

SIR,

I HAVE the honor of yours, and am sorry you find the place of your residence inconvenient. Where to advise you to retire from the pursuit

of your creditors I am at a loss. I told you already in general the places seemed safest, which is the chief point; but to fix a particular place is more than I dare venture; and I must here even demand, that, when you have chosen one yourself, it may be from me a secret,—and this, from several reasons, I flatter myself you will find just. It is of no use I should know it, it being enough I know how to address you if any friend should address himself to me. I am in constant apprehension of your being discovered by accidents, by the remarkable equ (part of this word torn away in the original) have with you by the different persons in the secret. There is a certain person who may ask me if I know where you are to whom I am partly under an engagement to tell truth, and to whom I am particularly unwilling to lye: therefore allow me again to entreat that I may know nothing of your abode. As to the place you now propose I had the honor to tell you some time since that I do not think you can be concealed in this country: besides that, I think (if I have been well-informed) you lye under a certain promise which nothing but absolute necessity can disengage you from, tho' I am not quite persuaded but your stay would be winkt at. I shall make no excuse for so much perplexity as appears in what I say. If I knew an advice which I thought safe and good I would plainly tell and offer it. I beg leave also to differ as to the source of your intelligence. This place can be at most the canal or passage, and you found elsewhere a sure conveyance. I ask pardon for this scrawl, and am sorry I cannot give better advice, being ever faithfully yours.

(No Signature.)

April 15th, 1754.

## No. CCLXXII.

*Prince Charles to Lord Marischal, from a draught in Charles's hand, written at the bottom of the foregoing letter.*

Ye 9th May, 1754.—L. M.—Sir, I received yours of the 15th April, in answer to my last, and as I do not care to ask a meeting with you without that you or I thought it absolutely necessary, I chuse to send it in writing by Dason. What is your opinion about Lord Chesterfield? He is a clever man. His reputation is such, the point is, has he any connexion with you, or with some you know of, think you? I can venture to apply to him, I mean only for myself: my rule is never to risk any body without their consent, and myself neither, unless of necessity. I think that, without risk, it is an impossibility to compass the least thing, much less greater. I remain your sincere friend.

Be pleased to burn this as soon as read, and give an answer, or a meeting, if you think it necessary, by the Bearer.

## \* No. CCLXXIII.

*Lord Marischal to Prince Charles.*

PARIS, May 18th, 1754.

SIR,

I AM honoured with yours, in which you bid me name any person for carrying of your letters, except Mr Goring or Mr Dason: it is what I

shall never take upon me, that I may not expose you to the danger of trusting new folks. Mr Goring is known for a man of honor. I must beg your pardon in what you (say) of his *abusing of your situation*.\* Had it been as happy as he has ventured life to make it, he neither would nor should have thought himself under any obligation to suffer the usage he has met with in return to the truth and fidelity with which he has served you. The fidelity of both the persons to whom you make exception, is, without dispute, by the plain proof of so long and so extraordinary concealment of your person.

My health and my heart are broke by age and crosses. I resolve to retire from the world and from all affairs. I never could be of use to you, but in so far as I was directed by some few honourable persons, deservedly respected by all who know them: the manner in which you received lately a message from them, full of zeal for your interest and affection for your person, has, I fear, put an end to that correspondence, and, after your threatening to publish their names, from no other provocation than their representing to you what they judge for your true interest, (and of which they are without doubt the best judges,) can I expose any who may trust me with their confidence to such hazard. I appeal to your own conscience (and I may to the world) if I can. I here take leave of politicks, praying God he may open your eyes to your true interest, and give you as honest advisers and better received than those you had lately, and who are the only with whom I could serve you. I have the honor to be, with the greatest respect,

Your mo: humble and most obedt. servant,

(No Signature.)

## No. CCLXXIV.

*Answer by Prince Charles to the foregoing, from the draught in his own hand.*

To L<sup>d</sup> Marischal.

Ye 18th May, 1754, L. M.

SIR,

You are the only friend that I know of this side the water. My misfortunes are so great that they render me really quite incapable of supporting the impertinencies of low people. However, I am so much a countryman to lay side any personal piques *pro rem*. But I do not think a Prince can (he I am persuaded, will be able to shew himself in his true light one day). My heart is broke enough without that you should finish it, your expressions are so strong without knowing where. I am obliged here to let you see clear, at least in one article. Any one whosoever that has told you I gave such a message to E<sup>d</sup> as you mention, has told you a damned lie (God forgive them). I would not do the least hurt to my greatest enemy, (were he in my power,) much less any one that professes to be mine. I have the honor to be for ever yours,

DOUGLAS.

P. S. I send you this by L<sup>d</sup> Welch, and have told him I did not know whether you would answer me, as you never writ me a line since at Paris. So that you can answer me by what canal you please.

\* Sic in orig.

## \* No. CCLXXV.

*Memorandum in Prince Charles's hand-writing.*

Fe 1st July, 1754.

Mr not being in my place is either against my honour or my interest. My not going to S. again, or any place without an entire intention of the Sovereign of the place to give me effectual succours to effectuate my ambition, which is only my (a word which follows in the original illegible). If the person Ward insinuates any thing in regard to money, it must be by himself entirely and not from me, as I am in the greatest necessity for want of supplies, and have always made my rule never to ask any but such (two words which follow illegible) for the good of my poor country and people, &c.

My full powers and commission of regency renewed when I went to England in the year 1750, and nothing to be said at Rome, for every (thing) there is known, and my brother, who has got no confidence of my Father, has always acted, as far as in his power, against my interest. Also O'bryen, he is the greatest rogue is there. His wife, I believe, is at Paris, and is a little good other husband. All this to be said to Mr Ward.

## No. CCLXXVI.

*Prince Charles to Macpherson of Cluny, from the draught in Charles's hand-writing.*

For C. M. in Scotld.

Ye 4th September, 1754.

SIR,

THIS is to desire you to come as soon as you can conveniently to Paris, bringing over with you all the effects whatsoever that I left in your hands when I was in Scotland, as also whatever money you can come at, for I happen to be at present in great straits, which makes me wish that you should delay as little as possible to meet me for that effect. You are to address yourself when arrived at Paris to Mr John Waters, Banker, &c. He will direct you where to find your sincere friend,

C. P.

## \* No. CCLXXVII.

*Prince Charles to Mr Edgar.*

Ye 31st December, 1754, Mr Ed.

SIR,

I CANNOT slip this day without desiring you to make my humble respects to my best friend, wishing that honest man many a happy New Year, with all the contentment his heart can wish for. Allow me, dear Sir, to wish you the same, and to believe me for ever your most obedt. servant,

J. D.

My health is good, as I hope this will find yours and my good friend.

## \* No. CCLXXVIII.

*The same to the same.*

12th March, 1755.

SIR,

I RECEIVED yours of the 31st December with the inclosed, and have got yours of the 4th February. It grieves me to the very heart not to be able at present to give any comfortable news to the honest man. All I can say and certify is, that, as long as I breathe, nothing in the world would hinder me from pursuing what I think to be for the best, joined with honour and duty, which I hope never to go astray from. Be pleased to make my most humble duty to that honest man, with the sincerest wishes of all happiness; and believe me for ever, Dear Sir,

Your true friend and most obedt. humble servant,  
J. D.

## \* No. CCLXXIX.

*The Chevalier de St George to Prince Charles, addressed "For Mr John Douglas."*

April 14th, 1755.

It is always a pleasure to me to hear from my dear friend, which made your letter of 12th March most welcome to me, tho' I can't but be concerned when you say you are not able to give me any comfortable news at present; and it grieves me yet more not so much as to be able to foresee or guess when I may receive from you any news at all about what relates to you. In my present obscurity it cannot, however, but be a comfort to me to see you in the sentiments you express of always pursuing what you *think for the best with honour and duty*.\* But is it impossible that what you may think for the best may be otherways? And do you rightly understand the extensive sense of honor and duty? from which you say you will never go astray. If you can keep up to that rule you will then be really an honest man, which is the new name you give me, and with which I am much pleased, since it is a title I value more than all those which vanity can desire or flattery invent. It is a title which we are all obliged to pretend to, and which we must all, without vanity, think we deserve, and unless we deserve it in reality, we can neither be happy in the next world nor even in this, because peace and tranquillity of mind is only the share of honest men. The best wish I can, therefore, make you, is that you may yourself long deserve and enjoy that title: it would be the most effectual means of drawing God's blessing upon you in all respects, and without his, what would mine avail you. I hope this will find you in good health. I tenderly embrace you.

(No Signature.)

\* The italics are underscored in the original.

## \* No. CCLXXX.

*The same to the same.*

ALEANO, May 20th, 1755.

A PERSON who is now at Rome, and who should be well informed of what passes at the Court of France, told a friend of mine, some days ago, that you had writ to the Mareschal de Richlieu to express your desire of speaking to him; that the Mareschal had his Majesty's leave to come to you, and that you had not been much pleased with your conversation with him. The person who told this entered into no farther particulars; but you must know whether what he said be true or not. What is certain is, that there seems to be a near prospect of a war, which, if it happens, the different Princes concerned will cause you to act as they think best for their essential interest, without passion or prevention, tho' perhaps without all that regard to those sentiments of justice, honor, or generosity, which might be expected from them, for those are virtues which now-a-days are become very rare. If you have a sure and new prospect of the restoration of our Family without any foreign assistance, it is certainly proper, on all accounts, that so great and happy an event should be brought about without slaughter or bloodshed, and by the good will of our countrymen alone, than that they should be beholding to foreigners for it. But if that be not the case, as I am afraid it is not, nor ever will be, are we to let our country and ourselves remain in our present unhappy situation, rather than make use of such foreign assistance as Providence may one day afford us towards our mutual delivery? Foreigners make use of us for their ends, why should we debar ourselves from making use of them for ours? especially for so great and so good a one as ours is. Tho' I am afraid your behaviour towards me for some years past would be far from an encouragement to any Potentate to espouse our cause, and you must be sensible, that were you to carry this behaviour to certain lengths, it would be the total ruin of our family, and you would, by acting in such a manner, subvert in reality the constitution of our country; but far be it from me to suspect you of any thing of the kind, tho' should you not alter your conduct, I can easily foresee the great embarras I shall be in if any foreign Potentate applies to me with proposals and projects leading to my restoration. What can I say, or how can I act in such a case? If I speak or act at all, I run the risk of disturbing and perhaps ruining your projects, which may be wise and good for ought I know. If I say nothing, it is rejecting the proposals which may be fatal to our interest in another way; and if I tell the reason why I do not speak, it is publishing yet more to the world what it is to be wished were concealed from all mankind. For God's sake, for your own and mine, consider sincerely and impartially on these important topics. If you have hitherto failed to me, with God's help, I shall never fail to you, and therefore I thought it incumbent on me, in this critical juncture, to suggest to you these general reflexions which might not perhaps altogether occur to you, for my present obscurity makes it impossible for me to enter into particulars. You know enough of my sentiments to be convinced that I can have no sort of selfish view in all these matters, and, therefore, what comes from me should make the more impression upon you. It is your true and solid honor and interest that I have only at heart, and shall never cease doing what is in my power to promote them. God in heaven bless my dear son, whom I tenderly embrace.

JAMES R.



## \* No. CCLXXXI.

*"Memoir," or Notes of a statement made by a deputation sent over to Prince Charles at a conference with him, drawn up at his own desire.*

In obedience to express commands, we have put in writing what was recommended and enjoined us in the strongest terms to be represented to M. D.

In the first place, to assure him that his friends have his interest, honor, and wellbeing fully as much at heart as their own, and would go every reasonable length to make his life comfortable to such time as better things may offer. But hop'd, at same time, that he would listen to their counsel both with regard to his own life and safety and theirs. Therefore enjoined to assure him in the most positive terms that he had been for some time eyed,—that his movements in a family way had been, and would continue to be infallible marks to trace him, to avoid which they most earnestly entreated that he would condescend to remove directly, from wherever he might happen to be in so private a manner, that only a few faithful friends could know it, as the only means to escape the notice of many who were employed expressly to observe his motions and condition. That if he granted them the first, this so reasonable request, they would consider it a happy omen to their future hopes. But that if, on the contrary, he continued to oppose his own single opinion against the deliberate observations and reflexions of his best friends, it would affect them with very melancholy reflexions, and would but too much confirm the impudent and villainous aspersions of Mr D——s, which had already gained so great ground upon many, that nothing but his own future conduct could possibly remove them, for without convincing proofs of that kind, all that he himself or his best friends could say in his favours, would be of very small weight; so entreated, he would henceforth be upon his guard in living with such circumspection, prudence, and regularity, to leave no handle even to his greatest enemies, while at the same time it was the only means to secure the health, safety, and life of a person for whom they had a respect and value above all other human beings. That in case of his readily listening to a proposal so reasonable, and so absolutely necessary for his life and safety, nothing would be wanting that was in their power towards his comfort and satisfaction at present, as well as towards his future views when a proper opportunity offers, and in the mean time, that they would take care to look out for, and send over some proper prudent person to attend him, whose sufficiency, honour, and integrity, might be depended upon. In which capacity S. C. G. had long offered himself, and for that purpose was to have sold and brought with him the value of a large landed estate. But that the reports of the manner he had some time lived in had much cooled that gentleman's zeal, and made him hesitate, and Mr D——s aspersions had completely changed his resolutions, and were like to prove fatal to him with real grief. Nor is it any surprise they did so, considering that Mr D——s had represented Mr D. (the Prince) as one entirely abandoned to an irregular debauched life even to excess, which brought his health, and even his life daily in danger,—that in these excesses he had no guard either on his conduct or on his expressions, and was in some degree void of reason,—that he was always too precipitate in taking his resolutions, and was then obstinate and deaf to the most solid advice,—that he put no value upon, and was ungrateful for the very best services, and was unforgiving and revengeful for the very smallest offence. That he acted and spoke upon all occasions with an obstinacy that could bear no controul, and in all appearance without any just thought or reflexion.

In a word, that he had in his person alone all the vices and faults that had ever been in his Family, without any single one of their virtues ; so of course was entirely unqualified to act the part that had been hoped for at his hands. He appealed, at same time, to the judgment of the worthy gentlemen, to whom he told it, what was to be expected from such a person, had he power in his hands, who could behave in such an unaccountable manner having none, and whether the benevolent character was to be hoped for from a man who seemed to act the Tyrant even in private life. He begged that they would lay their hands on their hearts, and consider coolly if the lasting happiness of themselves and their families, and the prosperity of their country, were not greatly to be preferred to their affection and attachment to any particular person or family. That if these great blessings were obtained, it was no matter to them or the nation by what hand they came,—that, therefore, if a change must be in order to obtain them, some better qualified person behoved to be found out, and all thoughts of him laid for ever aside, and affirmed positively that he had Mr G——g's authority for what articles he advanced. Mr D.'s friends then added that they were certain this mortifying heavy charge was without great foundation, but that they were likewise too certain that Mr G——g's having been so long eye-witness to Mr D.'s conduct, and one in whom confidence having been placed, had very fatal and deep impression upon the minds of many, which nothing but his own prudent, steady, firm conduct and circumspection for the future, could possibly remove. That if it were still far from too late, that they were certain he was blessed with great natural parts, with a quickness and penetration above most men, were they properly balanced. That these qualities were very valuable in any man, but still more in youth if properly made use of. But that it was against the nature of things for youth to have the prudence and experience of age. That it was no sign of wisdom to act entirely without counsel ; but true wisdom was only to be discovered by a right choice of counsellors, and then acting steadily by their advice. That even such as were masters of the greatest experience and sagacity had often need of counsel, and that none could be reckoned truly wise even in private affairs, who did not sometimes consult with and put confidence in some solid friends. But how much more ought it to be done in matters which concern kingdoms and nations, even all Europe, and perhaps the whole world. Now, said they, is the period for reflexion, and to wait with patience and prudence for favourable events, for times appear critical, and seem to be on the eve of great misunderstandings, which in all appearance may take deep root. War is evidently at present neither the interest nor inclination of either ; but sooner or later, and perhaps ere long, it must be the result. Trade is the question. The command of the seas and the command of trade are inseparable. Both nations view them in that light, and both nations have them greatly at heart. So pride, interest, and the desire of power, combine to prompt each nation to wish earnestly for the uppermost, insomuch, that it is the opinion of the most reflecting part of the world, that Rome and Carthage will soon be the case. The one or the other must have dominion. Were therefore B——n headed by one who has no separate interest from the nation, the question on which side dominion would fall might be easily determined, and most people of the best understanding in England are of that opinion. So the chief point is to convince them that there is a valuable personage on whom their interest and happiness depend, whose only interest and true happiness is unalterably connected with theirs, and who is willing and ready to sacrifice some part of his own happiness and satisfactions in order to contribute to theirs, and to gain and confirm their esteem.

These things they charged us to represent in plain terms, as we regarded the confidence they were pleased to put in us, as we regarded our duty to Mr D., to ourselves, or even to God Almighty. We have already done so to the best of our capacity in words, and we think we should have been deficient in all these points had we done otherways. In obedience to Mr D.'s commands, we have now likewise put them in writing in the best manner we can. They entreat and expect that the whole will be deliberately considered, and an answer sent them by us. So may the all-powerful hand second their good intentions.

C. M. P.

H. P.

15th August, 1755.

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## No. CCLXXXII

### *Prince Charles's Answer.*

TO MY FRIENDS.

GENTLEMEN,

I SOMETIME ago received a very surprising message, delivered in a still more surprising manner. Reason may, and I hope always shall, prevail; but my own heart deceives me if threats or promises ever can. I had always determined to wait events in silence or patience, and believed the advances, which, to your knowledge, I have already made, were as great as could be reasonably expected on my part. Yet the influence of wellwishers, of whose sincerity I am satisfied, has made me put pen to paper in vindication of my character, which I understand by them some unworthy people have had the insolence to attack, very possibly to serve some mean purposes of their own. Conscious of my conduct, I despise their low malice; and I consider it to be below my dignity to treat them in the terms they merit. Yet I was willing to bring truth to light. I have long desired a churchman from your hands to attend me, but my expectations have hitherto been disappointed.

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## \* No. CCLXXXIII.

### *Prince Charles to Mr Edgar.*

The 16th September, 1755.

SIR,

I RECEIVED yours of the 21st July with one inclosed from my Master. I am sorry not to be able to say to him any thing that could be agreeable, which hinders me out of respect to trouble him with a letter, as what I write to you comes to the same. My sentiments, my honor, my real interest, joined with the unworthy behaviour of some people, has reduced me these several years past to great straits, but now more than ever, which obliges me (with concern) to dismiss the most part of my Family. I send you here a list of them, hoping that, when you lay it before the King, he will, out of his good heart, have compassion on such poor distressed subjects. I cannot put in writing all that might be said: were it not so far and dangerous I would make a journey a purpose to clear you on many subjects, but that seems to be not faisable. I have the cypher

by me, but wish you did not make use of the Nos. without an absolute necessity. My health is good, so remain, desiring you to lay me most dutifully at my Master's feet, and to believe me for ever your sincere friend,

J. DOUGLAS.

Here follows the list of the servants that I recommend most earnestly to his Majesty's goodness:—

Daniel and Morrison, valet-de-chambres. The first it will be charity to allow him something to live upon, for he could not get service any where. As to Morrison, his Majesty could not make a better acquisition than to take him for a valet-de-chambre. He shaves and combs a wig perfectly well, and is of the best character. I can express he had very good living when I took him in my service at Edinburgh, since which he was made prisoner and condemned to be hanged. It would be too long to say how he escaped. Michel's son is a downright idiot. I gave him 360 Livres a-year. There is one Dillon, a tailor. He had the same sum: he is esteemed a good workman. Mackenzie, Sword, Macdonell, and Duncan, all footmen. The latter, tho' noways fitting for service, deserves particular attention: he was a poor shepherd in Cameron's clan that was of service to me when I was skulking in the Highlands.

P. S. I just received yours of the 19th August with the inclosed. All I can say is, I am always ready for any thing that would be really to the purpose. If it has not happened why (God forbid) should not! It will never be either my fault nor the sparing of any troubles. My misfortunes have occasioned me of late excessive vapours, which, tho' not immediately dangerous, are notwithstanding very troublesome.

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\* No. CCLXXXIV.

*Extract of a Letter,—Lord George Murray to Mr Edgar.*

EMMERICK, 22d September, 1755.

I IMAGINE things are now come to such a length that it is not to be expected that matters can be made up between France and the present Court of London: so that there is all the reason imaginable to expect that his Most Christian Majesty will find that the only method to be pursued, for his own interest, is to endeavour, with all his might, to assist and support our Master's just right and the royal cause. Had the ministers of the Court of Versailles, 10 years ago, been persuaded that the supporting his Royal Highness the Prince, at the beginning of his attempt, in a proper manner, with the best measures they could take for the interest of their Master as well as that of the King, our gracious sovereign, I think I do not say too much if I affirm that his R. H. could not have failed of success. I had at that time opportunities of knowing the sentiments and way of thinking of most people in Great Britain. Many, very many, wished well to the royal cause. Great numbers would have looked on, and would have turned to the side that had success. And for those who for their own interest were zealous for the Hanoverian Government, they would easily have been mastered, if, as I have said, his R. H. had been supplied from the beginning with a proper force. But there is no recalling what is past. I believe that in France they are convinced now of the error they were in at the time. If ever they resolve to espouse the cause of the royal family it must be in earnest, and their main view must be to that. Then there would be no diffi-

culty of adjusting limits in America. I have been much longer upon the subject than I intended. Perhaps zeal has led me too far.

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## No. CCLXXXV.

*The Chevalier de St George to Prince Charles.*

ROME, December 2d, 1755.

WHEN you recommended to me, some weeks ago, several of your servants whom you had dismissed, I should not have imagined that you would have sent any of them here without waiting for my answer, so that I was much surprised when five of them came here about a month ago from Avignon. If you had considered a little, you had not, I am persuaded, taken the party to send them here; for you must be sensible I am not in a condition to give new pensions, and tho' I were I could have equally maintained the poor people in France, where they cannot well fail of finding some opportunities of shifting and providing for themselves in some shape or another, and you could there have helped them by your recommendations, whereas here they could only be a dead load upon me, and exposed from one day to another to be left entirely on the Pavé by my death, without hopes or prospect of settling themselves in any way in this country; so that, all considered, I thought I could not enter in a better manner into your charitable disposition towards them than by sending them back from whence they came; and for that effect, after having maintained them during their abode here, I gave them 40 crowns a-piece, which I took upon me to take out of the little rent from your Licoghi di Monte, (for as to the fund itself, together with your jewels, I shall always keep them untouched at your disposal,) and your brother gives them also ten zechms a-piece,—so that they will have wherewithal to maintain themselves for some time after their arrival in France. I must here observe to you that I have acted with these poor people in the same manner as I have done of late towards persons of a much higher sphere, and who have merit with me. For you must easily feel the inconveniences which might ensue from my allowing every body that pleased to come and fix themselves upon me, and the impossibility I should be in to maintain them. I endeavour to act by system, and it is necessity and prudence that require that of me. I had writ sooner to you if it had not pleased Providence to visit me with a great fit of sickness, of which, I thank God, I am now recovering, but have not yet strength enough to say here all that my concern and tenderness for you might suggest to me in this great conjuncture. What little life and health may remain to me shall be employed in doing all that may depend upon me for your real good and advantage; but I see with concern that my wishes and pains will be fruitless if you do not alter your conduct towards me. I beseech God to bless, enlighten, and direct my dear Son, whom I tenderly embrace, and am all yours.



## No. CCLXXXVI.

*The Chevalier de St George to Mr John Græme.*

ROME, 9ber 20th, 1759.

SIR,

You will, I am sure, be concerned for poor Lord Lismore's death. I am myself very much, and with reason ; for I have lost in him a true friend, and an old and most faithful servant ; but at our age it is a wonder when we live and none when we die ; so that we are yet more obliged than younger people to be always prepared for that great and last hour ; but still, as long as we are in this world, it is our duty to acquit ourselves of the obligations of the station in which Providence has placed us. While the ill state of my health at present makes me unfit for almost any application,—so that, after serious reflexions, I have determined to call for you here for to replace Lord Lismore, and assist me, as he did, in quality of minister, but without the title of Secretary of State. You will see by this resolution the place you always retain in my esteem and good opinion, and I do not foresee your having any difficulty in complying with my desire to have you about my person. This climate is favourable for old people, and I am persuaded you will be able to live very comfortably in this place. I shall continue to you the same pension you have so long enjoyed. You will have an apartment in the house with a scrivener and two horses at your disposal ; and tho' I am now no more able to eat but alone, you shall have your table, in one shape or another, and after that I shall endeavour to secure a small portion to you after my death. It is also my intention to give you, when here, the title of a Scotch Earl, and I even wish you could now send me the Titles you desire to have that I may give you the warrant at your arrival here, and that you may take upon you that title at the same time. I would have you inform Lady Lismore of your coming here, and it will be necessary that you settle a correspondence with her, tho' it need not be constant nor regular for what may occur for my service, and you will find here inclosed a letter of mine to give her, with another to introduce you to the Duke of Choiseul, with whom I am glad to find you are acquainted and protected by him. However, if Cardinal de Luynes be at Paris, it will be fit that he should carry you to the minister, and therefore you will find a letter from me for him also, which you may destroy should he be at Sens or at a distance from Court, since he could not then carry you there, and that I write another letter to him secretly by this post. You know, I believe, enough of my present situation to foresee you will have little fatigue or business here ; but that little is more than I can always do myself. I think that I have now sufficiently explained all I intended to say in this letter. As for the time of your setting out, in general, the sooner the better ; but with all proper regards for the season and your health. And you will find here inclosed an order of 2000 livres upon Waters for the expenses of your journey. I heartily wish it may be favourable and of no detriment to your health. Assuring you of my constant friendship and kindness, of which you can have no doubt.

P. S. Before you leave Paris I would have you make many kind and affectionate compliments from me to the Princess of Conty. And it will be necessary before you begin your journey that you make a visit also to the Mareschal de Belleisle, and ask his commands for home. He professes a great attachment for me and my family, and may be of great service to us.



## \* No. CCLXXXVII.

*Mr Tyrrel to Mr Edgar (without date).*

DEAR JAMES,

WHAT I am here to tell you of is of so singular a nature that I was almost determined to say nothing of it, for fear I should have the misfortune to give offence, notwithstanding my way of thinking, which, I hope, I shall never have occasion to reprove myself of; but upon mature deliberation, and with regard to myself, I thought that I should be wanting in my duty were I to keep to myself what I am at last resolved to acquaint you with, fully persuaded that you will make a proper and prudent use of this hint. I have been told that some well-meaning English gentlemen made great complaints of the little notice that his Royal Highness the Duke takes of them as often as they put themselves in his way, on purpose to have the pleasure to see him, as well as the honour to salute him: they seek for those occasions in churches and other public places, and they say, as I am informed, that he shows slight and contempt of them rather than any disposition to favour them with a kind and gracious look as the King does. You may be well convinced that I am not easily carried to believe such reports, but you may see the consequences of such spreadings. I can hardly believe they are well-meaning gentlemen; for if so, they should rather be silent. Adieu, Dear James, &c.

## \* No. CCLXXXVIII.

*Cardinal York to Prince Charles.*FRASCATI, *Thursday Morning.*

DEAR BROTHER,

I RECEIVED yesterday afternoon your kind letter together with Duncan's memorial. There is as yet no vacancy, but when it should happen you may be sure I do myself a great pleasure to get a Benefice for the person you recommend, provided he be of age to receive Holy orders, which is absolutely necessary in those Benefices. I shall expect you with impatience on Saturday, and in the meantime I remain, with the utmost respect and most tender attachment,

Your most loving and devoted Brother,

HENRY, *Cardinal.*



# HISTORY OF THE HIGHLANDS.

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## MILITARY SERVICE OF THE HIGHLAND REGIMENTS.

### CHAPTER I.

Military character—Embodying of the independent companies, known by the name of the Black Watch—Formed into a regular regiment (the 43d) in 1740—List of officers—March for England—Review—Desertion—Flanders—Battle of Fontenoy, 1745—Conduct of the regiment on that occasion—Returns to England—Embarks for the French coast—Failure of that expedition—The regiment lands in Ireland—Re-embarks for Flanders—Battle of Lafeldt, 1747—Return of the regiment to Ireland—Number changed from the 43d to the 42d—Exemplary conduct of the regiment in Ireland—Embarks for New York, 1756—Louisbourg, 1757—Ticonderoga, 1758—Seven new companies raised, 1758—Embark for the West Indies, 1759—Ticonderoga and Crown Point, 1759—Surrender of Montreal, 1760—Martinique, 1760—Havannah, 1762—Bushy Run, 1763—Fort Pitt, 1763—Ireland, 1767—Return of the 42d to Scotland, 1775.

HITHERTO the account of the military exploits of the Highlanders has been limited to the exertions which, for a century, they made in behalf of the unfortunate Stuarts. We are now to notice their operations on a more extended field of action, by giving a condensed sketch of their services in the cause of the country and of the government; services which, by more fully developing their military character, have acquired for them a reputation as deserving as it has been unexampled. From moral as well as from physical causes, the Highlanders were well fitted to attain this pre-eminence.

“In forming his military character, the Highlander was not more favoured by nature than by the social system under which he lived. Nursed in poverty, he acquired a hardihood which enabled him to sustain severe privations. As the simplicity of his life gave vigour to his body, so it fortified his mind. Possessing a frame and constitution thus hardened, he was taught to consider courage as the most honourable virtue, cowardice the most disgraceful failing; to venerate and obey his chief, and to devote himself for his native country and clan; and thus prepared to be a soldier, he was ready to follow wherever honour and duty called him. With such principles, and regarding any disgrace he might bring on his clan and district as the most cruel misfortune, the Highland private soldier had a peculiar motive to exertion. The common soldier of many other countries has scarcely any other stimulus to the performance of his duty than the fear of chastisement, or the habit

of mechanical obedience to command, produced by the discipline in which he has been trained. With a Highland soldier it is otherwise. When in a national or district corps, he is surrounded by the companions of his youth and the rivals of his early achievements; he feels the impulse of emulation strengthened by the consciousness that every proof which he displays, either of bravery or cowardice, will find its way to his native home. He thus learns to appreciate the value of a good name; and it is thus, that in a Highland regiment, consisting of men from the same country, whose kindred and connexions are mutually known, every individual feels that his conduct is the subject of observation, and that, independently of his duty as a member of a systematic whole, he has to sustain a separate and individual reputation, which will be reflected on his family, and district or glen. Hence he requires no artificial excitements. He acts from motives within himself; his point is fixed, and his aim must terminate either in victory or death. The German soldier considers himself as a part of the military machine, and duly marked out in the orders of the day. He moves onward to his destination with a well-trained pace, and with as phlegmatic indifference to the result, as a labourer who works for his daily hire. The courage of the French soldier is supported in the hour of trial, by his high notions of the point of honour; but this display of spirit is not always steady: neither French nor German is confident in himself if an enemy gain his flank or rear. A Highland soldier faces his enemy, whether in front, rear, or flank; and if he has confidence in his commander, it may be predicted with certainty that he will be victorious, or die on the ground which he maintains. He goes into the field resolved not to disgrace his name. A striking characteristic of the Highlander is, that all his actions seem to flow from sentiment. His endurance of privation and fatigue,—his resistance of hostile opposition,—his solicitude for the good opinion of his superiors,—all originate in this source, whence also proceeds his obedience, which is always most *conspicuous when exhibited under kind treatment*. Hence arises the difference observable between the conduct of one regiment of Highlanders and that of another, and frequently even of the same regiment at different times, and under different management. A Highland regiment, to be orderly and well disciplined, ought to be commanded by men who are capable of appreciating their character, directing their passions and prejudices, and acquiring their entire confidence and affection. The officer to whom the command of Highlanders is intrusted, must endeavour to acquire their confidence and good opinion. With this view, he must watch over the propriety of his own conduct. He must observe the strictest justice and fidelity in his promises to his men, conciliate them by an attention to their dispositions and prejudices, and, at the same time, by preserving a firm and steady authority, without which he will not be respected.

“Officers who are accustomed to command Highland soldiers find it easy to guide and control them when their full confidence has been

obtained; but when distrust prevails severity ensues, with a consequent neglect of duty, and by a continuance of this unhappy misunderstanding, the men become stubborn, disobedient, and in the end mutinous. The spirit of a Highland soldier revolts at any unnecessary severity; though he may be led to the mouth of a cannon if properly directed, will rather die than be unfaithful to his trust. But if, instead of leading, his officers attempt to drive him, he may fail in the discharge of the most common duties. A learned and ingenious author, who, though himself a lowlander, had ample opportunity, while serving in many campaigns with Highland regiments, of becoming intimately acquainted with their character, thus develops their conduct in the field: 'The character of ardour belongs to the Highlander; he acts from an internal sentiment, and possesses a pride of honour which does not permit him to retire from danger with a confession of inferiority. This is a property of his nature, and as it is so, it becomes the business of officers, who command Highland troops, to estimate the national character correctly, that they may not through ignorance misapply their means, and thereby concert their own ruin.

"If ardour be the characteristic of the Highlanders, it is evident that they are not calculated for mechanical manœuvres, nor for demonstrations and encounters with a view to diversion; for unless the purpose be previously explained and understood in its full extent, the Highlander darts on the enemy with impetuosity, rushing into close action, where it was only intended to amuse. He does not brook disappointment, sustain a galling distant fire with coolness, or retire from an enterprise with temper. He may be trusted to cover the most dangerous retreat assigned to him as a duty; a retreat in consequence of his own failure is likely to degenerate into a rout. In action the Highlander requires to see his object fully: he then feels the impression of his duty, and acts animatedly and consistently, more from impression and sentiment than from external impulse of command; for when an enemy is before the Highlander, the authority of the officer may be said to cease. Different nations have different excellencies or defects in war. Some excel in the use of missile weapons: the power of the Highlander lies in close combat. Close charge was his ancient mode of attack; and it is probably from impression ingrafted in his nature in consequence of the national mode of war, that he still sustains the approaching point of a naked weapon with a steadier eye than any other man in Europe. Some nations turn with fear from the countenance of an enraged enemy: the Highlander rushes towards it with ardour; and if he can grasp his foe as man with man, his courage is secure.'"

The author here quoted by General Stewart, after describing the social meetings of the Highlanders at which their warlike exploits were the theme of conversation, thus proceeds:—"The Highlanders, in this

manner, looking daily on war, and the enterprise of war, with interest and animation, acquire radical ideas of the military art. Without design or formal intention, this germ of military education, planted in the first years of life, assumes a fair growth among these northern Scots; for as objects of war and warlike enterprise command more than other objects the exertions of the thinking faculty, the Highlanders, formed with sound minds, and susceptible of good impressions, discover more natural sagacity than any other class of people in the kingdom, perhaps than any other people in Europe. The Highlanders, in relation with their southern neighbours, were considered as freebooters, barbarians, given to spoil and plunder. In former times the charge had some appearance of truth, for the lowlanders were considered as a hostile or strange people. But though they drove the cattle of a hostile tribe, or ravaged a lowland district, with which they had no connexion or bond of amity, their conduct in the year 1745 proves that they are neither a ferocious nor a cruel people; for no troops probably ever traversed a country which might be esteemed hostile with fewer traces of outrage. They are now better known; their character is conspicuous for honesty and fidelity. They possess the most exalted notions of honour, the warmest friendships, and the highest portion of mental pride of any people perhaps in Europe. Their ideas are few, but their sentiments are strong; their virtues, principles in their nature."\*

The design of rendering such a valuable class of subjects available to the state by forming regular military corps out of it, seems not to have entered into the views of the government till about the year seventeen hundred and twenty-nine, or seventeen hundred and thirty, when six companies of Highlanders were raised, which, from forming distinct corps unconnected with each other, received the appellation of independent companies. Three of these companies consisted of one hundred men each, and were therefore called large companies, Lord Lovat, Sir Duncan Campbell of Lochnell, and Colonel Grant of Ballindalloch, were appointed captains over them. The three smaller companies, which consisted of seventy each, were commanded by Colonel Alexander Campbell of Finab, John Campbell of Carrick, and George Munro of Culcairn, under the commission of captain-lieutenants. To each of the six companies were attached two lieutenants and one ensign. To distinguish them from the regular troops, who, from the colour of their clothes, were called *Saighdearan Dearg*, or Red soldiers; the independent companies, who were attired in their native tartan, were designated *Am Freiceadan Dubh*, or Black Watch,—an appellation which they received from the sombre appearance of their dress.

As the services of these companies were not required beyond their own territory, and as the intrants were not subjected to the humiliating provisions of the disarming act, no difficulty was found in forming them; and

\* Jackson's Systematic View of the Formation, Discipline, and Economy of European Armies.



when completed, they presented the singular spectacle of a number of young men of respectable families serving as privates in the ranks. "Many of the men who composed these companies were of a higher station in society than that from which soldiers in general are raised; cadets of gentlemen's families, sons of gentlemen farmers, and tacksmen, either immediately or distantly descended from gentlemen's families,—men who felt themselves responsible for their conduct to high-minded and honourable families, as well as to a country for which they cherished a devoted affection. In addition to the advantages derived from their superior rank in life, they possessed, in an eminent degree, that of a commanding external deportment, special care being taken in selecting men of full height, well proportioned, and of handsome appearance." \*

The duties assigned to these companies were to enforce the disarming act, to overawe the disaffected, and watch their motions, and to check depredations. For this purpose they were stationed in small detachments in different parts of the country, and generally throughout the district in which they were raised. Thus Fort Augustus and the neighbouring parts of Inverness-shire were occupied by the Frasers under Lord Lovat; Ballindalloch and the Grants were stationed in Strathspey and Badenoch; the Munros, under Culcairn, in Ross and Sutherland; Lochnell's and Carrick's companies were stationed in Athole and Breadalbane, and Finab's in Lochaber, and the northern parts of Argyle-shire among the disaffected Camerons, and Stewarts of Appin. All Highlanders of whatever clan were admitted indiscriminately into these companies as soldiers; but the officers were taken, almost exclusively, from the whig clans.

The independent companies continued to exist as such until the year seventeen hundred and thirty-nine, when government resolved to raise four additional companies, and to form the whole into a regiment of the line. For this purpose, letters of service, dated the twenty-fifth of October, seventeen hundred and thirty-nine, were addressed to the earl of Craufurd and Lindsay, who was appointed to the command of the regiment about to be formed, which was to consist of one thousand men. The regiment was accordingly embodied in the month of May, seventeen hundred and forty, on a field between Taybridge and Aberfeldy, in the county of Perth, under the number of the 43d regiment. "The uniform was a scarlet jacket and waistcoat, with buff facings and white lace,—tartan plaid of twelve yards plaited round the middle of the body, the upper part being fixed on the left shoulder ready to be thrown loose,

\* Stewart's Sketches. In confirmation of this, General Stewart mentions the case of Mr Stewart of Bohallie, his grand-uncle by marriage, who was one of the gentlemen soldiers in Carrick's company. "This gentleman, a man of family and education, was five feet eleven inches in height, remarkable for his personal strength and activity, and one of the best swordsmen of his time in an age when good swordsmanship was common, and considered an indispensable and graceful accomplishment of a gentleman; and yet, with all these qualifications, he was only a centre man of the centre rank of his company."

and wrapped over both shoulders and firelock in rainy weather. At night the plaid served the purpose of a blanket, and was a sufficient covering for the Highlander. These were called belted plaids from being kept tight to the body by a belt, and were worn on guards, reviews, and on all occasions when the men were in full dress. On this belt hung the pistols and dirk when worn. In the barracks, and when not on duty, the little kilt or philibeg was worn, a blue bonnet with a border of white, red and green, arranged in small squares to resemble, as is said, the *fess cheque* in the arms of the different branches of the Stewart family, and a tuft of feathers, or sometimes, from economy or necessity, a small piece of black bear-skin. The arms were a musket, a bayonet, and a large basket-hilted broadsword. These were furnished by government. Such of the men as chose to supply themselves with pistols and dirks were allowed to carry them, and some had targets after the fashion of their country. The sword-belt was of black leather, and the cartouch-box was carried in front, supported by a narrow belt round the middle.\*

The officers appointed to this regiment were,—

*Colonel*—John, Earl of Craufurd and Lindsay, died in 1748.

*Lieutenant-Colonel*—Sir Robert Munro of Fowlis, Baronet, killed at Falkirk, 1746.

*Major*—George Grant, brother of the Laird of Grant, removed from the service by sentence of a court-martial, for allowing the rebels to get possession of the castle of Inverness in 1746.

#### *Captains.*

George Munro of Culcairn, killed in 1746.

Dugal Campbell of Craignish, retired in 1745.

John Campbell of Carrick, killed at Fontenoy.

Colin Campbell, junior, of Monzie, retired in 1743.

Sir James Colquhoun of Luss, Bart., retired in 1748.

Colin Campbell of Ballimore, retired.

John Munro, promoted to be Lieutenant-Colonel in 1745, retired in 1749.

Captain-Lieutenant Duncan Macfarlane, retired in 1744.

#### *Lieutenants.*

Paul Macpherson.

Lewis Grant of Auchterblair.

John Maclean of Kingarloch. } Both removed from the regiment in consequence of having fought a duel in 1744.

John Mackenzie. }

Alexander Macdonald.

Malcolm Fraser, son of Culduthel, killed at Bergen-op-Zoom in 1747.

George Ramsay.

Patrick Grant, son of the Laird of Grant, died Lieutenant-general in 1782.

John Macneil.

*Ensigns.*

Dugal Campbell.	Archd. Macnab, son of the Laird of
Dugal Stewart.	Macnab, died lieut.-general, 1790.
John Menzies of Comrie.	Colin Campbell.
Edward Carrick.	Dugal Stewart.
Gilbert Stewart of Kincraigie.	James Campbell of Glenfalloch,
Gordon Graham of Draines.	died of wounds at Fontenoy.

*Chaplain*—Hon. Gideon Murray.

*Surgeon*—James Munro, son of Sir Henry Munro of Fowlis, killed at Falkirk in 1746.

*Adjutant*—Gilbert Stewart.

*Quarter-master*—John Forbes.

After remaining nearly eighteen months in quarters near Tay bridge, the regiment was marched northward, in the winter of seventeen hundred and forty-one and two, and the men remained in the stations assigned them till the spring of seventeen hundred and forty-three, when they were ordered to repair to Perth. Having assembled there in March of that year, they were surprised on being informed that orders had been received to march the regiment for England, a step which they considered contrary to an alleged understanding when regimented, that the sphere of their services was not to extend beyond their native country. When the intention of employing them in foreign service came to be known, many of the warmest supporters of the government highly disapproved of the design, among whom was Lord-president Forbes. In a letter to General Clayton, the successor of Marshal Wade, the chief commander in Scotland, his lordship thus expresses himself:—"When I first heard of the orders given to the Highland regiment to march southwards, it gave me no sort of concern, because I supposed the intention was only to see them; but as I have lately been assured that they are destined for foreign service, I cannot dissemble my uneasiness at a resolution, that may, in my apprehension, be attended with very bad consequences; nor can I prevail with myself not to communicate to you my thoughts on the subject, however late they may come; because if what I am to suggest has not been already under consideration, it's possible the resolution may be departed from." After noticing the consequences which might result from leaving the Highlands unprotected from the designs of the disaffected in the event of a war with France, he thus proceeds:—"Having thus stated to you the danger I dread, I must, in the next place, put you in mind, that the present system for securing the peace of the Highlands, which is the best I ever heard of, is by regular troops stationed from Inverness to Fort William, amongst the chain of lakes which in a manner divides the Highlands, to command the obedience of the inhabitants of both sides, and by a body of disciplined Highlanders, wearing the dress and speaking the language of the country, to execute such orders as require expedition, and for which neither the dress nor

the manner of the other troops are proper. These Highlanders, now regimented, were at first independent companies; and though their dress, language, and manners, qualified them for securing the low country against depredations; yet that was not the sole use of them: the same qualities fitted them for every expedition that required secrecy and despatch; they served for all purposes of hussars or light horse, in a country where mountains and bogs render cavalry useless, and if properly disposed over the Highlands, nothing that was commonly reported and believed by the Highlanders could be a secret to their commanders, because of their intimacy with the people and the sameness of the language." \*

Notwithstanding this remonstrance, the government persisted in its determination to send the regiment abroad; and to deceive the men, from whom their real destination was concealed, they were told that the object of their march to England was merely to gratify the curiosity of the king, who was desirous of seeing a Highland regiment. Satisfied with this explanation, they proceeded on their march. The English people, who had been led to consider the Highlanders as savages, were struck with the warlike appearance of the regiment and the orderly deportment of the men, who received in the country and towns through which they passed the most friendly attentions.

Having reached the vicinity of London on the twenty-ninth and thirtieth of April, in two divisions, the regiment was reviewed on the fourteenth of May, on Finchley Common, by Marshal Wade. The arrival of the corps in the neighbourhood of the metropolis had attracted vast crowds of people to their quarters, anxious to behold men of whom they had heard the most extraordinary relations; but, mingled with these, were persons who frequented the quarters of the Highlanders from a very different motive. Their object was to sow the seeds of distrust and disaffection among the men, by circulating misrepresentations and falsehoods respecting the intentions of the government. These incendiaries gave out that a gross deception had been practised upon the regiment, in regard to the object of their journey, in proof of which, they adduced the fact of his majesty's departure for Hanover, on the very day of the arrival of the last division, and that the real design of the government was to get rid of them altogether, as disaffected persons, and, with that view, that the regiment was to be transported for life to the American plantations. These insidious falsehoods had their intended effect upon the minds of the Highlanders, who took care, however, to conceal the indignation they felt at their supposed betrayers. All their thoughts were bent upon a return to their own country, and they concerted their measures for its accomplishment with a secrecy which escaped the observation of their officers, of whose integrity in the affair they do not, however, appear to have entertained any suspicion.

\* Culloden Papers, No. CCCXC.

The mutiny which followed created a great sensation, and the circumstances which led to it, formed, both in public and in private, the ordinary topic of discussion. The writer of a pamphlet, which was published immediately after the mutiny, and which contains the best view of the subject, and an intimate knowledge of the facts, thus describes the whole affair:—"From their (the independent companies) first formation, they had always considered themselves as destined to serve exclusively in Scotland, or rather in the Highlands; and a special compact was made, allowing the men to retain their ancient national garb. From their origin and their local attachments, they seemed destined for this special service. Besides, in the discipline to which they were at first subjected under their natural chiefs and superiors, there was much affinity with their ancient usages, so that their service seemed merely that of a clan sanctioned by legal authority. These, and other considerations, strengthened them in the belief that their duty was of a defined and specific nature, and that they were never to be amalgamated with the regular disposable force of the country. As they were deeply impressed with this belief, it was quite natural that they should regard, with great jealousy and distrust, any indication of a wish to change the system. Accordingly, when the design of marching them into England was first intimated to their officers, the men were not shy in protesting against this unexpected measure. By conciliating language, however, they were prevailed upon to commence and continue their march without reluctance. It was even rumoured, in some foreign gazettes, that they had mutinied on the borders, killed many of their officers, carried off their colours, and returned to their native mountains. This account, though glaringly false, was repeated from time to time in those journals, and was neither noticed nor contradicted in those of England, though such an occasion ought not to have been neglected, for giving a candid and full explanation to the Highlanders, which might have prevented much subsequent disquietude.

"On their march through the northern counties of England, they were every where received with such hospitality, that they appeared in the highest spirits; and it was imagined that their attachment to home was so much abated, that they would feel no reluctance to the change. As they approached the metropolis, however, and were exposed to the taunts of the *true-bred English clowns*, they became more gloomy and sullen. Animated, even to the lowest private, with the feelings of gentlemen, they could ill brook the rudeness of boors—nor could they patiently submit to affronts in a country to which they had been called by invitation of their sovereign. A still deeper cause of discontent preyed upon their minds. A rumour had reached them on their march that they were to be embarked for the plantations. The fate of the marines, the invalids, and other regiments which had been sent to these colonies, seemed to mark out this service as at once the most perilous and the most degrading to which British soldiers could be exposed.



With no enemy to encounter worthy of their courage, there was another consideration, which made it peculiarly odious to the Highlanders. By the act of parliament of the eleventh of George I., transportation to the colonies was denounced against the Highland rebels, &c. as the greatest punishment that could be inflicted on them except death, and, when they heard that they were to be sent there, the galling suspicion naturally arose in their minds, that '*after being used as rods to scourge their own countrymen, they were to be thrown into the fire!*' These apprehensions they kept secret even from their own officers; and the care with which they dissembled them is the best evidence of the deep impression which they had made. Amidst all their jealousies and fears, however, they looked forward with considerable expectation to the review, when they were to come under the immediate observation of his majesty, or some of the royal family. On the fourteenth of May they were reviewed by Marshal Wade, and many persons of distinction, who were highly delighted with the promptitude and alacrity with which they went through their military exercises, and gave a very favourable report of them, where it was likely to operate most to their advantage. From that moment, however, all their thoughts were bent on the means of returning to their own country; and on this wild and romantic march they accordingly set out a few days after. Under pretence of preparing for the review, they had been enabled to provide themselves, unsuspectingly, with some necessary articles, and, confiding in their capability of enduring privations and fatigue, they imagined that they should have great advantages over any troops that might be sent in pursuit of them. It was on the night between Tuesday and Wednesday after the review that they assembled on a common near Highgate, and commenced their march to the north. They kept as nearly as possible between the two great roads, passing from wood to wood in such a manner that it was not well known which way they moved. Orders were issued by the lords-justices to the commanding officers of the forces stationed in the counties between them and Scotland, and an advertisement was published by the secretary at war, exhorting the civil officers to be vigilant in their endeavours to discover their route. It was not, however, till about eight o'clock on the evening of Thursday, nineteenth May, that any certain intelligence of them was obtained, and they had then proceeded as far as Northampton, and were supposed to be shaping their course towards Nottinghamshire. General Blakeney, who commanded at Northampton, immediately despatched Captain Ball, of General Wade's regiment of horse, an officer well acquainted with that part of the country, to search after them. They had now entered Lady Wood, between Brig Stock and Dean Thorp, about four miles from Oundle, when they were discovered. Captain Ball was joined in the evening by the general himself, and about nine all the troops were drawn up in order, near the wood where the Highlanders lay. Seeing themselves in this situation, and unwilling to aggravate their offence by the crime of shedding the blood



of his majesty's troops, they sent one of their guides to inform the general that he might, without fear, send an officer to treat of the terms on which they should be expected to surrender. Captain Ball was accordingly delegated, and, on coming to a conference the captain demanded that they should instantly lay down their arms and surrender as prisoners at discretion. This they positively refused, declaring that they would rather be cut to pieces than submit, unless the general should send them a written promise, signed by his own hand, that their arms should not be taken from them, and that they should have a free pardon. Upon this the captain delivered the conditions proposed by General Blakeney, viz., that if they would peaceably lay down their arms, and surrender themselves prisoners, the most favourable report should be made of them to the lords-justices; when they again protested that they would be cut in pieces rather than surrender, except on the conditions of retaining their arms, and receiving a free pardon. 'Hitherto,' exclaimed the captain, 'I have been your friend, and am still anxious to do all I can to save you; but, if you continue obstinate an hour longer, surrounded as you are by the king's forces, not a man of you shall be left alive; and, for my own part, I assure you that I shall give quarter to none.' He then demanded that two of their number should be ordered to conduct him out of the wood. Two brothers were accordingly ordered to accompany him. Finding that they were inclined to submit, he promised them both a free pardon, and, taking one of them along with him, he sent back the other to endeavour, by every means, to overcome the obstinacy of the rest. He soon returned with thirteen more. Having marched them to a short distance from the wood, the captain again sent one of them back to his comrades to inform them how many had submitted; and in a short time seventeen more followed the example. These were all marched away with their arms (the powder being blown out of their pans,) and when they came before the general they laid down their arms. On returning to the wood they found the whole body disposed to submit to the general's troops.

"While this was doing in the country," continues our author, "there was nothing but the flight of the Highlanders talked of in town. The wiser sort blamed it, but some of their hot-headed countrymen were for comparing it to the retreat of the 10,000 Greeks through Persia; by which, for the honour of the ancient kingdom of Scotland, Corporal M'Pherson was erected into a Xenophon. But amongst these idle dreams, the most injurious were those that reflected on their officers, and by a strange kind of innuendo, would have fixed the crime of these people's desertion upon those who did their duty, and staid here.

"As to the rest of the regiment, they were ordered immediately to Kent, whither they marched very cheerfully, and were from thence transported to Flanders, and are by this time with the army, where I dare say it will quickly appear they were not afraid of fighting the French. In King William's war there was a Highland regiment that,

to avoid going to Flanders, had formed a design of flying into the mountains. This was discovered before they could put it into execution; and General M'Kay, who then commanded in Scotland, caused them to be immediately surrounded and disarmed, and afterwards shipped them for Holland. When they came to the confederate army, they behaved very briskly upon all occasions; but as pick-thanks are never wanting in courts, some wise people were pleased to tell King William that the Highlanders drank King James's health,—a report which was probably very true. The king, whose good sense taught him to despise such dirty informations, asked General Talmash, who was near him, how they behaved in the field? 'As well as any troops in the army,' answered the general, like a soldier and a man of honour. 'Why then,' replied the king, 'if they fight for me, let them drink my father's health as often as they please.' On the road, and even after they entered to London, they kept up their spirits, and marched very cheerfully; nor did they show any marks of terror when they were brought into the Tower."

Though it was evident that the Highlanders were led to commit this rash act under a false impression, and that they were the unconscious dupes of designing men, yet the government could not overlook such a gross breach of military discipline, and the deserters were accordingly tried before a general court-martial on the eighth of June. They were all found guilty, and condemned to be shot. Three only, however, suffered capitally. These were Corporals Malcolm, and Samuel M'Pherson,\* and Farquhar Shaw, a private. They were shot upon the parade within the Tower, in presence of the other prisoners, who joined in their prayers with great earnestness. The unfortunate men met their death with composure, and acted with great propriety. Their bodies were put into three coffins by three of the prisoners, their clansmen and connexions, and were buried together in one grave over the place of execution.† From an ill-judged severity, one hundred of the deserters were equally divided between the garrisons of Gibraltar and Minorca, and a similar number was distributed among the different corps in the Leeward islands, Jamaica and Georgia,—a circumstance which, it is believed, impressed the Highlanders with an idea that the government had intended to deceive them.

Near the end of May the remainder of the regiment was sent to Flanders, where it joined the army under the command of Field-marshal the earl of Stair. During the years seventeen hundred and forty-three and forty-four, they were quartered in different parts of that country; and by their quiet, orderly, and kind deportment, acquired the entire confidence of the people among whom they mixed. The regiment "was judged

\* Brother to the late General Kenneth M'Pherson of the East India Company's service, who died in 1815. General Stewart says that Lord John Murray, who was afterwards colonel of the regiment, had portraits of the sufferers hung up in his dining-room; but for what reason is not known. They were remarkable for their great size and handsome figure.

† St James's Chronicle, 20th July, 1713.

the most trust-worthy guard of property, insomuch that the people in Flanders choose to have them always for their protection. Seldom were any of them drunk, and they as rarely swore. And the elector-palatine wrote to his envoy in London, desiring him to thank the king of Great Britain for the excellent behaviour of the regiment while in his territories in seventeen hundred and forty-three and seventeen hundred and forty-four, and for whose sake he adds, 'I will always pay a respect and regard to a Scotchman in future.'"\*

Lord Sempill, who had succeeded the earl of Craufurd in the colonelcy of the regiment in seventeen hundred and forty, being appointed in April seventeen hundred and forty-five to the 25th regiment, Lord John Murray, son of the duke of Athole, succeeded him as colonel of the Highlanders. During the command of these officers, the regiment was designated by the titles of its successive commanders, as Lord Craufurd's, Lord Sempill's, and Lord John Murray's Highlanders.

Baffled in his efforts to prevent the elevation of the grand duke of Tuscany to the imperial throne, the king of France resolved to humble the house of Austria by making a conquest of the Netherlands. With this view he assembled an immense army in Flanders under the command of the celebrated Marshal Saxe, and having with the dauphin joined the army in April, seventeen hundred and forty-five, he, on the thirtieth of that month, invested Tournay, then garrisoned by eight thousand men, commanded by General Baron Dorth, who defended the place with vigour. The duke of Cumberland, who arrived from England early in May, assumed the command of the allied army assembled at Soignies. It consisted of twenty battalions and twenty-six squadrons of British, five battalions and sixteen squadrons of Hanoverians, all under the immediate command of his royal highness; twenty-six battalions and forty squadrons of Dutch commanded by the prince of Waldeck; and eight squadrons of Austrians under the command of Count Konigseg.

Though the allied army was greatly inferior in number to the enemy, yet as the French army was detached, the duke resolved to march to the relief of Tournay. Marshal Saxe, who soon became aware of the design of the allies, drew up his army in line of battle, on the right bank of the Scheldt, extending from the wood of Barri to Fontenoy, and thence to the village of St Antoine in sight of the British army. Entrenchments were thrown up at both villages, besides three redoubts in the intermediate space, and two at the corner of the wood whence a deep ravine extended to Fontenoy, and another thence to St Antoine. Along the whole space from the wood to St Antoine was posted a double line of infantry in front, and cavalry in the rear, and an additional force of infantry and cavalry was formed behind the redoubts and batteries. Opposite to St Antoine on the other side of the river, a battery was also

\* Dr Doddridge's *Life of Colonel Gardiner*.

erected. The Marshal distributed his numerous artillery along the line, and in the village and redoubts.

The allied army advanced to Leuse, and on the ninth of May took up a position between the villages of Bougries and Maulbre, in sight of the French army. In the evening the duke, attended by Field-marshal Konigseg and the prince of Waldeck, reconnoitred the position of Marshal Saxe. They were covered by the Highlanders, who kept up a sharp fire with the French sharp-shooters who were concealed in the woods. After a general survey, the earl of Craufurd, who was left in command of the advance of the army, proceeded with the Highlanders and a party of hussars to examine the enemy's outposts more narrowly. In the course of the day a Highlander in advance observing that one of the sharp-shooters repeatedly fired at his post, placed his bonnet upon the top of a stick near the verge of a hollow road. This stratagem decoyed the Frenchman, and whilst he was intent on his object, the Highlander approaching cautiously to a point which afforded a sure aim, succeeded in bringing him to the ground.\*

Having ascertained that a plain which lay between the positions of two armies was covered with some flying squadrons of the enemy, and that their outposts commanded some narrow defiles through which the allied forces had necessarily to march to the attack, the duke of Cumberland resolved to scour the plain, and to dislodge the outposts, preparatory to advancing upon the besieging army. Accordingly at an early hour next morning, six battalions and twelve squadrons were ordered to disperse the forces on the plain and clear the defiles, a service which they soon performed. Some Austrian hussars being hotly pressed on this occasion by the French light troops, a party of Highlanders was sent to support them, and the Frenchmen were quickly repulsed with loss. This was the first time the Highlanders stood the fire of the enemy in a regular body, and so well did they acquit themselves, that they were particularly noticed for their spirited conduct.†

Resolving to attack the enemy next morning, the commander-in-chief of the allied army made the necessary dispositions. Opposite the space between Fontenoy and the wood of Barri, he formed the British and Hanoverian infantry in two lines, and posted their cavalry in the rear. Near the left of the Hanoverians he drew up the Dutch, whose left was towards St Antoine. The French in their turn completed their batteries, and made the most formidable preparations to receive the allies. At two o'clock in the morning of the eleventh of May, the duke of Cumberland began his march, and drew up his army in front of the enemy in the above order. The engagement began about four by the guards and Highlanders attacking a redoubt, advanced on the right of the wood near Vizou, occupied by six hundred men, in the vicinity of which place the dauphin was posted. Though the enemy were en-

\* Rolt's Life of the Earl of Craufurd.

† History of the War.

trenched breast-high, they were forced out by the guards with bayonets, and by the Highlanders with sword, pistol, and dirk, who killed a considerable number of them.\*

After the redoubt had been carried, the British and Hanoverians advanced to the attack; and though the French contested every inch of ground with the greatest pertinacity, they were driven back on their entrenchments. Meanwhile the Dutch on the left made an unsuccessful attack upon Fontenoy. The enemy, keeping up an incessant and destructive fire from their batteries, the duke of Cumberland sent a detachment, of which the Highlanders formed a part, to take possession of the wood of Barri, and drive the enemy from that redoubt; but owing to accident or mistake, no attack was made. The Dutch having failed in several attempts to obtain possession of Fontenoy, his royal highness ordered Lord Sempill's regiment to assist them, but with as little success. Determined, notwithstanding these untoward circumstances, to cross the ravine between the redoubts and the village, the duke pushed forward; but after advancing beyond the ravine, he found that he had not a sufficiency of ground to form his whole army in line. He, therefore, made the flanks wheel back on their right and left, and then facing towards their proper front, they moved forward along with the centre, the whole forming the three sides of a hollow square. Supported by cavalry, the French infantry made three desperate attacks upon the allied army, while marching in this order; but though they were assisted by a heavy cannonade from the whole of the batteries, they were repulsed in every charge.

The allies continuing steadfastly to advance, Marshal Saxe, who had, during three attacks, lost some of his bravest men, began to think of a retreat; but being extremely averse to abandon his position, he resolved to make a last effort to retrieve the fortune of the day by attacking his assailants with all his forces. Being far advanced in a dropsy, the marshal had been carried about the whole day in a litter. This he now quitted, and mounting his horse, he rode over the field giving the necessary orders, whilst two men supported him on each side. He brought forward the household troops of the king of France: he posted his best cavalry on the flanks, and the king's body guards, with the flower of the infantry in the centre. Having also brought up all his field-pieces, he, under cover of their fire and that of the batteries, made a combined charge of cavalry and infantry on the allied army, the greater part of which had, by this time, formed into line by advancing beyond the confined ground. The allies, unable to withstand the impetuosity of this attack, gave way, and were driven back across the ravine, carrying along with them the Highlanders, who had been ordered up from the attack of the village, and two other regiments ordered from the reserve to support the line. After rallying for a short time beyond the ravine, the whole army

\* History of the War.



retreated by order of the duke, the Highlanders and Howard's regiment (the 19th) under the command of Lord Craufurd, covering the rear. The retreat, which was commenced about three o'clock in the afternoon, was effected in excellent order. When it was over his lordship pulled off his hat, and returning thanks to the covering party, said "that they had acquired as much honour in covering so great a retreat, as if they had gained a battle."\* The carnage on both sides was great. The allies lost, in killed and wounded, about seven thousand men, including a number of officers. The loss of the French is supposed to have equalled that of the allies. The Highlanders lost Captain John Campbell of Carrick,† whose head was carried off by a cannon-ball early in the action;‡ Ensign Lachlan Campbell, son of Craignish, and thirty men; Captain Robert Campbell of Finab; Ensigns Ronald Campbell, nephew of Craignish, and James Campbell, son of Glenfalloch; two sergeants, and eighty-six rank and file wounded.

Before the engagement, the part which the Highlanders would act formed a subject of intense speculation. Those who knew them had no misgivings; but there were other persons, high in rank, who looked upon the support of such men with an unfavourable eye. So strong was this impression "in some high quarters, that, on the rapid charge made by the Highlanders, when pushing forward sword in hand nearly at full speed, and advancing so far, it was suggested that they inclined to change sides and join the enemy, who had already three brigades of Scotch and Irish engaged, which performed very important services on that day."§ All anxiety, however, was soon put an end to by the decided way in which they sustained the national honour.

Captain John Munro of the 43d regiment, in a letter to Lord-president Forbes, thus describes the battle:—"A little after four in the morning, the thirtieth of April, our cannon began to play, and the French batteries, with triple our weight of metal and numbers too, answered us; about five the infantry was in march; we (the Highlanders) were in the centre of the right brigade; but by six we were ordered to cross the field, (I mean our regiment, for the rest of our brigades did not march to attack,) a little village on the left of the whole, called Fontenoy. As we passed the field the French batteries played upon our front, and right and left flanks, but to no purpose, for their batteries being upon rising ground, their balls flew over us and hurt the second

\* Rolin's Life of the Earl of Craufurd.

† "Captain John Campbell of Carrick was one of the most accomplished gentlemen of his day. Possessing very agreeable manners and bravery, tempered by gaiety, he was regarded by the people as one of those who retained the chivalrous spirit of their ancestors. A poet, a soldier, and a gentleman, no less gallant among the ladies than he was brave among men; he was the object of general admiration; and the last generation of Highlanders among whom he was best known, took great pleasure in cherishing his memory, and repeating anecdotes concerning him. He married a sister of General Campbell of Mamore, afterwards duke of Argyll, and grandfather to the present duke." — *Stewart's Sketches*.

‡ Culloden Papers, p. 200.

§ Stewart's Sketches.



line. We were to support the Dutch, who, in their usual way, were very dilatory. We got within musket-shot of their batteries, when we received three full fires of their batteries and small arms, which killed us forty men and one ensign. Here we were obliged to skulk behind houses and hedges for about an hour and a half, waiting for the Dutch, who, when they came up, behaved but so and so. Our regiment being in some disorder, I wanted to draw them up in rear of the Dutch, which their general would scarce allow of; but at last I did it, and marched them again to the front. In half an hour after the Dutch gave way, and Sir Robert Munro thought proper we should retire; for we had then the whole batteries from the enemy's ground playing upon us, and three thousand foot ready to fall upon us. We retired; but before we had marched thirty yards, we had orders to return to the attack, which we did; and in about ten minutes after had orders to march directly with all expedition, to assist the Hanoverians, who had got by this time well advanced upon the batteries upon the left. They behaved most gallantly and bravely; and had the Dutch taken example from them, we had supped at Tournay. The British behaved well; we (the Highlanders) were told by his royal highness that we did our duty well. . . . By two of the clock we all retreated; and we were ordered to cover the retreat, as the only regiment that could be kept to their duty, and in this affair we lost sixty more; but the duke made so friendly and favourable a speech to us, that if we had been ordered to attack their lines afresh, I dare say our poor fellows would have done it." \*

The Highlanders on this occasion were commanded by Sir Robert Munro of Fowlis, their lieutenant-colonel, in whom, besides great military experience, were united all the best qualities of the soldier. Aware of the importance of allowing his men to follow their accustomed tactics, he obtained leave of the duke of Cumberland to allow them to fight in their own way. He accordingly "ordered the whole regiment to clap to the ground on receiving the French fire; and instantly after its discharge they sprang up, and coming close to the enemy, poured in their shot upon them to the certain destruction of multitudes, and drove them precipitately through their lines; then retreating, drew up again, and attacked them a second time after the same manner. These attacks they repeated several times the same day, to the surprise of the whole army. Sir Robert was everywhere with his regiment, notwithstanding his great corpulency, and when in the trenches he was hauled out by the legs and arms by his own men; and it is observed that when he commanded the whole regiment to clap to the ground, he himself alone, with the colours behind him, stood upright, receiving the whole fire of the enemy; and this because, (as he said,) though he could easily lie down, his great bulk would not suffer him to rise so quickly. His preservation that day

\* Culloden Papers, No. CCXLIII.

was the surprise and astonishment not only of the whole army, but of all that heard the particulars of the action.\*

The gallantry thus displayed by Sir Robert and his regiment was the theme of universal admiration in Britain, and the French themselves could not withhold their meed of praise. "It must be owned," says a French writer, "that our forces were thrice obliged to give way, and nothing but the good conduct and extreme calmness of Marshal Saxe could have brought them to the charge the last time, which was about two o'clock, when the allies in their turn gave way. Our victory may be said to be complete; but it cannot be denied, that, as the allies behaved extremely well, more especially the English, so they made a soldier-like retreat, which was much favoured by an adjacent wood. The British behaved well, and could be exceeded in ardour by none but our officers, who animated the troops by their example, *when the Highland furies rushed in upon us with more violence than ever did a sea driven by a tempest*. I cannot say much of the other auxiliaries, some of whom looked as if they had no great concern in the matter which way it went. In short, we gained the victory; but may I never see such another!" † Some idea may be formed of the havoc made by the Highlanders from the fact of one of them having killed nine Frenchmen with his broadsword, and he was only prevented from increasing the number by his arm being shot off.‡

In consequence of the rebellion in Scotland, eleven of the British regiments were ordered home in October, seventeen hundred and forty-five, among whom was the 43d. The Highlanders arrived in the Thames on the fourth of November, and whilst the other regiments were sent to Scotland under General Hawley to assist in quelling the insurrection, the 43d was marched to the coast of Kent, and joined the division of the army assembled there to repel an expected invasion. When it is considered that more than three hundred of the soldiers in the 43d had fathers and brothers engaged in the rebellion, the prudence and humanity of keeping them aloof from a contest between duty and affection, are evident § Three new companies, which had been added to the regiment in the early part of the year seventeen hundred and forty-five, were, however, employed in Scotland against the rebels before joining the regiment. These companies were raised chiefly in the districts of Athole, Breadalbane, and Braemar, and the command of them was given to the laird of Mackintosh, Sir Patrick Murray of Ochertyre, and Campbell of Inveraw, who had recruited them. The subalterns were James Farquharson, the younger of Invercauld; John Campbell, the younger of Glenlyon, and Dugald Campbell; and Ensign Allan Grant, son of Glenmoriston; John Campbell, son of Glenfalloch; and Allan Campbell, son of Barcaldine. General Stewart ob-

\* Life of Colonel Gardiner.

† Account published at Paris, 26th May, 1745.

‡ The conduct of the officers at Fontenoy considered. Lond., 1745.

§ Stewart's Sketches.

serves that the privates of these companies, though of the best character, did not occupy that rank in society for which so many individuals of the independent companies had been distinguished. One of these companies, as has been elsewhere observed, was at the battle of Prestonpans. The services of the other two companies were confined to the Highlands during the rebellion, and after its suppression they were employed along with detachments of the English army in the barbarous task of burning the houses, and laying waste the lands of the rebels,—a service which must have been very revolting to their feelings.

Having projected the conquest of Quebec, the government fitted out an expedition at Portsmouth, the land-forces of which consisted of six thousand men, including Lord John Murray's Highlanders, as the 43d regiment was now called. The armament having been delayed from various causes until the season was too far advanced for crossing the Atlantic, it was resolved to employ it in making a descent on the coast of France, for the purpose of surprising the Port l'Orient, then the repository of all the stores and ships belonging to the French East India Company. While this new expedition was in preparation, the Highland regiment was increased to eleven hundred men, by draughts from the three companies in Scotland.

As the force destined for North America was considered inadequate for the intended descent on France, a reinforcement of two thousand of the foot-guards and a large detachment of artillery were added to it. The expedition sailed from Portsmouth on the fifteenth day of September, seventeen hundred and forty-six, under the command of Rear-admiral Lestock, and on the twentieth the troops were landed, without much opposition, in Quimperly bay, ten miles from Port l'Orient. General St Clair, the commander, reached L'Orient on the twenty-fourth, and having, on the evening of next day, completed one mortar-battery and two twelve-gun batteries, he laid siege to the place. Having offered to surrender on terms which were rejected, the inhabitants prepared for a vigorous defence. Assuming a garb resembling that worn by the Highland soldiers, the garrison advanced towards the batteries, and under that disguise approached very near before the deception was discovered. They were then driven back amidst a volley of grape-shot, and pursued by the Highlanders. As the besieged soon obtained a great accession of force, and as General St Clair soon perceived that he could not carry the place, he abandoned the siege, and retiring to the sea-coast, re-embarked his troops.

Some of these forces returned to England; the rest landed in Ireland. The Highlanders arrived at Cork on the fourth of November, whence they marched to Limerick, where they remained till February, seventeen hundred and forty-seven, when they returned to Cork, where they embarked to join a new expedition for Flanders. This force, which consisted chiefly of the troops that had been recalled in seventeen hundred and forty-five, sailed from Leith roads in the beginning of April, seven-

teen hundred and forty-seven. Lord Loudon's Highlanders and a detachment from the three additional companies of Lord John Murray's Highlanders also joined this force; and such was the eagerness of the latter for this service, that when informed that only a part of them was to join the army, they all claimed permission to embark, in consequence of which demand it was found necessary to settle the question of preference by drawing lots.\*

To relieve Hulst, which was closely besieged by Count Lowendahl, a detachment, consisting of Lord John Murray's Highlanders, the first battalion of the Royals and Bragg's regiment, was ordered to Flushing, under the command of Major-general Fuller. They landed at Stapledyke on the first of May. The Dutch governor of Hulst, General St Roque, ordered the Royals to join the Dutch camp at St Bergue, and directed the Highlanders and Bragg's regiment to halt within four miles of Hulst. On the fifth of May the besiegers began an assault, and drove the outguards and picquets back into the garrison, and would have carried the place, had not the Royals maintained their post with the greatest bravery till relieved by the Highland regiment, when the French were compelled to retire. The Highlanders had only five privates killed and a few wounded on this occasion. The French continuing the siege, St Roque surrendered the place, although he was aware that an additional reinforcement of nine battalions was on the march to his relief. The British troops then embarked for South Beveland. Three hundred of the Highland regiment, who were the last to embark, were attacked by a body of French troops. "They behaved with so much bravery, that they beat off three or four times their number, killing many, and making some prisoners, with only the loss of four or five of their own number."†

Having collected his whole army, the duke of Cumberland posted himself between the two Nethes to cover Bergen-op-Zoom and Maestricht; and Marshal Saxe, calling in his detachments, encamped between Mechlin and Louvain, with the view of hazarding a general engagement. Arriving at Brussels on the fifteenth of June, the French king put his army in motion towards Tirlemont. The allies formed themselves in order of battle, with their right at Bilsen, and their left extending to Wirle, within a mile of Maestricht, having in the front of their left wing the village of Lafeldt, in which were posted several battalions of British infantry. Prince Wolfenbuttle was posted at the abbey of Everbode with the reserve of the first line, and the second line took up a position at Westerloo to sustain the reserve. These arrangements were completed on the seventeenth of June: but no engagement took place till the morning of the second of July, although both armies cannonaded each other the preceding day.

In the morning the enemy's infantry marched down from the heights

\* Caledonian Mercury, March, 1747.

† *Europe's Gazette*.

of Herdeeren in a large column, and attacked the village of Lafeldt. In their approach they suffered dreadfully from the cannon of the allies, and from a well-directed fire from the British musketry. The French, unable to withstand, retired; but fresh brigades coming up the allies were obliged in their turn to abandon the village. For four hours the battle raged round this village, which was thrice carried, and as often lost. About noon the duke of Cumberland ordered the whole left wing to advance against the enemy, whose infantry gave way. Prince Waldeck led up the centre, and Marshal Bathiani making a motion with the right wing towards Herdeeren, victory seemed within reach of the confederates, when the fortune of the day was suddenly changed by the Irish and Scotch brigades\* in the service of France, who being ordered up by Marshal Saxe, charged and drove back in great confusion the centre of the allied army. At this critical moment some squadrons of Dutch cavalry who were in the rear, instead of supporting the line, turned to the right-about, and flying off at full gallop, overthrew five battalions of infantry that were marching up from the reserve. The confusion was still farther increased by the French cavalry, who charged the confederates with great impetuosity, and penetrated through their lines. The duke of Cumberland with difficulty reached the left wing; and the defeat would in all probability have been complete, had not Sir John Ligonier gallantly resolved, at the imminent risk of his life, to save the army. At the head of three British regiments of dragoons, and some squadrons of Austrians, he charged the whole line of the French cavalry with such vigour and success, as to overthrow all who opposed him. By this diversion the duke of Cumberland was enabled to effect an orderly retreat to Maestricht. Sir John Ligonier, after having his horse killed under him, was taken prisoner. The allies lost five thousand six hundred and twenty men in killed and wounded; but the loss of the French was nearly double that number.

A few days after the battle, Count Lowendahl laid siege to Bergen-op-Zoom with a force of twenty-five thousand men. This place, from the strength of its fortifications, the favourite work of the celebrated Coehorn, having never been stormed, was deemed impregnable. The garrison consisted of three thousand men, including Lord Loudon's Highlanders. Though Lord John Murray's Highlanders remained in South Beveland, his lordship, with Captain Fraser of Culduthel, Captain Campbell of Craignish, and several other officers of his regiment, joined the besieged. After about two months' siege, this important fortress was taken by storm from the too great confidence of Constrom the governor, who

\* An officer in the army writing to his friend at York, says that these brigades "fought like devils; that they neither gave nor took quarter; that observing the duke of Cumberland to be extremely active in defence of this post, (Lafeldt) they were employed, on this attack, at their own request; that they in a manner cut down all before them, with a full resolution, if possible, to reach his royal highness, which they certainly would have done, had not Sir John Ligonier come up with a party of horse, and thereby saved the duke at the loss of his own liberty."—*Gentleman's Magazine*, 1747.



never anticipated an assault. On obtaining possession of the ramparts, the French attempted to enter the town, but were attacked with such impetuosity by two battalions of the Scottish troops in the pay of the States-general, that they were driven from street to street, until fresh reinforcements arriving, the Scotch were compelled to retreat in their turn; yet they disputed every inch of ground, and fought till two-thirds of them were killed on the spot. The remainder then abandoned the town, carrying the old governor along with them.

The different bodies of the allied army assembled in the neighbourhood of Raremond in March seventeen hundred and forty-eight, but, with the exception of the capture of Maestricht, no military event of any importance took place in the Netherlands; and preliminaries of peace having been signed, the Highlanders returned to England in December, and were afterwards sent to Ireland. The three additional companies had assembled at Prestonpans in March seventeen hundred and forty-eight, for the purpose of embarking for Flanders; but the orders to ship were countermanded in consequence of the preliminaries of peace being signed, and in the course of that year these companies were reduced. The following year, in consequence of the reduction of the 42d regiment (Oglethorpe's), the number of the Highland regiment was changed from the 43d to the 42d, the number it has ever since retained.

During eight years that the Highlanders were stationed in Ireland, the utmost cordiality subsisted between them and the inhabitants of the different districts where they were quartered; a circumstance the more remarkable, when it is considered that the military were generally embroiled in quarrels with the natives. So lasting and favourable an impression did they make, that upon the return of the regiment from America, after an absence of eleven years, applications were made from the towns and districts where they had been formerly quartered, to get them again stationed among them. Although, as General Stewart observes, the similarity of language, and the general and prevailing belief of the same origin, might have had some influence with both parties; yet nothing but the most exemplary good conduct on the part of the Highlanders could have overcome the natural repugnance of a people who, at that time, justly regarded the British soldiery as ready instruments of oppression.

In consequence of the mutual encroachments made by the French and English on their respective territories in North America, both parties prepared for war; and as the British ministry determined to make their chief efforts against the enemy in that quarter, they resolved to send two bodies of troops thither. The first division, of which the Highlanders formed a part, under the command of Lieutenant-general Sir James Abercromby, set sail in March seventeen hundred and fifty-six, and landed at New York in June following. In the month last mentioned, seven hundred recruits, who had been raised by recruiting



parties sent from the regiment previous to its departure from Ireland, embarked at Greenock for America. When the Highlanders landed, they attracted much notice, particularly on the part of the Indians, who, on the march of the regiment to Albany, flocked from all quarters to see strangers, whom, from the similarity of their dress, they considered to be of the same extraction as themselves, and whom they therefore regarded as brothers.

Before the departure of the 42d regiment, several changes and promotions had taken place. Lieutenant-colonel Campbell (the late Duke of Argyle), who had commanded the regiment during the six years they were quartered in Ireland, having been promoted to the command of the 54th, was succeeded by Major Grant, who was so popular with the men, that, on the vacancy occurring, they subscribed a sum of money among themselves to purchase the lieutenant-colonelcy for him; but the money was not required, the promotion at that time being without purchase. Captain Duncan Campbell of Inveraw was appointed major; Thomas Græme of Duchray, James Abercromby, son of General Abercromby of Glassa, the commander of the expedition, and John Campbell of Strachur, were made captains; Lieutenant John Campbell, captain-lieutenant; Ensigns Kenneth Tolme, James Grant, John Græme, brother of Duchray, Hugh M<sup>c</sup>Pherson, Alexander Turnbull of Stracathro, and Alexander Campbell, son of Barcaldine, were raised to the rank of lieutenants. From the half-pay list were taken Lieutenants Alexander M<sup>c</sup>Intosh, James Gray, William Baillie, Hugh Arnot, William Sutherland, John Small, and Archibald Campbell; the ensigns were James Campbell, Archibald Lamont, Duncan Campbell, George M<sup>c</sup>Lagan, Patrick Balneaves, son of Edradour, Patrick Stewart, son of Bonskeid, Norman M<sup>c</sup>Leod, George Campbell, and Donald Campbell.\*

The regiment had been now sixteen years embodied, and although its original members had by this time almost disappeared, "their habits and character were well sustained by their successors, to whom they were left, as it were, in charge. This expectation has been fulfilled through a long course of years and events. The first supply of recruits after the original formation, was, in many instances, inferior to their predecessors in personal appearance, as well as in private station and family connexions; but they lost nothing of that firm step, erect air, and freedom from awkward restraint, the consequence of a spirit of independence and self-respect, which distinguished their predecessors."†

The second division of the expedition, under the Earl of Loudon, who was appointed commander-in-chief of the army in North America, soon joined the forces under General Abercromby; but, owing to different causes, they did not take the field till the summer of the following year. Pursuant to an attack on Louisburg, Lord Loudon embarked in the month of June for Halifax with the forces under his command,

\* Stewart's Sketches.

† Ibid.

amounting to five thousand three hundred men. At Halifax his forces were increased to ten thousand five hundred men, by the addition of five regiments lately arrived from England, including Fraser's and Montgomery's Highlanders.

When on the eve of his departure from Halifax, Lord Loudon received information by means of some small vessels he had sent out to examine and reconnoitre the condition of the enemy, that the Brest fleet had arrived in the harbour of Louisburg. In consequence of this intelligence, the preparations for the expedition were suspended, and several councils of war were held, at which various opinions were delivered; but the resolution to abandon the enterprise was not taken till it clearly appeared from letters which were taken in a packet bound from Louisburg to France, that the force was too great to be encountered. It turned out that there were at that time at Louisburg six thousand regular troops, three thousand natives, and one thousand three hundred Indians, with seventeen ships of the line and three frigates moored in the harbour, and that the place was well supplied with ammunition, provisions, and every kind of military store. Leaving the remainder of the troops at Halifax, Lord Loudon returned to New York, taking along with him the Highlanders and four other regiments.

The Marquis de Montcalm, the commander of the French army, in the meantime availed himself of the departure of Lord Loudon from New York, to improve the advantages he had already gained. Collecting all his disposable forces, amounting, with Indians, to eight thousand men, and a large train of artillery, he laid siege to Fort William-Henry, garrisoned by three thousand men under the command of Colonel Munro. After a siege of six days, Colonel Munro surrendered, on condition that the garrison should not serve for eighteen months. As the garrison marched out the Indians fell upon them, robbed them of their effects, and, dragging the Indians in the English service out of the ranks, assassinated them in presence of the French commander, who was either unwilling or unable to restrain them.

The Earl of Loudon having been recalled, the command of the army devolved on General Abercromby. Determined to wipe off the disgrace of former campaigns, the ministry, who had just come into power, fitted out a great naval armament and a military force of thirty-two thousand men, which were placed under commanders who enjoyed the confidence of the country. The command of the fleet was given to Admiral Boscawen; and Brigadier-generals Wolfe, Townsend, and Murray, were added to the military staff. Three expeditions were planned in seventeen hundred and fifty-eight; one against Louisburg; another against Ticonderoga and Crown Point; and a third against Fort du Quesne.

General Abercromby, the commander-in-chief, took charge of the expedition against Ticonderoga, with a force of fifteen thousand three hundred and ninety men, of whom six thousand three hundred and thirty-seven were regulars (including Lord John Murray's Highlanders),

and nine thousand and twenty-four provincials, besides a train of artillery.

Fort Ticonderoga stands on a tongue of land between Lake Champlain and Lake George, and is surrounded on three sides by water; part of the fourth side is protected by a morass; the remaining part was strongly fortified with high entrenchments, supported and flanked by three batteries, and the whole front of that part which was accessible was intersected by deep traverses, and blocked up with felled trees, with their branches turned outwards, and their points first sharpened and then hardened by fire, forming altogether a most formidable defence.\* On the fourth of July the commander-in-chief embarked his troops on Lake George, on board nine hundred batteaux and one hundred and thirty-five whale-boats, with provisions, artillery, and ammunition; several pieces of cannon being mounted on rafts to cover the landing, which was effected next day without opposition. The troops were then formed into two parallel columns, and in this order marched towards the enemy's advanced post, consisting of one battalion, encamped behind a breast-work of logs. The enemy abandoned this defence without a shot, after setting the breast-work on fire and burning their tents and implements. The troops continued their march in the same order, but the route lying through a wood, and the guides being imperfectly acquainted with the country, the columns were broken by coming in contact with each other. The right column, at the head of which was Lord Howe, fell in with a detachment of the enemy who had also lost their way in the retreat from the advanced post, and a smart skirmish ensuing, the enemy were routed with considerable loss. Lord Howe unfortunately fell in the beginning of this action. He was much regretted, being "a young nobleman of the most promising talents, who had distinguished himself in a peculiar manner by his courage, activity, and rigid observance of military discipline, and had acquired the esteem and affection of the soldiery by his generosity, sweetness of manners, and engaging address."†

Perceiving that his men were greatly fatigued, General Abercromby ordered them to march back to their landing-place, which they reached about eight o'clock in the morning. Having taken possession of a saw-mill in the neighbourhood of Ticonderoga, which the enemy had abandoned, General Abercromby advanced towards the place next morning. It was garrisoned by five thousand men, of whom two thousand eight hundred were French troops of the line, who were stationed behind the traverses and felled trees in front of the fort. Receiving information from some prisoners that General Levi, with a force of three thousand men, was marching to the defence of Ticonderoga, the English commander resolved to anticipate him by striking, if possible, a decisive blow before a junction could be effected. He therefore sent an engineer across the river on the opposite side of the fort to reconnoitre the enemy's

\* Stewart's Sketches.

† Smollett's History of England.

entrenchments, who reported that the works being still unfinished, might be attempted with a prospect of success. Preparations for the attack were therefore instantly made. The whole army being put in motion, the picquets, followed by the grenadiers, the battalions and reserve, which last consisted of the Highlanders and the 55th regiment, advanced with great alacrity towards the entrenchments, which they found to be much more formidable than they expected. The breast-work, which was regularly fortified, was eight feet high, and the ground before it was covered with an *abbatis* or *chevaux-de-frize*, projecting in such a manner as to render the entrenchment almost inaccessible. Undismayed by these discouraging obstacles, the British troops marched up to the assault in the face of a destructive fire, and maintained their ground without flinching. Impatient in the rear, the Highlanders broke from the reserve, and, pushing forward to the front, endeavoured to cut their way through the trees with their broadswords. After a long and deadly struggle, the assailants penetrated the exterior defences and advanced to the breast-work; but being unprovided with scaling ladders, they attempted to gain the breast-work, partly by mounting on each other's shoulders, and partly by fixing their feet in the holes which they made with their swords and bayonets, in the face of the work. No sooner, however, did a man reach the top, than he was thrown down by the troops behind the entrenchments. Captain John Campbell,\* with a few men, at length forced their way over the breast-work, but they were immediately despatched with the bayonet. After a desperate struggle, which lasted about four hours under such discouraging circumstances, General Abercromby seeing no possible chance of success, gave orders for a retreat. It was with difficulty, however, that the troops could be prevailed upon to retire, and it was not till the third order that the Highlanders were induced to retreat, after more than one-half of the men and twenty-five officers had been either killed or desperately wounded. No attempt was made to molest them in their retreat, and the whole retired in good order, carrying along with them the whole of the wounded, amounting to sixty-five officers and eleven hundred and seventy-eight non-commissioned officers and soldiers. Twenty-three officers and five hundred and sixty-seven rank and file were killed.

The loss sustained by the 42d regiment was as follows, viz.:—Eight officers, nine sergeants, and two hundred and ninety-seven men killed;

\* This officer, who was son of Duncan Campbell, of the family of Duncaves, in Perthshire, along with Gregor M'Gregor, commonly called Gregor the Beautiful, grandfather of Sir Gregor M'Gregor, were presented to George II. in the year seventeen hundred and forty-three, when privates in the Black Watch. "They performed (says the Westminster Journal) the broadsword exercise, and that of the Lochaber axe, or lance, before his majesty, the Duke of Cumberland, Marshal Wade, and a number of general officers assembled for the purpose in the great gallery at St James's. They displayed so much dexterity and skill in the management of their weapons, as to give perfect satisfaction to his majesty. Each got a gratuity of one guinea, which *they gave to the porter at the palace gate as they went out.*" Campbell was promoted to an ensigncy for his conduct at Fontenoy.

and seventeen officers, ten sergeants, and three hundred and six soldiers wounded. The officers killed were Major Duncan Campbell of Inveraw, Captain John Campbell, Lieutenants George Farquharson, Hugh M'Pherson, William Baillie, and John Sutherland; Ensigns Patrick Stewart, brother of Bonskeid, and George Rattray. The wounded were Captains Gordon Graham, Thomas Graham of Duchray, John Campbell of Strachur, James Stewart of Urrard, James Murray (afterwards General); Lieutenants James Grant, Robert Gray, John Campbell, William Grant, John Graham, brother of Duchray, Alexander Campbell, Alexander Mackintosh, Archibald Campbell, David Miller, Patrick Balneaves; and Ensigns John Smith and Peter Grant.\*

The intrepid conduct of the Highlanders on this occasion was made the topic of universal panegyric in Great Britain, and the public prints teemed with honourable testimonies to their bravery. If any thing could add to the gratification they received from the approbation of their country, nothing was better calculated to enhance it than the handsome way in which their services were appreciated by their companions in arms. "With a mixture of esteem, grief, and envy, (says an officer of the 55th,) I consider the great loss and immortal glory acquired by the Scots Highlanders in the late bloody affair. Impatient for orders, they rushed forward to the entrenchments, which many of them actually mounted. They appeared like lions breaking from their chains. Their intrepidity was rather animated than damped by seeing their comrades fall on every side. I have only to say of them, that they seemed more anxious to revenge the cause of their deceased friends, than careful to avoid the same fate. By their assistance, we expect soon to give a good account of the enemy and of ourselves. There is much harmony and friendship between us."† The following extract of a letter from Lieutenant William Grant, an officer of the regiment, seems to contain no exaggerated detail:—"The attack began a little past one in the afternoon, and about two the fire became general on both sides, which was exceedingly heavy, and without any intermission, insomuch that the oldest soldier present never saw so furious and incessant a fire. The affair at Fontenoy was nothing to it: I saw both. We laboured under insurmountable difficulties. The enemy's breast-work was about nine or ten feet high, upon the top of which they had plenty of wall-pieces fixed, and which was well lined in the inside with small arms. But the difficult access to their lines was what gave them a fatal advantage over us. They took care to cut down monstrous large oak trees which covered all the ground from the foot of their breast-work about the distance of a cannon-shot every way in their front. This not only broke our ranks, and made it impossible for us to keep our order, but put it entirely out of our power to advance till we cut our way through. I have seen men behave with courage and resolution before now, but

\* Stewart's Sketches.

† St James's Chronicle.



so much determined bravery can hardly be equalled in any part of the history of ancient Rome. Even those that were mortally wounded cried aloud to their companions, not to mind or lose a thought upon them, but to follow their officers, and to mind the honour of their country. Nay, their ardour was such, that it was difficult to bring them off. They paid dearly for their intrepidity. The remains of the regiment had the honour to cover the retreat of the army, and brought off the wounded as we did at Fontenoy. When shall we have so fine a regiment again? I hope we shall be allowed to recruit." Lieutenant Grant's wish had been anticipated, as letters of service had been issued, before the affair of Ticonderoga was known in England, for raising a second battalion, besides an order to make the regiment royal, "as a testimony of his majesty's satisfaction and approbation of the extraordinary courage, loyalty, and exemplary conduct of the Highland regiment."

So successful were the officers in recruiting, that within three months seven companies, each one hundred and twenty men strong, which, with the three additional companies raised the preceding year, were to form the second battalion, were raised in three months, and embodied at Perth in October seventeen hundred and fifty-eight.\* The officers appointed to these seven additional companies were Francis M'Lean, Alexander Sinclair, John Stewart of Stenton, William Murray, son of Lintrose, Archibald Campbell, Alexander Reid, and Robert Arbuthnot, to be captains; Alexander M'Lean, George Grant, George Sinclair, Gordon Clunes, Adam Stewart, John Robertson, son of Lude, John Grant, James Fraser, George Leslie, John Campbell, Alexander Stewart, Duncan Richardson, and Robert Robertson, to be lieutenants; and Patrick Sinclair, John M'Intosh, James M'Duff, Thomas Fletcher, Alexander Donaldson, William M'Lean, and William Brown, to be ensigns.

Government having resolved to employ the seven new companies in an expedition against Martinique and Guadaloupe, two hundred of the men, on being embodied, were immediately embarked at Greenock for the West Indies, under the convoy of the Ludlow Castle, for the purpose of joining the armament lying in Carlisle bay, destined for that service. The whole land force employed in this expedition amounted to five thousand five hundred and sixty men, under the command of Major-generals Hopson and Barrington, and of Brigadier-generals Armiger, Haldane, Trapaud, and Clavering. They sailed from Barbadoes on the thirteenth of January, seventeen hundred and fifty-nine, for Martinique, which they descried next morning; and on the following day the British

\* General Stewart says that two officers, anxious to obtain commissions, enlisted eighteen Irishmen at Glasgow, contrary to the peremptory orders of Lord John Murray, that none but Highlanders should be taken. Several of the men were O'Donnells, O'Laehlans, O'Briens, &c. To cover this deception the O was changed to Mac, and the Milesians passed muster as true Macdonnells, Macclachlans, and Macbriars, without being questioned.



squadron entered the great bay of Port Royal. About this time the other division of the seven newly raised companies joined the expedition. On the sixteenth, three ships of the line attacked Fort Negro, the guns of which they soon silenced. A detachment of marines and sailors landing in flat-bottomed boats, clambered up the rock, and, entering through the embrasures with fixed bayonets, took possession of the fort, which had been abandoned by the enemy. The whole French troops retired to Port Royal, leaving the beach open, so that the British forces landed next morning at Cas de Navire without opposition. No enemy being in sight, the grenadiers, the 4th or king's regiment, and the Highlanders, moved forward about ten o'clock to reconnoitre; but they had not proceeded far when they fell in with parties of the enemy, who retired on their approach. When within a short distance of Morne Tortueson, an eminence that overlooked the town and citadel of Port Royal, and the most important post in the island, the advanced party halted till the rest of the army came up. The advancing and retiring parties had kept up an irregular fire when in motion, and they still continued to skirmish. It was observed on this occasion, "that although debarred the use of arms in their own country, the Highlanders showed themselves good marksmen, and had not forgot how to handle their arms." The inhabitants of Martinique were in the greatest alarm, and some of the principal among them were about sending deputies to the British commander to treat for a surrender, but General Hopson relieved them from their anxiety by re-embarking his troops in the evening. The chief reason for abandoning the enterprise was the alleged impracticability of getting up the heavy cannon. The British had one officer killed and two wounded, one of whom was Lieutenant Leslie of the Royal Highlanders. Sixty privates were killed and wounded.

In a political point of view, the possession of Martinique was an object of greater importance than Guadaloupe, as it afforded, from its spacious harbour, a secure retreat to the enemy's fleets. By taking possession of St Pierre, the whole island might have been speedily reduced; and the British commanders proceeded to that part of the island with that view; but alarmed lest they might sustain considerable loss by its capture, which might thus cripple their future operations, they absurdly relinquished their design, and proceeded to Guadaloupe. On the expedition reaching the western division of the island, it was resolved to make a general attack by sea upon the citadel, the town, and the batteries by which it was defended. Accordingly, on the twentieth of January, three line-of-battle ships formed in a line opposite the town of Basseterre, and at nine o'clock in the morning opened a tremendous fire on the town and batteries, which was returned and kept up on both sides with great vivacity for many hours. About five o'clock in the evening the fire of the citadel slackened. In the course of the afternoon the Rippon, of seventy-four guns, ran aground, and would probably have been destroyed, had not Captain Leslie of the Bristol, coming in from sea, run in between the

Rippon and the batteries, and, by silencing their fire, enabled the Rippon to get off. At seven in the evening, all the other large ships having silenced the guns to which they had been respectively opposed, joined the rest of the fleet. Four bombs were then anchored near the shore, which threw shells into the town, in consequence of which several houses were soon set on fire, and about ten o'clock at night the place was in a general conflagration.

The troops landed at five o'clock in the evening of the following day without opposition, and took possession of the town and citadel, which they found entirely abandoned. The Chevalier D'Etreil, the governor of the island, taking shelter among the mountains, yielded the honour of continuing the contest to a lady of masculine courage named Ducharmey. Arming her slaves, whom she headed in person, she made several bold attempts upon an advanced post on a hill near the town, occupied by Major (afterwards general) Melville, opposite to which she threw up some entrenchments. Annoyed by the incessant attacks of this amazon, Major Melville attacked her entrenchments, which he carried, after an obstinate resistance. Madame Ducharmey escaped with difficulty, but some of her female companions in arms were taken prisoners. Ten of her people were killed and many wounded. Of the British detachment, twelve were slain and thirty wounded, including two subaltern officers, one of whom, Lieutenant M'Lean of the Highlanders, lost an arm.

Finding it impracticable to carry on a campaign among the mountains of Basseterre, the general resolved to transfer the seat of war to the eastern division of the island, called Grandeterre, which was more accessible. Accordingly, on the tenth of February, a detachment of Highlanders and marines was landed in that part of the island in the neighbourhood of Fort Louis, after a severe cannonading which lasted six hours. The assailants, sword in hand, drove the enemy from their entrenchments, and, taking possession of the fort, hoisted the English colours.

General Hopson died on the twenty-seventh. He was succeeded by General Barrington, who resolved to complete the reduction of the island with vigour. Leaving, therefore, one regiment and a detachment of artillery under Colonel Debrisay in Basseterre, the general re-embarked the rest of the army and proceeded to Grandeterre. On the departure of Barrington, the enemy descended from the hills, and endeavoured to take possession of the town; but they were repulsed in every attempt by the small garrison. In one of these attacks a powder magazine unfortunately exploded, in which explosion Colonel Debrisay, together with two other officers and some soldiers, perished.

Meanwhile General Barrington was carrying on a series of successful operations in Grandeterre, by means of detachments. One of these, consisting of six hundred men, under Colonel Crump, carried the towns of St Anne and St Francis with little loss, notwithstanding the fire from

the entrenchments. The only officer who fell was Ensign M'Lean of the Highlanders. Another detachment of three hundred men took the town of Gosier by storm, and drove the garrison into the woods. The next operation of the general was an attempt to surprise the three towns of Petit Bourg, St Mary's, and Gouyave, on the Capesterre side, the execution of which was committed to Colonels Crump and Clavering; but, owing to the extreme darkness of the night, and the incapacity of the negro guides, the attempt was rendered abortive. Resolved to carry these towns, the general directed the same commanders to land their forces in a bay near the town of Arnenville. No opposition was made to their landing by the enemy, who retreated behind a strong entrenchment they had thrown up behind the river Licorn. With the exception of two narrow passes which they had fortified with a redoubt and entrenchments mounted with cannon, which were defended by a large body of militia, the access to the river was rendered inaccessible by a morass covered with mangroves; yet, in spite of these difficulties, the British commanders resolved to hazard an assault. Accordingly, under cover of a fire from the entrenchments from their field-pieces and howitzers, the regiment of Duroure and the Highlanders moved forward, firing by platoons with the utmost regularity as they advanced. Observing the enemy beginning to abandon the first entrenchment on the left, "the Highlanders drew their swords, and, supported by a part of the other regiment, rushed forward with their characteristic impetuosity, and followed the enemy into the redoubt, of which they took possession." \*

Several other actions of minor importance afterwards took place, in which the enemy were uniformly worsted; and seeing resistance hopeless, they capitulated on the first of May, after an arduous struggle of nearly three months. The only Highland officer killed in this expedition was Ensign M'Lean. Lieutenants M'Lean, Leslie, Sinclair, and Robertson, were wounded; and Major Anstruther and Captain Arbuthnot died of the fever. One hundred and six privates of the Royal Highlanders were killed, wounded, or died of disease.†

After the reduction of Guadaloupe, the services of the second bat-

\* Letters from Guadaloupe.

† "By private accounts, it appears that the French had formed the most frightful and absurd notions of the *Sauvages d'Ecosse*. They believed that they would neither take nor give quarter, and that they were so nimble, that, as no man could catch them, so nobody could escape them; that no man had a chance against their broadswords; and that, with a ferocity natural to savages, they made no prisoners, and spared neither man, woman, nor child: and as they were always in the front of every action in which they were engaged, it is probable that these notions had no small influence on the nerves of the militia, and perhaps regulars of Guadaloupe." It was always believed by the enemy that the Highlanders amounted to several thousands. This erroneous enumeration of a corps only eight hundred strong, was said to proceed from the frequency of their attacks and annoyance of the outposts of the enemy, who "saw men in the same garb who attacked them yesterday from one direction, again appear to-day to advance from another, and in this manner ever harassing their advanced position, so as to allow them no rest."—*Letters from Guadaloupe*.

talion of Royal Highlanders were transferred to North America, where they arrived early in July, and after reaching the head-quarters of the British army, were combined with the first battalion. About this time a series of combined operations had been projected against the French settlements in Canada. Whilst Major-general Wolfe, who had given proofs of great military talents at the siege of Louisburg, was to proceed up the St Lawrence and besiege Quebec, General Amherst, who had succeeded General Abercromby as commander-in-chief, was to attempt the reduction of Ticonderoga and Crown Point, after which he was to cross Lake Champlain and effect a junction with General Wolfe before Quebec. Brigadier-general Prideaux was to proceed against the French fort near the falls of the Niagara, the most important post of all French America. The army under General Amherst, which was the first put in motion, assembled at Fort Edward on the nineteenth of June. It included the 42d regiment and Montgomery's Highlanders, and when afterwards joined by the second battalion of the Royal Highlanders, it amounted to fourteen thousand five hundred men. Preceded by the first battalion of the 42d, and the light infantry, the main body of the army moved forward on the twenty-first, and encamped in the neighbourhood of Ticonderoga. The enemy seemed at first resolved to defend that important fortress; but perceiving the formidable preparations made by the English general for a siege, they abandoned the fort, after having in part dismantled the fortifications, and retired to Crown Point.

On taking possession of this important post, which effectually covered the frontiers of New York, General Amherst proceeded to repair the fortifications; and, while these were going on, he directed batteaux and other vessels to be prepared, to enable him to obtain the command of the lakes. Meanwhile the enemy, who seem to have had no intention of hazarding an action, evacuated Crown Point, and retired to Isle aux Noix, on the northern extremity of Lake Champlain. Detaching a body of rangers to take possession of the place, the general embarked the rest of the army and landed at the fort on the fourth of August, where he encamped. The general then ordered up the second battalion of the Royal Highlanders from Oswego, with the exception of one hundred and fifty men under Captain James Stewart, who were left to guard that post. Having by great exertions acquired a naval superiority on Lake Champlain, the general embarked his army in furtherance of his original plan of descending the St Lawrence, and co-operating with General Wolfe in the reduction of Quebec; but in consequence of contrary winds, the tempestuous state of the weather, and the early setting in of winter, he was compelled to abandon further prosecution of active operations in the mean time. He then returned to Crown Point to winter. A detail of the important enterprise against Quebec will be found in the history of Fraser's Highlanders.

After the fall of the fort of Niagara, which was taken by Prideaux's

division, and the conquest of Quebec, Montreal was the only place of strength which remained in possession of the French in Canada. General Murray was ordered to proceed up the St Lawrence to attack Montreal, and General Amherst, as soon as the season permitted, made arrangements to join him. After his preparations were completed, he ordered Colonel Haviland, with a detachment of troops, to take possession of the Isle aux Noix, and thence to proceed to the banks of the St Lawrence by the nearest route. To facilitate the passage of the armed vessels to La Galette, Colonel Haldimand with the grenadiers, light infantry, and a battalion of the Royal Highlanders, took post at the bottom of the lake. Embarking the whole of his army on the tenth of August, he proceeded towards the mouth of the St Lawrence, and, after a dangerous navigation, in the course of which several boats were upset and about eighty men drowned, landed six miles above Montreal on the sixth of September. General Murray appeared before Montreal on the evening of the same day, and the detachments under Colonel Haviland came down the following day on the south side of the river. Thus beset by three armies, who, by a singular combination, had united almost at the same instant of time, after traversing a great extent of unknown country, Monsieur Vandreuil, the governor, seeing resistance hopeless, surrendered upon favourable terms. Thus ended a series of successful operations, which secured Canada to the crown of Great Britain.\*

The Royal Highlanders remained in North America until the close of the year seventeen hundred and sixty-one, when they were embarked along with ten other regiments, among whom was Montgomery's Highlanders, for Barbadoes, there to join an armament against Martinique and the Havannah. The land forces consisted altogether of eighteen regiments, under the command of Major-general Monckton. The naval part of the expedition, which was commanded by Rear-admiral Rodney, consisted of eighteen sail of the line, besides frigates, bomb-vessels, and fire-ships.

The fleet anchored in St Ann's Bay, Martinique, on the eighth of January, seventeen hundred and sixty-two, when the bulk of the army immediately landed. A detachment under Brigadiers Grant, (Ballindalloch,) and Haviland, made a descent without opposition in the bay of Ance Darlet. Re-embarking his troops, General Monckton landed his whole army on the sixteenth near Cas de Navire, under Morne Tortueson and Morne Garnier. As these two eminences commanded the town and citadel of Fort Royal, and were their chief defence, great care had been taken to improve by art their natural strength, which, from the very deep ravines which protected them, was great. The general hav-

An Indian sachem, astonished at the success of the British arms, remarked that "the English, formerly women, are now men, and are thick all over the country as trees in the woods. They have taken Niagara, Cataraque, Ticonderoga, Louisburg, and now lately Quebec, and they will soon eat the remainder of the French in Canada, or drive them out of the country."



ing resolved to attack Morne Tortueson first, he ordered a body of troops and eight hundred marines to advance on the right along the sea-side towards the town, for the purpose of attacking two redoubts near the beach, and to support this movement, he at same time directed some flat bottomed boats, each carrying a gun, and manned with sailors, to follow close along the shore. A corps of light infantry was to get round the enemy's left, whilst, under the cover of the fire of some batteries which had been raised on the opposite ridges by the perseverance of some sailors from the fleet, who had dragged the cannon to the summit of these almost perpendicular heights; the attack on the centre was to be made by the grenadiers and Highlanders supported by the main body of the army. After an arduous contest the enemy were driven from the Morne Tortueson; but a more difficult operation still remained to be performed. This was to gain possession of the other eminence, from which, owing to its greater height, the enemy annoyed the British troops. Preparations were made for carrying this post; but before they were completed the enemy descended from the hill and attacked the advanced posts of the British. This attempt was fatal to the assailants, who were instantly repulsed. "When they began to retire, the Highlanders, drawing their swords, rushed forward like furies, and being supported by the grenadiers under Colonel Grant (Ballindalloch), and a party of Lord Rollo's brigade, the hills were mounted, and the batteries seized, and numbers of the enemy, unable to escape from the rapidity of the attack, were taken."\* The militia dispersed themselves over the country, but the regulars retired into the town, which surrendered on the seventh of February. The whole island immediately submitted, and in terms of the capitulation all the windward islands were delivered up to the British.

In this enterprise the Royal Highlanders had two officers, viz. Captain William Cockburn and Lieutenant David Barclay, one sergeant and twelve rank and file killed: Major John Reid, Captains James Murray and Thomas Stirling; Lieutenants Alexander Mackintosh, David Milne, Patrick Balneaves, Alexander Turnbull, John Robertson, Wm. Brown, and George Leslie; three sergeants, one drummer, and seventy-two rank and file, were wounded.

The Royal and Montgomery's Highlanders were employed the following year in the important conquest of the Havannah, under Lieutenant-general, the earl of Albemarle, in which they sustained very little loss. That of the two battalions of the 42d consisted only of two drummers and six privates killed, and four privates wounded; but they lost by disease Major Macneil, Captain Robert Menzies, brother of the late Sir John Menzies, and A. Macdonald; Lieutenants Farquharson, Grant, Lapsley, Cunnison, Hill and Blair, and two drummers, and seventy-one rank and file.

\* Westminster Journal.



Shortly after the surrender of the Havannah, all the disposable forces in Cuba were removed from the island. The first battalion of the 42d and Montgomery's regiment embarked for New York, which they reached in the end of October. Before leaving Cuba all the men of the second battalion of the Royal Highlanders fit for service were drafted into the first. The remainder with the officers returned to Scotland, where they were reduced the following year. The junior officers were placed on half pay.

The Royal Highlanders were stationed in Albany till the summer of seventeen hundred and sixty-three, when they were sent to the relief of Fort Pitt, then besieged by the Indians. The management of this enterprise was intrusted to Colonel Bouquet of the 60th regiment, who, in addition to the 42d, had under his command a detachment of his own regiment and another of Montgomery's Highlanders, amounting in whole to nine hundred and fifty-six men. This body reached Bushy Run about the end of July. When about to enter a narrow pass beyond the Run, the advanced guards were suddenly attacked by the Indians, who had planned an ambuscade. The light infantry of the 42d regiment moved forward to the support of the advanced guard, and driving the Indians from the ambuscade, pursued them a considerable distance. The Indians returned and took possession of some neighbouring heights. They were again compelled to retire; but they soon re-appeared on another position, and continuing to increase in numbers, they succeeded in surrounding the detachment, which they attacked on every side. Night put an end to the combat; but it was renewed next morning with increased vigour by the Indians, who kept up an incessant fire. They, however, avoided coming to close action, and the troops could not venture to pursue them far, as they were encumbered with a convoy of provisions, and were afraid to leave their wounded lest they might fall into the hands of the enemy. Recourse was, therefore, had to stratagem to bring the Indians to closer action. Feigning a retreat, Colonel Bouquet ordered two companies which were in advance to retire, and fall within a square which had been formed, which, as if preparing to cover a retreat, opened its files. The stratagem succeeded. Assuring themselves of victory, the Indians rushed forward with great impetuosity, and whilst they were vigorously charged in front, two companies, moving suddenly round a hill which concealed their approach, attacked them in flank. The assailants, in great consternation, turned their backs and fled, and Colonel Bouquet was allowed to proceed to Fort Pitt without further molestation. In this affair, the loss sustained by the Royal Highlanders was as follows: viz., Lieutenants John Graham and James Mackintosh, one sergeant, and twenty-six rank and file, killed; and Captain John Graham of Duchray, Lieutenant Duncan Campbell, two sergeants, two drummers, and thirty rank and file, wounded.

After passing the winter in Fort Pitt, eight companies of the Royal Highlanders were sent on a new enterprise, in the summer of seventeen

hundred and sixty-four, under Colonel Bouquet, now promoted to the rank of brigadier-general. The object of this expedition was to repress the attacks of the Indians on the back-settlers. After a harassing warfare among the woods, the Indians sued for peace, which was accordingly granted, and the detachment under Brigadier-general Bouquet returned to Fort Pitt in the month of January, after an absence of six months. Notwithstanding the labours of a march of many hundred miles among dense forests, during which they experienced the extremes of heat and cold, the Highlanders did not lose a single man from fatigue or exhaustion.

The regiment passed the following year in Pennsylvania. Being ordered home, permission was given to such of the men as were desirous of remaining in America to volunteer into other regiments, and the result was, that a considerable number availed themselves of the offer. The regiment, reduced almost to a skeleton, embarked at Philadelphia for Ireland in the month of July, seventeen hundred and sixty-seven. The following extract from the Virginia Gazette of the thirtieth of that month, shows the estimation in which the Highlanders were held by the Americans:—"Last Sunday evening the Royal Highland regiment embarked for Ireland, which regiment, since its arrival in America, has been distinguished for having undergone most amazing fatigues, made long and frequent marches through an inhospitable country, bearing excessive heat and severe cold with alacrity and cheerfulness, frequently encamping in deep snow, such as those that inhabit the interior parts of this province do not see, and which only those who inhabit the northern parts of Europe can have any idea of, continually exposed in camp, and on their marches, to the alarms of a savage enemy, who, in all their attempts, were forced to fly. . . . In a particular manner, the freemen of this and the neighbouring provinces have most sincerely to thank them for that resolution and bravery with which they, under Colonel Bouquet, and a small number of Royal Americans, defeated the enemy, and insured to us peace and security from a savage foe; and, along with our blessings for these benefits, they have our thanks for that decorum in behaviour which they maintained during their stay in this city, giving an example that the most amiable behaviour in civil life, is no way inconsistent with the character of the good soldier; and for their loyalty, fidelity, and orderly behaviour, they have every wish of the people for health, honour, and a pleasant voyage."

The loss sustained by the regiment during the seven years it was employed in North America and the West Indies, was as follows:--

	KILLED.
In Officers, . . . . .	13
Sergeants, . . . . .	12
Rank and File, . . . . .	382
Total, . . . . .	<hr/> 407

	WOUNDED.
In Officers, . . . . .	33
Sergeants, . . . . .	22
Rank and File, . . . . .	508
	<hr/>
Total, . . . . .	563
	<hr/>
Grand Total, . . . . .	970

With the exception of the unfortunate affair at Ticonderoga, the loss sustained by the 42d in the field during this war, was comparatively smaller than that of any other corps. The moderate loss the Highlanders suffered was accounted for, by several officers who served in the corps, from the celerity of their attack and the use of the broadsword, which the enemy could never withstand. "This likewise," says General Stewart, "was the opinion of an old gentleman, one of the original soldiers of the Black Watch, in the ranks of which, although a gentleman by birth and education, he served till the peace of 1748. He informed me, that although it was believed at home that the regiment had been nearly destroyed at Fontenoy, the thing was quite the reverse; and that it was the subject of general observation in the army, that their loss should have been so small, considering how actively they were engaged in different parts of the field. 'On one occasion,' said the respectable veteran, who was animated with the subject, 'a brigade of Dutch were ordered to attack a rising ground, on which were posted the troops called the king of France's own guards. The Highlanders were to support them. The Dutch conducted their march and attack as if they did not know the road, halting and firing, and halting every twenty paces. The Highlanders, losing all patience with this kind of fighting, which gave the enemy such time and opportunity to fire at their leisure, dashed forward, passed the Dutch, and the first ranks giving their firelocks to the rear rank, they drew their swords, and soon drove the French from their ground. When the attack was concluded, it was found that of the Highlanders not above a dozen men were killed and wounded, while the Dutch, who had not come up at all, lost more than five times that number.'"

On the arrival of the regiment at Cork, recruiting parties were sent to the Highlands, and so desirous were the Highland youth to enter the corps, that in May following the regiment was completed to the then establishment.\* At the time the battle of Fontenoy was fought there

\* To allure the young Highlanders to enlist into other regiments, recruiting parties assumed the dress of the Royal Highlanders, thus deceiving the recruits into the belief that they were entering the 42d. When the regiment lay in Dublin, a party of Highland recruits, destined for the 38th regiment, arrived there; but on representing the deception which had been practised upon them, they were, after a full inquiry, discharged by Lord Townshend, the lord-lieutenant. They, however, immediately re-enlisted into the 42d regiment. — *Stewart*.

was not a soldier in the regiment born south of the Grampians, and at this period they were all, except two, born north of the Tay.

At the period of their arrival in Ireland the uniform of the regiment had a very sombre appearance. "The jackets were of a dull rusty-coloured red, and no part of the accoutrements was of a light colour. Economy was strictly observed in the article of clothing. The old jacket, after being worn a year, was converted into a waistcoat, and the plaid, at the end of two years, was reduced to the philibeg. The hose supplied were of so bad a quality, that the men advanced an additional sum to the government price, in order to supply themselves with a better sort. Instead of feathers for their bonnets, they were allowed only a piece of black bear-skin; but the men supplied themselves with ostrich feathers in the modern fashion,\* and spared no expense in fitting up their bonnets handsomely. The sword-belts were of black leather, two inches and a half in breadth; and a small cartouch-box, fitted only for thirty-two rounds of cartridges, was worn in front above the purse, and fixed round the loins with a thick belt, in which hung the bayonet. In these heavy colours and dark-blue facings, the regiment had a far less splendid appearance at a short distance than English regiments with white breeches and belts; but on a closer view the line was imposing and warlike. The men possessed what an ingenious author calls 'the attractive beauties of a soldier; sun-burnt complexions, a hardy weather-beaten visage, with a penetrating eye, and firm expressive countenance, sinewy and elastic limbs, traces of muscles strongly impressed, indicating capacity of action, and marking experience of service.'† The personal appearance of the men has, no doubt, varied according as attention was paid to a proper selection of recruits. The appointments have also been different. The first alteration in this respect was made in the year 1769, when the regiment removed to Dublin. At this period the men received white cloth waistcoats, and the colonel supplied them with white goat-skin and buff leather purses, which were deemed an improvement on the vests of red cloth, and the purses made of badgers' skin.

"The officers also improved their dress, by having their jackets embroidered. During the war, however, they wore only a narrow edging of gold-lace round the borders of the facings, and very often no lace at all, epaulettes and all glittering ornaments being laid aside, to render them less conspicuous to the Indians, who always aimed particularly at the officers. During their stay in Ireland, the dress of the men underwent very little alteration. The officers had only one suit of embroidery; this fashion being found too expensive was given up, and gold-lace substituted in its stead. Upon ordinary occasions they wore light hangers,

\* "Officers and non-commissioned officers always wore a small plume of feathers, after the fashion of their country; but it was not till the period of which I am now writing, that the soldiers used so many feathers as they do at present."

† Jackson's European Armies.

using the basket-hilted broadsword only in full dress. They also carried fusils. The sergeants were furnished with carbines instead of the Lochaber axe or halbert, which they formerly carried. The soldiers were provided with new arms when on Dublin duty in 1774. The sergeants had silver-lace on their coats, which they furnished, however, at their own expense." \*

The regiment remained in Ireland after its return from North America about eight years, in the course of which it was occasionally occupied in different parts of that country in aid of the civil power,—a service in which, from their conciliatory disposition, they were found very useful. While in Ireland a new company was added, as was the case with all the other regiments on the Irish establishment. Captain James Macpherson, Lieutenant Campbell, and Ensign John Grant, were in consequence appointed to the 42d.

In seventeen hundred and seventy-five the regiment embarked at Donaghadee, and landed at Port Patrick, after an absence from Scotland of thirty-two years. Impelled by characteristic attachment to the country of their birth, many of the old soldiers leaped on shore with enthusiasm, and kissed the earth which they held up in handfuls. From Port Patrick the regiment marched to Glasgow.

The conduct of the regiment and its mode of discipline while in Ireland, is thus depicted by an intelligent officer who served in it at that time, and for many years both before and after that period, in a communication to General Stewart. He describes the regiment as still possessing the character which it had acquired in Germany and America, although there were not more than eighty of the men remaining who had served in America, and only a few individuals of those who had served in Germany previously to the year seventeen hundred and forty-eight. Their attachment to their native dress, and their peculiarity of language, habits and manners, contributed to preserve them a race of men separate from others of the same profession, and to give to their system of regimental discipline a distinctive and peculiar character. Their messes were managed by the non-commissioned officers, or old soldiers, who had charge of the barrack-room; and these messes were always so arranged, that, in each room, the men were in friendship or intimacy with each other, or belonged to the same glen or district, or were connected by some similar tie. By these means every barrack-room was like a family establishment. After the weekly allowances for breakfast, dinner, and small necessaries had been provided, the surplus pay was deposited in a stock purse, each member of the mess drawing for it in his turn. The stock thus acquired was soon found worth preserving, and instead of hoarding, they lent it out to the inhabitants, who seemed greatly surprised at seeing a soldier save money. Their accounts with their officers were settled once in three months, and, with the ex-

\* Stewart's Sketches.



ception of a few careless spendthrifts, all the men purchased their own necessities, with which they were always abundantly provided. At every settlement of accounts they enjoyed themselves very heartily, but with a strict observance of propriety and good humour; and as the members of each mess considered themselves in a manner answerable for one another's conduct, they animadverted on any impropriety with such severity, as to render the interference of farther authority unnecessary.

Shortly after the arrival of the regiment in Glasgow, two companies were added, and the establishment of the whole regiment augmented to one hundred rank and file each company. The battalion, when complete, amounted to one thousand and seventy-five men, including sergeants and drummers. Little inducement was required to fill the ranks, as men were always to be found ready to join a corps in such high estimation. At this time the bounty was a guinea and a crown. It was afterwards increased to three guineas; but this advance had little effect in the north where the *esprit du corps* had greater influence than gold.

Hitherto the officers had been entirely Highland and Scotch; but the lord-lieutenant of Ireland, contrary to the remonstrances of Lord John Murray, who saw the advantage of officering the regiment with natives of Scotland, prevailed with the government to admit two English officers into the regiment. His excellency even went so far as to get two lieutenants' commissions in favour of Scotchmen cancelled, although they had been gazetted.

In consequence of hostilities with America, the regiment was ordered to embark for that country. Before its departure the recruits were taught the use of the firelock, and from the shortness of the time allowed, were drilled even by candle-light. New arms and accoutrements were supplied to the men by the government, and the colonel furnished them with broadswords and pistols, iron-stocked, at his own expense. The regiment was reviewed on the tenth of April, seventeen hundred and seventy-six, by General Sir Adolphus Oughton, and being reported quite complete and unexceptionable, embarked on the fourteenth at Greenock along with Fraser's Highlanders.\*

\* Of the number of privates, 981 were Highlanders, 74 Lowland Scotch 5 English, (in the band) 1 Welsh, and 2 Irish.



## CHAPTER II.

Departure of the 42d for America—Disembarks in Staten island—Battle of Brooklyn, 1776—Broadsword and pistols laid aside—Skirmish near New York—White Plains—Capture of Fort Washington and Fort Lee—Defeat of the Hessians at Trenton—Skirmish at Trenton—Defeat of Mawhood's detachment—Pisquataua—Chesapeake—Battle of Brandy Wine—German Town—Skirmish at Monmouth—Small expedition—New Plymouth—Portsmouth—Verplanks and Stony Point, 1779—Mutiny of a detachment at Leith—Charlestown—Paulus Hook—Desertion, 1783—Halifax—Cape Breton—Return of the regiment to England—Marches to Scotland—Returns to England, and embarks for Flanders—Ostend—Menin—Nieuport—England—Coast of France—Ostend—Nimeguen—Gilderwalsen—Retreat to Deventer—Return of the regiment to England.

IN conjunction with Fraser's Highlanders, the 42d embarked at Greenock on the fourteenth of April, seventeen hundred and seventy-six, to join an expedition under General Howe against the American revolutionists. The transports separated in a gale of wind; but they all reached their destination in Staten island, where the main body of the army had assembled. A grenadier battalion was immediately formed under the command of the Hon. Major (afterwards General) Sir Charles Stewart, the staff appointments to which, out of respect to the 42d, were taken by the commander-in-chief from that regiment. A light infantry corps was also formed, to the command of which Lieutenant-colonel Musgrave was appointed. The flank companies of the 42d were attached to these battalions. "The Highland grenadiers were remarkable for strength and height, and considered equal to any company in the army: the light infantry were quite the reverse in point of personal appearance, as the commanding officer would not allow a choice of men for them. The battalion companies were formed into two temporary battalions, the command of one being given to Major William Murray (Lintrose,) and that of the other to Major William Grant (Rothiemurchus,) with an adjutant quarter-master in each battalion; the whole being under the command of Lieutenant-colonel Thomas Stirling. These grenadiers were placed in the reserve with the grenadiers of the army, under the command of Earl Cornwallis. To these was added the 33d, his lordship's own regiment." \*

The whole of the British force under the command of Sir William

\* Stewart's Sketches.

Howe, including thirteen thousand Hessians and Waldeckers, amounted to thirty thousand men. The campaign opened by a landing on Long island on the twenty-second of August, seventeen hundred and seventy-six. The whole army encamped in front of the villages of Gravesend and Utrecht. The American army, under General Putnam, was encamped at Brooklyn, a few miles distant. A range of woody hills, which intersected the country from east to west, divided the two armies.

The British general having resolved to attack the enemy in three divisions, the right wing under General Clinton seized, on the twenty-sixth of August, at night-fall, a pass on the heights, about three miles from Bedford. The main body then passed through, and descended to the level country which lay between the hills and General Putnam's lines. Whilst this movement was going on, Major-general Grant (Ballindalloch) with his brigade (the 4th) supported by the Royal Highlanders from the reserve, was directed to march from the left along the coast to the Narrows, and attack the enemy in that quarter. The right wing having reached Bedford at nine o'clock next morning, attacked the left of the American army, which, after a short resistance, retired to their lines in great confusion pursued by the British troops. Colonel Stuart leading with his battalion of Highland grenadiers. The Hessians who had remained at Flat Bush, on hearing the fire at Bedford, advanced, and, attacking the centre of the American army, drove them, after a short engagement, through the woods, and captured three pieces of cannon. General Grant had previously attacked the right of the enemy, and a cannonade had been kept up near the Narrows on both sides till the Americans heard the firing at Bedford, when they retreated in disorder. Notwithstanding these advantages, neither General Howe nor General Grant ventured to follow them up by pursuing the enemy, and attacking them in their lines, although they could have made no effectual resistance. The enemy lost two thousand men, killed, drowned, and taken prisoners. The British had five officers, and fifty-six non-commissioned officers and privates, killed; and twelve officers, and two hundred and forty-five non-commissioned officers and privates wounded. Among the latter was Lieutenant Crammond and nine rank and file of the 42d.

About this time the broadswords and pistols which the men received in Glasgow, were ordered to be laid aside. The pistols being considered unnecessary, except in the field, were not intended like the swords to be worn by the men in quarters. The reason for discontinuing the broadswords was that they retarded the men by getting entangled in the brushwood. "Admitting that the objection was well-founded, so far as regarded the swords, it certainly could not apply to the pistols. In a close woody country, where troops are liable to sudden attacks and surprises by a hidden enemy, such a weapon is peculiarly useful. It is, therefore, difficult to discover a good reason for laying them aside. Neither does there appear to have been any objection to the resumption

of the broadsword when the service alluded to terminated. The marches through the woods of Long island were only a few miles; whereas, we have seen that the two battalions of the 42d, and Fraser's, and Montgomery's Highlanders, in the seven years' war, carried the broadsword on all their marches, through woods and forests of many hundred miles in extent. In the same manner the swords were carried in Martinique and Guadaloupe, islands intersected with deep ravines, and covered with woods no less impervious than the thickest and closest woods of America. But, on that service, the broadsword, far from being complained of as an incumbrance, was, on many occasions, of the greatest efficacy, when a decisive blow was to be struck, and the enemy were to be overpowered by an attack hand to hand. I have been told by several old officers and soldiers, who bore a part in these attacks, that an enemy who stood for many hours the fire of musketry, invariably gave way when an advance was made sword in hand. It is to be regretted, that a weapon which the Highlanders could use so well, should, together with the pistol, which is peculiarly serviceable in close woody countries, have been taken from the soldiers, and after the expense of purchase had been incurred, sent to rust and spoil in a store. They were never restored, and the regiment has had neither swords nor pistols since. It has been said that the broadsword is not a weapon to contend with the bayonet. Certainly, to all appearance, it is not, yet facts do not warrant the superiority of the latter weapon. From the battle of Culloden, where a body of undisciplined Highlanders, shepherds and herdsmen with their broadswords, cut their way through some of the best disciplined and most approved regiments in the British army, (drawn up, too, on a field extremely favourable for regular troops,) down till the time when the swords were taken from the Highlanders, the bayonet was in every instance overcome by the sword."\*

The army encamped in front of the enemy's lines in the evening of the twenty-seventh of August, and next day broke ground opposite their left redoubt. General Washington had crossed over from New York during the action at Brooklyn, and seeing resistance hopeless, resolved to retreat. With surprising skill he transported nine thousand men with guns, ammunition, and stores, in the course of one night, over to New York; and such was the secrecy with which this movement was effected, that the British army knew nothing of it till next morning, when the last of the rear-guard were seen in their boats crossing the broad ferry and out of danger.

Active operations were not resumed till the fifteenth of September, when the reserve, including the Royal Highlanders, crossed over to New York, and, after some opposition, took possession of the heights above the town. The Highlanders and Hessians fell in with and captured a body of New England men and Virginians. Next day the light in-

\* Stewart.

fantry were sent out to dislodge a party of the enemy from a wood opposite the British left. A smart action ensued, and, the enemy pushing forward reinforcements, the Highlanders were sent to support the light infantry. The Americans were then driven back to their entrenchments; but they renewed the attack with an increased force, and were again repulsed with considerable loss. The British had fourteen men killed, and five officers and seventy men wounded. The 42d had one sergeant and five privates killed; and Captains Duncan Macpherson and John Mackintosh, and Ensign Alexander Mackenzie, (who died of his wounds,) and one piper, two drummers, and forty-seven privates wounded.\*

General Howe, in expectation of an attack, threw up entrenchments; but General Washington having no such intention, made a general movement, and took up a strong position on the heights in the rear of the White Plains. To induce the enemy to quit their ground, General Howe resolved to make a movement, and accordingly embarked his army on the twelfth of October in flat-bottomed boats, and passing through the intricate narrow called Hell Gate, disembarked the same evening at Frogsneck, near West Chester. In consequence of the bridge which connected the latter place with the mainland, having been broken down by the enemy, the general re-embarked his troops next day, and landed at Pell's Point at the mouth of Hudson's river. On the fourteenth he reached the White Plains in front of the enemy's position. As a preliminary to a general engagement, General Howe attacked a post on a rising ground occupied by four thousand of the enemy, which he carried; but General Washington declining battle, the British general gave up the attempt, and proceeded against Fort Washington, the possession of which was necessary in order to open the communication between New York and the continent, to the eastward and northward of Hudson's river. The fort, the garrison of which consisted of three thousand men, was protected by strong grounds covered with lines and works. The Hessians, under General Knyphausen, supported by the whole of the reserve, under Major-general Earl Percy, with the exception of the 42d, who were to make a feint on the east side of the fort; were to make the principal attack. The Royal Highlanders embarked in boats on the sixteenth of November, before day-break, and landed in a small creek at the foot of the rock, in the face of a smart fire. The Highlanders had now discharged the duty assigned them,

\* The night preceding this skirmish, which, though only an affair of outposts, was one of the smartest engagements on a small scale during the war; Major Murray was nearly carried off by the enemy, but saved himself by his strength and presence of mind. He was attacked by an American officer and two soldiers, whilst crossing to his regiment from the light infantry battalion, which he commanded. He kept his assailants at bay for some time with his fusil; but closing upon him, his dirk slipped behind him, and being a corpulent man, he was unable to reach it. He however found a substitute in the sword of the American officer, which he snatched from him, and by means of it compelled the party to retreat. He wore the sword as a trophy during the campaign. He was promoted to the lieutenant colonelcy of the 27th regiment, and died the following year much respected and beloved.—*Stewart*.

but determined to have a full share in the honour of the day, they resolved upon an assault, and assisted by each other, and by the brushwood and shrubs which grew out of the crevices of the rocks, scrambled up the precipice. On gaining the summit, they rushed forward, and attacked the enemy with such rapidity, that upwards of two hundred, unable to escape, threw down their arms; whilst the Highlanders, following up their advantage, penetrated across the table of the hill, and met Lord Percy's brigade as they were coming up on the opposite side. On seeing the Hessians approach in another direction, the enemy surrendered at discretion. In this affair the Royal Highlanders had one sergeant and ten privates killed; and Lieutenants Patrick Græme (Inchbrakie), Norman Macleod,\* and Alexander Grant, and four sergeants and sixty-six rank and file wounded.

To secure the entire command of the North river, and to open an easy entrance into the Jerseys, Fort Lee was next reduced, in which service the Royal Highlanders were employed. The enemy, pursued by the detachment which captured that post, retired successively to Newbridge, Elizabeth Town, Newark, and Brunswick. On the seventeenth of November General Howe entered Prince Town with the main body of the army, an hour after it was evacuated by General Washington. Winter having now set in, General Howe put his army into winter quarters. The advanced posts, which extended from Trenton to Mount-holly, were occupied by the Hessians and the Royal Highlanders, who were the only British regiments in front.

If, instead of suspending active operations, General Howe had continued occasionally to beat up the quarters of the Americans whilst dispirited by their late reverses, it is thought that he would have reduced them to the last extremity. General Washington availed himself of the inactivity of the British commander, and by making partial attacks on the advanced posts, he not only improved the discipline of his army, but, in consequence of the success which sometimes attended these attacks, revived the drooping spirits of his men. On the twenty-second of January, seventeen hundred and seventy-seven, he surprised and completely defeated the detachment of Hessians stationed at Trenton; in consequence of which reverse, the Royal Highlanders, who formed the left

\* "This hill was so perpendicular, that the ball which wounded Lieutenant Macleod, entering the posterior part of his neck, ran down on the middle of his ribs, and lodged in the lower part of his back.

"One of the pipers, who began to play when he reached the point of a rock on the summit of the hill, was immediately shot, and tumbled from one piece of rock to another till he reached the bottom.

"Major Murray being a large corpulent man, could not attempt this steep ascent without assistance. The soldiers, eager to get to the point of their duty, scrambled up, forgetting the situation of Major Murray, when he, in a melancholy supplicating tone, cried, 'Oh, soldiers, will you leave me!' A party leapt down instantly, and brought him up, supporting him from one ledge of the rock to another till they got him to the top."—*Stewart's Sketches.*



of the line of defence at Mount-holly, fell back on the light infantry at Prince Town.

On hearing of the defeat of the Hessians, Lord Cornwallis, who was at New York with the intention of embarking for England, returned to the army. To dislodge the Americans from Trenton, his lordship moved forward with the grenadiers, two brigades of the line, and the two Highland regiments. Considerable skirmishing took place in the advance, and on approaching Trenton he observed General Washington posted on some high ground beyond it. Both parties commenced a heavy cannonade, which, with occasional skirmishing between the advanced guards, was kept up till night. As it formed no part of General Washington's plans to hazard a general engagement, he decamped during the night, leaving large fires burning to deceive the British. He retreated towards Prince Town, and defeated a detachment of British under Colonel Mawhood, who was on his way from that place to join Lord Cornwallis.

During the remainder of the season the Royal Highlanders were stationed in the village of Pisquata, on the line of communication between New York and Brunswick by Amboy. The duty was severe from the rigour of the season and the want of accommodation. The houses in the village not being sufficient to contain one half of the men, the officers and soldiers were intermixed in barns and sheds, and they always slept in their body-clothes, as the enemy were constantly sending down nocturnal parties to fire at the sentinels and picquets. The Americans, however, always kept at a respectful distance, and did not make any regular attack on the post till the tenth of May, on which day, at four o'clock in the afternoon, a body of two thousand men, under the command of Maxwell and Stephens, American generals, attempted to surprise the Highlanders. Advancing with great secrecy, and being completely covered by the rugged nature of the country, their approach was not perceived till they had gained a small level piece of ground in front of the picquets, when they rushed forward, and attacked them with such promptitude, that the picquets had hardly time to seize their arms. At this time the soldiers were either all employed in different avocations, or taking the rest they could not obtain at night; but the picquets, by disputing every inch of ground, gave time to the soldiers to assemble, who drove the enemy back with great precipitation, leaving behind them upwards of two hundred men in killed and wounded. On this occasion the 42d had three sergeants and nine privates killed; and Captain Duncan Macpherson, Lieutenant William Stewart, three sergeants, and thirty-five privates wounded.\*

\* " On this occasion Sergeant Macgregor, whose company was immediately in the rear of the picquet, rushed forward to their support with a few men who happened to have their arms in their hands, when the enemy commenced the attack. Being severely wounded, he was left insensible on the ground. When the picquet was overpowered, and the few survivors forced to retire, Macgregor, who had that day put on a new jacket with



The British troops again took the field about the middle of June, when General Howe attempted to draw Washington from his station at Middle Brook; but the American commander knew too well the value of such a strong position to abandon it. Not judging it prudent to attack it, the British general resolved to change the seat of war. Pursuant to this resolution, he embarked thirty-six battalions of British and Hessians, including the flank battalions of the grenadiers and light infantry, and sailed for the Chesapeake. Before the embarkation the Royal Highlanders received an accession of one hundred and seventy recruits from Scotland.

The army landed at Elk Ferry on the twenty-fourth of August, after a tedious voyage. It was not till the third of September that they began their march for Philadelphia. The delay enabled Washington to cross the country, and to take an advantageous position at Red Clay Creek, whence he pushed forward detachments to harass the British troops on their march. General Howe did not reach the Brandy Wine river till the middle of September, in consequence of the difficulties he met with in traversing a country covered with wood and full of defiles. On reaching that river, he found that the enemy had taken up a strong position beyond it, with the view of opposing the farther advance of the royal army. The Americans had secured all the fording places, and in expectation that the British would attempt to cross at Chad's Ford, they had erected batteries and thrown up entrenchments at that place to command the passage. Making a circuit of some miles, Lord Cornwallis crossed Jeffrey's Ford with one division of the army without opposition, and turning down the river fell in with the American general, Sullivan, who had been detached by Washington to oppose him. An action took place, and the Americans were driven from all their posts through the woods towards the main army. Meanwhile General Knyphausen, with his division, made demonstrations for crossing the river at Chad's Ford, and as soon as he knew from the firing of cannon that Lord Cornwallis's movement had succeeded, he passed the river, and carried the batteries and entrenchments of the enemy. A general rout ensued, and General Washington, with the corps he was able to keep together, fled with his baggage and cannon to Chester. The British

silver-lace, having, besides, large silver buckles in his shoes, and a watch, attracted the notice of an American soldier, who deemed him a good prize. The retreat of his friends not allowing him time to strip the sergeant on the spot, he thought the shortest way was to take him on his back to a more convenient distance. By this time Macgregor began to recover; and, perceiving whither the man was carrying him, drew his dirk, and grasping him by the throat, swore that he would run him through the breast if he did not turn back and carry him to the camp. The American finding this argument irresistible, complied with the request, and meeting Lord Cornwallis, (who had come up to the support of the regiment when he heard the firing,) and Colonel Stirling, was thanked for his care of the sergeant; but he honestly told them that he only conveyed him thither to save his own life. Lord Cornwallis gave him liberty to go whithersoever he chose. His lordship procured for the sergeant a situation under government at Leith, which he enjoyed many years."—*Stewart's Sketches.*

had fifty officers killed and wounded in the battle of Brandy Wine, and four hundred and thirty-eight rank and file, including non-commissioned officers. The flank companies of the 42d being the only ones engaged, had six privates killed, and one sergeant and fifteen privates wounded.

Had General Howe followed up this advantage by immediately pushing forward to Philadelphia next morning, he would probably have dispersed the remains of the American army; but, instead of pursuing the enemy, he remained contented with his success, and allowed the American commander to collect the scattered portions of his army, and to recruit it. Emboldened by the supineness of the British general, that cautious, yet bold and enterprising chief, ordered a select brigade of his light troops, under the command of General Wayne, to take post six miles in the rear of the British, for the purpose of attacking them whilst passing the Schuylkill river, which they intended to ford at Valley Forge on the twenty-second of September. They were, however, surprised at midnight by a detachment under the Hon. Major Maitland, and the most of them were either bayoneted or taken prisoners. On the twenty-fifth, the army marched to German Town, and the following morning the grenadiers took peaceable possession of Philadelphia.

Having received considerable reinforcements, General Washington formed a design to surprise the British army at German Town. He arrived in the neighbourhood about three in the morning, and would probably have succeeded had not his progress been stopt by the intrepidity of Lieutenant-colonel Musgrave, who, throwing himself into a large stone house with six companies of the 40th regiment, kept the Americans at bay till two brigades came up, who forced the Americans to retire. The loss sustained on both sides in this smart engagement was greater than in that of Brandy Wine. The Highlanders being sent in a detachment under Lieutenant-colonel Stirling to drive the enemy from a post at Billingspoint, were not present in this action.

No occurrence of any importance took place during the winter. Sir William Howe was recalled in May seventeen hundred and seventy-eight, and was succeeded in the chief command of the army by General Clinton. The new commander opened the summer campaign by the evacuation of Philadelphia. He crossed the Delaware and reached Monmouth on the twenty-eighth of June, in the neighbourhood of which place the enemy were posted in considerable force. General Clinton's movements were much retarded by the extreme heat of the weather and a large convoy of provisions; and, to add to his difficulties, his rear was several times attacked by a detachment of Americans under the Marquis de la Fayette, who, with several other French officers, had lately joined the American cause. Annoyed by these attacks, General Clinton attacked the main body of the enemy, who were drawn up in line behind Monmouth court-house. He drove them successively from two positions

which they occupied, but as they returned and formed in a third position, he desisted from the attack, and led off his troops at ten at night, and resuming his march, passed over to Staten and Long Islands, and thence to New York.

The next enterprise in which the Royal Highlanders were engaged, was under Major-general Charles Grey, who embarked with the grenadiers, the light infantry brigade, and the 42d regiment, for the purpose of destroying a number of privateers, with their prizes, at New Plymouth. The troops landed on the banks of the Acushnet river on the fifth of September, and having destroyed seventy vessels, with all the stores, cargoes, wharfs, and buildings, along the whole extent of the river, the whole were re-embarked the following day, and returned to New York.

Matters remained quiescent till the twenty-fifth of February, when Colonel Stirling, with a detachment consisting of the light infantry of the Guards and the 42d regiment, was ordered to attack a post at Elizabeth Town, which was taken without opposition. In April following, the Highland regiment was employed in an expedition to the Chesapeake to destroy the stores and merchandise at Portsmouth in Virginia. They were again employed with the Guards and a corps of Hessians in another expedition under General Mathews, which sailed on the thirtieth, under the convoy of Sir George Collier, in the *Reasonable*, and several ships of war. This expedition reached its destination on the tenth of May, when the troops landed on the glebe on the western bank of Elizabeth. They returned to New York after fulfilling the object of the expedition.

The campaign of seventeen hundred and seventy-nine was begun by the capture, on the part of the British, of Verplanks and Stony Point. A garrison of six hundred men, among whom were two companies of Fraser's Highlanders, took possession of this last post; but owing to the too great confidence of the commander, it was surprised and re-captured. Flushed with this success, the American general, Wayne, made an immediate attack upon Verplanks, which was garrisoned by the 33d regiment; but receiving accounts of the advance of Colonel Stirling with the light infantry and the 42d, he retreated from Verplanks and abandoned Stony Point, of which Colonel Stirling took possession. This officer being shortly thereafter appointed aid-de-camp to the king, and a brigadier-general, the command of the 42d regiment devolved on Major Charles Graham.

About this time a circumstance occurred which tended greatly to deteriorate, for several years, the hitherto irreproachable character of the Royal Highland regiment. By order of the inspector-general at Chatham, a body of one hundred and fifty recruits, raised principally from the refuse of the population of London and Dublin, was embarked for the regiment in the autumn of this year. Of such dissipated habits had these men been, that sixteen died on the voyage, and seventy-five were

sent to the hospital as soon as they disembarked.\* The infusion of such immoral ingredients could not have failed to have tainted the whole mass, and General Stirling made a strong representation to the commander-in-chief to avert such a calamity from the regiment, by removing the recruits to another corps. They were, in consequence, drafted into the 26th, in exchange for the same number of Scotchmen; but the introduction of these men into the regiment dissolved the charm which, for nearly forty years, had preserved the Highlanders from contamination. During that long period there were few courts-martial, and for many years no instance of corporal punishment occurred. So nice were their notions of honour, that "if a soldier was brought to the halberts he became degraded, and little more good was to be expected of him. After being publicly disgraced, he could no longer associate with his comrades; and, in several instances, the privates of a company have, from their pay, subscribed to procure the discharge of an obnoxious individual." But "punishments being found indispensable for the men newly introduced, and others becoming more habituated to the sight, much of the sense of honour was necessarily lost."†

An illustration of the strong national feeling with which the corps was regarded by the Highlanders, and of the expediency of keeping it unmixed, occurred in April of the same year, when two strong detachments of recruits belonging to the 42d and 71st regiments arrived at Leith from Stirling castle, for the purpose of embarking to join their respective regiments in North America. Being told that they were to be turned over to the 80th and 82d, the Edinburgh and Hamilton regiments, the men remonstrated, and declared openly and firmly that they were determined to serve only in the corps for which they were enlisted. After some negotiation, troops were sent to Leith with orders to convey the refractory Highlanders as prisoners to Edinburgh castle, if they persisted in their determination. As they still refused to forego their resolution, attempts were made to enforce the orders; but the Highlanders refused to submit, and flying to arms, a desperate conflict ensued, in which Captain Mansfield of the South Fencible regiment and nine men were killed, and thirty-one soldiers wounded. Being at last overpowered, the mutineers were carried to the castle.

In the month of May following, three of these prisoners, Charles Williamson and Archibald Macivor, soldiers in the 42d regiment, and Robert Budge, soldier in the 71st, were brought before a court-martial, "charged with having been guilty of a mutiny at Leith upon Tuesday the twentieth of April last past, and of having instigated others to be guilty of the same, in which mutiny several of his majesty's subjects were killed, and many wounded."

\* "In the year 1776 (says General Stewart) the three battalions of the 42d and of Fraser's Highlanders embarked 3218 soldiers; after a stormy passage of more than three months, none died; they had only a few sick, and these not dangerously."

† Stewart.

Their reasons for resisting the orders to embark, are thus stated in their defence. "The prisoners, Archibald Macivor and Charles Williamson, enlisted as soldiers in the 42d, being an old Highland regiment, wearing the Highland dress. Their native language was Gaelic,—the one being a native of the northern parts of Argyleshire, and the other of the western parts of Inverness-shire, where the language of the country is Gaelic only. They have never used any other language, and are so ignorant of the English tongue, that they cannot avail themselves of it for any purpose of life. They have always been accustomed to the Highland habit, so far as never to have worn breeches, a thing so inconvenient, and even so impossible for a native Highlander to do, that, when the Highland dress was prohibited by act of parliament, though the philibeg was one of the forbidden parts of the dress, yet it was necessary to connive at the use of it, provided only that it was made of a stuff of one colour and not of tartan, as is well known to all acquainted with the Highlands, particularly with the more mountainous parts of the country. These circumstances made it more necessary for them to serve in a Highland regiment only, as they neither could have understood the language, nor have used their arms, or marched in the dress of any other regiment."

The other prisoner, Budge, stated that he was a native of the upper parts of Caithness, and being ignorant of the English language, and accustomed to wear the Highland garb, he enlisted to serve in Fraser's Highlanders, and in no other regiment. In continuation, the three prisoners stated, that, "when they arrived at Leith, they were informed by their officer, Captain Innes, who had conducted them, that they were now to consider the officers of the 82d, or duke of Hamilton's regiment, a regiment wearing the lowland dress and speaking the English tongue, as their officers; but how this happened they were not informed. No order from the commander-in-chief for their being drafted was read or explained to them, but they were told that they must immediately join the Hamilton and Edinburgh regiments. A great number of the detachment represented, without any disorder or mutinous behaviour, that they were altogether unfit for service in any other corps than Highland ones, particularly that they were incapable of wearing breeches as a part of their dress. At the same time, they declared their willingness to be regularly transferred to any other Highland regiment, or to continue to serve in those regiments into which they had been regularly enlisted. But no regard was paid to these remonstrances, which, if they had had an opportunity, they would have laid before the commander-in-chief. But an order for an immediate embarkation prevented this. The idea that naturally suggested itself to them was, that they should insist on serving in the same regiment in which they had been enlisted, and not to go abroad as part of the duke of Hamilton's regiment till such time as these difficulties were removed. They accordingly drew up under arms on the shore of Leith, each respective corps by itself. The prisoners were



informed that the orders issued were to take them prisoners to the castle: had these orders been explained to them, they would have submitted, and, with proper humility, have laid their case before those that could have given them redress. But, unfortunately, the sergeant who undertook to explain to them in Gaelic, represented that they were immediately to go on board as part of the Hamilton regiment, but which they do with great deference say, that they did not at the time conceive they could lawfully have done." After the defence was read, "Captain Innes of the 71st regiment showed an attestation to the court, which he said was in the uniform style of the attestations for that regiment; and it expressly bore, that the persons thereby attested were to serve in the 71st regiment, commanded by General Simon Fraser of Lovat, and that they were to serve for three years only, or during the continuance of the present war."

Having been found guilty, the prisoners were sentenced to be shot. The king gave them a free pardon, "in full confidence that they would endeavour, by a prompt obedience and orderly behaviour, to atone for this atrocious offence." These men, along with the rest of the detachment, joined the second battalion of the 42d. The prisoners justified the confidence of his majesty by steadiness and good conduct in the regiment.

With the intention of pushing the war with vigour, the new commander-in-chief resolved to attack Charlestown, the capital of South Carolina. Leaving General Knyphausen in command, he embarked part of his army, and after a boisterous and protracted voyage of nearly seven weeks, during which some of his transports were lost or taken, he landed at John's Island, thirty miles from Charlestown, on the eleventh of February, seventeen hundred and eighty. Owing to various impediments, he did not reach Charlestown till the end of March. After a siege of six weeks the place surrendered. The loss of the British did not exceed three hundred men. Lieutenant Macleod of the 42d, and nine privates, were killed; and Lieutenant Alexander Grant of the same regiment, son of Colonel Grant of Moy, was wounded by a six-pound ball, which struck him on the back in a slanting direction, near the right shoulder, and carried away the entire scapula with several other bones. The surgeons considered his case as utterly hopeless, but to their surprise they found him alive next morning, and free from fever and all bad symptoms. He recovered completely, and served many years in perfect good health. Fourteen privates were wounded.

The Royal Highlanders, with the Grenadiers and Hessians, re-embarked on the fourth of June for New York, and, after several movements in the province, went into winter quarters. Here they received an accession of a hundred recruits from Scotland. The regiment was not again employed in any active service during the remainder of the war.

Whilst the war lasted, the Americans held out every allurements to the



British soldiers to induce them to desert their ranks and join the cause of American independence. Many were, in consequence, seduced from their allegiance; but during five campaigns, and until the unfortunate draft of men from the 26th regiment, not one man from the 42d deserted its ranks. About the close of the war the regiment was stationed at Paulus Hook, an advanced post from New York leading to the Jerseys, and here, for the first time, several of the men deserted to the enemy. One of these deserters, by name Anderson, was afterwards taken, tried by a court-martial, and shot.

After the peace the establishment of the regiment was reduced to eight companies of fifty men each. The officers of the ninth and tenth companies were not put on half-pay, but kept as supernumeraries to fill up vacancies as they occurred in the regiment. Many of the men having been discharged at their own request, their places were supplied by drafts from Fraser's and Macdonald's Highlanders, and from the Edinburgh and Hamilton regiments, some of the men in these corps having preferred rather to remain in America than return home with their regiments.

During the American revolutionary war the loss of the Royal Highlanders was as follows:

										KILLED.
In Officers,	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
Sergeants,	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	9
Rank and File, including Drummers,	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	72
Total,										83
										WOUNDED
In Officers,	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	13
Sergeants,	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	18
Rank and File, including Drummers,	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	256
Total,										287
Grand Total,										370

In October seventeen hundred and eighty-two, the regiment was sent to Halifax in Nova Scotia, where it remained till the year seventeen hundred and eighty-six, when six companies were removed to the island of Cape Breton, the remaining two companies being detached to the island of St John. Next year two companies were added to the regiment, in consequence of preparations for war with Holland. Captains William Johnstone and Robert Christie succeeded to these companies. Lieutenant Robert Macdonald, brother of Sanda, from the half-pay of Fraser's regiment, and Ensign James Rose, were appointed lieutenants; and Ensign David Stewart (afterwards major-general, and author of the 'Military Sketches,') and James Stewart, nephew of the earl of Moray, ensigns.

About this time the regiment had to regret the loss of its colonel,

Lord John Murray, who died on the first of June this year, after commanding the corps forty-one years. He was the steady friend of the officers and men. Major-general Sir Hector Monro succeeded him in the command.

The regiment embarked for England in August seventeen hundred and eighty-nine, and landed in Portsmouth in October, after an absence of fourteen years. They wintered in Tynemouth barracks, where they received a reinforcement of two hundred and forty-five young recruits. At this time a small alteration was made in the military appointments of the men. Instead of the black leather belts for the bayonet, white buff belts were substituted. The epaulettes of the officers, formerly very small, were then enlarged to the present size.\*

The regiment was removed to Glasgow in the month of May seventeen hundred and ninety, where they were received with great cordiality by the inhabitants. From an ill-judged hospitality on the part of the citizens, who compelled some of the soldiers to drink copiously of ardent spirits, the discipline of the regiment was relaxed; but its removal to Edinburgh castle in the month of November cured the evil.

Warlike preparations having been made in seventeen hundred and ninety, in expectation of a rupture with Spain, orders were received to augment the regiment; but, from recent occurrences in the Highlands, the regiment was not successful in recruiting. Several independent companies were raised, one of which, a fine body of young Highlanders, recruited by the marquis of Huntly, (now duke of Gordon,) joined the regiment along with his lordship, who had exchanged with Captain Alexander Grant.

The regiment was reviewed in June seventeen hundred and ninety-one, by Lord Adam Gordon, the commander-in-chief in Scotland, and was marched to the north in October following. The head quarters were at Fort George; one company was stationed at Dundee, another at Montrose, two at Aberdeen, and one at Banff. The regiment assembled at Fort George in the spring of seventeen hundred and ninety-two, and after having been marched south to Stirling, and reviewed by the Hon. Lieutenant-general Leslie, returned to their former cantonments along the coast. The men had however scarcely returned to their quarters, when they were ordered to proceed by forced marches into Ross-shire, to quell some tumults among the tenantry who had been cruelly ejected from their farms. Fortunately, however, there was no occasion for the exercise of such an unpleasant duty, as the poor people separated and concealed themselves on hearing of the approach of the military. After a series of marches and countermarches, the regiment returned to its former cantonments.

In consequence of the war with France, the whole regiment was ordered south, and, preparatory to their march, assembled at Mon-

trose in April seventeen hundred and ninety-three. An attempt to increase the establishment by recruiting proved unsuccessful, the result, in some degree, of the depopulating system which had lately been commenced in Ross-shire, and which soured the kindly dispositions of the Highlanders. The corps at this time scarcely exceeded four hundred men, and to make up for deficiencies in recruiting, two independent companies, raised by Captains David Hunter of Burnside, and Alexander Campbell of Ardochattan, were ordered to join the regiment.

On the eighth of May the regiment embarked at Musselburgh for Hull, the inhabitants of which received the Highlanders most kindly, and were so well pleased with their good conduct, that, after they embarked for Flanders, the town sent each man a present of a pair of shoes, a flannel shirt, and worsted socks. The regiment joined the army under his royal highness the duke of York, then encamped in the neighbourhood of Menin, on the third of October.

The first enterprise in which the Highlanders were engaged, was in conjunction with the light companies of the 19th, 27th, and 57th regiments, in the month of October, when they marched to the relief of Nieuport, then garrisoned by the 53d regiment, and a small battalion of Hessians. On the appearance of this reinforcement, the besiegers retired. The Highlanders had one sergeant and one private killed, and two privates wounded. After this the regiment was re-embarked for England along with the three others just mentioned, to join an expedition then preparing against the French colonies in the West Indies; but on arriving at Portsmouth, the 42d was ordered to join another expedition then fitting out against the coast of France, under the command of the Earl of Moira. Colonel Graham, who had held the command of the regiment since the year seventeen hundred and ninety-one, being at this time appointed to the command of a brigade, the command devolved on Major George Dalrymple.

The expedition sailed on the thirtieth of November, but although it reached the coast of France to the eastward of Cape la Hogue, no landing took place. The expedition, after stopping some time at Guernsey, returned to Portsmouth in the beginning of January seventeen hundred and ninety-four. The troops remained in England till the eighteenth of June, when they were re-embarked for Flanders, under the command of the Earl of Moira. They landed at Ostend on the twenty-sixth. At this time the allied armies, in consequence of the advance of a large French army and the partial defection of Prussia, were placed in a very critical situation, particularly the small division under the duke of York, encamped at Malines. A junction with the duke became a primary object with Lord Moira, who accordingly resolved to abandon Ostend. He embarked all the stores and the garrison, and, whilst the embarkation was proceeding, the troops were ordered under arms on the sand hills in the neighbourhood in light marching order. The officers left all their luggage behind, except what they carried on their backs. In the evening of the twenty-eighth the troops moved forward, and halting ten miles

beyond the town, proceeded at midnight towards Ostaker, and reached Alost on the third of July. Whilst these troops remained here, about four hundred of the enemy's cavalry entered the town, and being mistaken for Hessians, passed unmolested to the market-place. One of them made an attempt to cut down a Highlander named Macdonald, who was passing through the market-place with a basket on his head. The dragoon having wounded the man severely in the hand which held the basket, the enraged mountaineer drew his bayonet with the other hand and attacked the horseman, who fled. Macdonald thereupon continued his course, venting his regret as he went along that he had not a broadsword to cut down the intruder. On being recognised, the enemy were driven out by some dragoons and picquets.

After a fatiguing march in presence of a superior force under General Vandamme, the reinforcement joined the duke of York on the ninth of July. A succession of petty skirmishes occurred until the twentieth, when Lord Moira resigned the command. He was succeeded by Lieutenant-general Ralph Abercromby, to whom the command of the third brigade, or reserve, in which were the Highlanders, was assigned. The army crossed the Waal at Nimeguen on the eighth of October. Several smart affairs took place between the advanced posts of the two armies till the twentieth, when the enemy attacked the whole of the British advanced posts. They were repulsed, but the 77th regiment sustained a severe loss in officers and men. By incessant attacks, however, the enemy established themselves in front of Nimeguen, and began to erect batteries preparatory to a siege; but on the fourth of November they were driven from their works, after an obstinate resistance. The enemy still persevering with great energy to push their preparations for a siege, it was found necessary to evacuate the town.

This evacuation took place on the seventh of November, and the army was cantoned along the banks of the river. They suffered greatly from the severity of the weather, and so intense was the frost, that the enemy crossed the Waal on the ice. They took post at Thuyl; but although the place was surrounded with entrenchments, and the approach flanked by batteries placed on the isle of Bommell, they were forced from all their posts, and obliged to repass the Waal by a body of eight thousand British, among whom was the third brigade. The loss of the British was trifling. The enemy again crossed the Waal on the fourth of January, seventeen hundred and ninety-five, and retook Thuyl, from which it was now found impossible to dislodge them. In an attack which they made on the forces under General David Dundas at Gildersmaslen, they were repulsed with the loss of two hundred men, whilst that of the British was only about one-fourth of that number. The 42d regiment had one private killed, and Lieutenant-colonel Lamond and seven privates wounded.

Compelled by the severity of the weather and the increasing numbers of the French to retreat, the British troops retired behind the Leck,

after the division under Lord Cathcart had repulsed an attack made by the enemy on the eighth.

Disease, the result of a want of necessaries and proper clothing, had greatly diminished the ranks of the British; and the men, whose robustness of constitution had hitherto enabled them to withstand the rigours of one of the severest winters ever remembered, at last sank under the accumulated hardships which beset them. Such was the state of the British army when General Pichegru, crossing the Waal in great force, made a general attack on the fourteenth of January along the whole line, from Arnheim to Amerougen. After a continued resistance till morning, the British began the disastrous retreat to Deventer, the miseries of which have only been exceeded by the sufferings of the French in their disastrous retreat from Moscow.\* The inhumanity of the Dutch boors, who uniformly shut their doors against the unfortunate sufferers, will ever remain a disgrace on the Dutch nation. The hospitable conduct of the inhabitants of Bremen, where the remains of this luckless army arrived in the beginning of April, formed a noble contrast to that of the selfish and unfeeling Dutch.

In no former campaign was the superiority of the Highlanders over their companions in arms, in enduring privations and fatigues, more conspicuous than in this; for whilst some of the newly-raised regiments lost more than three hundred men by disease alone, the 42d, which had three hundred young recruits in its ranks, lost only twenty-five, including those killed in battle, from the time of their disembarkation at Ostend till their embarkation at Bremen, on the fourteenth of April.

The Royal Highlanders having landed at Harwich were marched to Chelmsford, and encamped in June seventeen hundred and ninety-five, in the neighbourhood of Danbury. In September the regiment was augmented to a thousand men, by drafts from the Strathspey and Perthshire Highlanders, and the regiments of Colonel Duncan Cameron and Colonel Simon Fraser, which had been raised the preceding year, and were now broken up. "Although these drafts (says General Stewart) furnished many good and serviceable men, they were, in many respects, very inferior to former recruits. This difference of character was more particularly marked in their habits and manners in quarters, than in their conduct in the field, which was always unexceptionable. Having been embodied for upwards of eighteen months, and having been subject to a greater mixture of character than was usual in Highland battalions, these corps had lost much of their original manners, and of that strict attention to religious and moral duties which distinguished the Highland youths on quitting their native glens, and which, when in corps unmixed with men of different characters, they always retained. This intermixture produced a sensible change in the moral conduct and character of the regiment."

\* Stewart's Sketches.



### CHAPTER III.

Expedition to the West Indies, 1795—Barbadoes, St Lucia, St Vincent, 1796—Trinidad, Porto Rico, 1797—England, Gibraltar, Minorca, 1798—Expedition to Egypt, 1800—Battle of the 13th March, 1801—Battle of the 21st—Death of Sir Ralph Abercromby—Capture of Rosetta—Surrender of Grand Cairo and of Alexandria—England—Misunderstanding between the 42d and the Highland Society of London—The regiment reviewed by George III.—Return of the 42d to Scotland—Embarks at Leith for Weeley in Essex—Second battalion—Gibraltar—Portugal—Spain—Retreat to Corunna—Battle of Corunna—Death of Sir John Moore—England, 1809—Walcheren—Scotland, 1810—England, 1811.

GOVERNMENT having determined to reduce the French and Dutch possessions in the West Indies, a large armament was fitted out under the command of Sir Ralph Abercromby. The land forces consisted of four hundred and sixty cavalry, and sixteen thousand four hundred and seventy-nine infantry. The Royal Highlanders formed part of this expedition. Another expedition, destined also for the West Indies, consisting of two thousand six hundred cavalry, and five thousand six hundred and eighty foot, assembled at Cork during the embarkation of the first. Great care was taken to furnish the troops with every thing necessary for the voyage, and particular attention was paid to their clothing. To protect them from the damps and chills of midnight, they were supplied with flannel, and various changes were made in their clothing to guard them against the effects of the yellow fever. Among other changes, the plain kilt and bonnet of the Highlanders were laid aside, and their place supplied by Russian duck pantaloons and a round hat; but experience showed that the Highland dress was better suited to a campaign in the West Indies during the rainy season, than the articles which superseded it.

The embarkation was completed by the twenty-seventh of October, but in consequence of damage sustained by some of the ships in a hurricane, and the loss of others, the expedition did not sail till the eleventh of November. On that day the fleet, amounting to three hundred and twenty-eight sail, got under weigh with a favourable breeze. Owing to accidents which befell two of the ships, the fleet did not clear the channel till the thirteenth of December; but it had scarcely got out when a violent storm arose, which continued almost without intermission for several weeks. The greater part of the fleet was scattered, and many of the



ships took refuge in different ports in England. Admiral Crichton struggled with such of the ships as remained with him till the end of January, but was at last obliged, from the disabled state of some of the ships, to return to Portsmouth, where he arrived on the twenty-ninth of that month with about fifty sail. Seventy-eight of the ships which kept the sea proceeded on their voyage, and reached Barbadoes in a straggling manner. Had the troops been sent off in detachments as they embarked, these misfortunes would have been avoided.

After the partial return of the expedition, the destination of some of the returned regiments was changed. Five companies of the Highlanders were in a few weeks embarked for Gibraltar, under the command of Lieutenant-colonel Dickson. The other five companies reached Barbadoes on the ninth of February in the Middlesex East Indiaman, one of the straggling ships which had proceeded on the voyage. The expedition again put to sea on the fourteenth of February, and arrived at Barbadoes on the fourteenth of March. By the great care of Sir Ralph Abercromby, in ordering the transports to be properly ventilated on their arrival, and by enforcing cleanliness and exercise among the troops, few deaths occurred; and of the five Highland companies, none died, and only four men with trifling complaints were left on board when the troops disembarked at St Lucia in April. The troops from Cork, though favoured with better weather, were less fortunate in their voyage,—several officers and a great many men having died.

The first enterprise was against the Dutch colonies of Demerara and Berbice, which surrendered to a part of the Cork division under Major-general White, on the twenty-second of April. On the same day the expedition sailed from Barbadoes, and appeared off St Lucia on the twenty-sixth, it being considered imprudent to attempt Guadaloupe with a force which had been so much diminished.

The troops landed in four divisions at Longueville Bay, Pigeon Island, Chock Bay, and Ance la Raze. The Highlanders, under the command of Brigadier-general John Moore, landed in a small bay close under Pigeon Island. The army moved forward on the twenty-seventh to close in upon Morne Fortunée, the principal post in the Island. To enable them to invest this place, it became necessary to obtain possession of Morne Chabot, a strong and commanding position overlooking the principal approach. Detachments under the command of Brigadier-generals Moore and the Hon. John Hope, were accordingly ordered to attack this post on two different points. General Moore advanced at midnight, and General Hope followed an hour after by a less circuitous route; but falling in with the enemy sooner than he expected, General Moore carried the Morne, after a short but obstinate resistance, before General Hope came up. Next day General Moore took possession of Morne Duchassaux. By the advance of Major-general Morshead from Ance la Raze, Morne Fortunée was completely invested, but not until several officers and about fifty of the grenadiers, who formed the ad-

vanced post under Lieutenant-colonel Macdonald, had been killed and wounded.

To dispossess the enemy of the batteries they had erected on the Cul de Sac, Major-general Morshead's division was ordered to advance against two batteries on the left, whilst Major-general Hope, with the five companies of the Highlanders, the light infantry of the 57th regiment, and a detachment of Malcolm's Rangers, supported by the 55th regiment, was to attack the battery of Secke, close to the works of Morne Fortunée. The light infantry and the rangers quickly drove the enemy from the battery; but they were obliged to retire from the battery in their turn under the cover of the Highlanders, in consequence of the other divisions under Brigadier-general Perryn and Colonel Riddle having been obstructed in their advance. In this affair Colonel Malcolm, a brave officer, was killed, and Lieutenant J. J. Fraser of the 42d, and a few men, wounded. The other divisions suffered severely.

So great were the difficulties which presented themselves from the steep and rugged nature of the ground, that the first battery was not ready to open till the fourteenth of May. In an attempt which the 31st regiment made upon a fortified ridge called the Vizie, on the evening of the seventeenth, they were repulsed with great loss; but the grenadiers, who had pushed forward to support them, compelled the enemy to retire. For six days a constant fire was kept up between the batteries and the fort. Having ineffectually attempted to drive back the 27th regiment from a lodgement they had formed within five hundred yards of the garrison, the enemy applied for and obtained a suspension of hostilities. This was soon followed by a capitulation and the surrender of the whole island. The garrison marched out on the twenty-ninth, and became prisoners of war. The loss of the British was two field-officers, three captains, five subalterns, and one hundred and eighty-four non-commissioned officers and rank and file killed; and four field officers, twelve captains, fifteen subalterns, and five hundred and twenty-three non-commissioned officers and rank and file wounded and missing.

As an instance of the influence of the mind on bodily health, and of the effect of mental activity in preventing disease, General Stewart adduces this expedition as a striking illustration. "During the operations which, from the nature of the country, were extremely harassing, the troops continued remarkably healthy; but, immediately after the cessation of hostilities, they began to droop. The five companies of Highlanders, who landed five hundred and eight men, sent few to the hospital until the third day subsequent to the surrender; but after this event, so sudden was the change in their health, that upwards of sixty men were laid up within the space of seven days. This change may be, in part, ascribed to the sudden transition from incessant activity to repose, but its principal cause must have been the relaxation of the mental and physical energies, after the motives which stimulated them had subsided."

The next enterprise was against St Vincent's, where a detachment, consisting of the Buffs, the 14th, 34th, 42d, 53d, 54th, 59th, and 63d regiments, and the 2d West Indian regiment, landed on the eighth of June. The enemy had erected four redoubts on a high ridge called the Vizie, on which they had taken up a position. The arrangements for an attack having been completed on the tenth, the troops were drawn up in two divisions under Major-generals Hunter and William Morshead, at a short distance from the ridge. Another division formed on the opposite side of the hill. The attack was commenced by a fire from some field-pieces on the redoubts, which was kept up for some hours apparently with little effect. As a feint, the Highlanders and some of the Rangers in the meantime moved forward to the bottom of a woody steep which terminated the ridge, on the top of which stood one of the redoubts, the first in the range. Pushing their way up the steep, the 42d regiment turned the feint into a real assault, and with the assistance of the Buffs, by whom they were supported, drove the enemy successively from the first three redoubts in less than half an hour. Some of the Highlanders had pushed close under the last and principal redoubt, but the general seeing that he had the enemy in his power, and wishing to spare the lives of his troops, recalled the Highlanders, and offered the enemy terms of capitulation, which were accepted. The conditions, *inter alia*, were, that the enemy should embark as prisoners of war; but several hundreds of them broke the capitulation by escaping into the woods the following night. The total loss of the British on this occasion was one hundred and eighty-one in killed and wounded. The Highlanders had one sergeant and twelve rank and file killed; and one officer, Lieutenant Simon Fraser, two sergeants, one drummer, and twenty-nine rank and file wounded.\*

In order to subjugate the island, the troops were divided and sent to different stations, and military posts were established in the neighbourhood of the country possessed by the Caribbs and brigands. Favoured by the natural strength of the country, the enemy carried on a petty warfare with the troops among the woods till the month of September, when they surrendered. The French, including the brigands, were sent prisoners to England, and the Indians or Caribbs, amounting to upwards of five thousand, were transported to Ratan, an island in the gulf of Mexico.†

\* General Stewart says that, in the assault on the redoubts, when proceeding from the second to the third, he found a lad of seventeen years of age, whom he had enlisted in August preceding, with his foot on the body of a French soldier, and his bayonet thrust through from ear to ear, attempting to twist off his head. Lieutenant Stewart touched him on the shoulder, and desired him to let the body alone. "Oh, the brigand," said he, "I must take off his head." When told that the man was already dead, and that he had better go and take the head of a living Frenchman, he answered—"You are very right, Sir; I did not think of that;" and immediately ran forward to the front of the attack. Yet such is the power of example, that this young man, so bold, turned pale and trembled, when, a few days after he had enlisted, he saw one of his companions covered with blood from a cut he had received in the head and face in some horseplay with his comrades.

† In one of the skirmishes in the woods between a party of the 42d and the enemy,

In September, Sir Ralph Abercromby returned to England, when the temporary command of the army devolved upon Major-general Charles Graham, who was promoted this year from the lieutenant-colonelcy of the 42d to the colonelcy of the 5th West India regiment. He was succeeded in the lieutenant-colonelcy by Major James Stewart. The commander-in-chief returned from England in February seventeen hundred and ninety-seven, and immediately collected a force for an attack on Trinidad, which surrendered without opposition. He, thereafter, assembled a body of troops, consisting of the 26th light dragoons dismounted, the 14th, 42d, 53d, and some other corps, at St Christopher's, for an attack on Porto Rico, whither they proceeded on the fifteenth of April, and anchored off Congregus's Point on the seventeenth. The enemy made a slight opposition to the landing, but retired when the troops

Lieutenant-colonel Graham (afterwards a lieutenant-general and governor of Stirling castle) was wounded, and lay senseless on the ground. "His recovery from his wound (says General Stewart) was attended by some uncommon circumstances. The people believing him dead, rather dragged than carried him over the rough channel of the river, till they reached the sea-beach. Observing here that he was still alive, they put him in a blanket and proceeded in search of a surgeon. After travelling in this manner four miles, I met them, and directed the soldiers to carry him to a military post, occupied by a party of the 42d, under my command. All the surgeons were out in the woods with the wounded soldiers, and none could be found. Colonel Graham was still insensible. A ball had entered his side, and passing through, had come out under his breast. Another, or perhaps the same ball, had shattered two of his fingers. No assistance could be got but that of a soldier's wife, who had been long in the service, and was in the habit of attending sick and wounded soldiers. She washed his wounds, and bound them up in such a manner, that when a surgeon came and saw the way in which the operation had been performed, he said he could not have done it better, and would not unbind the dressing. The colonel soon afterwards opened his eyes, and though unable to speak for many hours, seemed sensible of what was passing around him. In this state he lay nearly three weeks, when he was carried to Kingston, and thence conveyed to England. He was still in a most exhausted state,—the wound in his side discharging matter from both orifices. He went to Edinburgh, with little hopes of recovery; but on the evening of the illumination for the victory of Camperdown, the smoke of so many candles and flambeaux having affected his breathing, he coughed with great violence; and, in the exertion, threw up a piece of cloth, carried in and left by the ball in its passage through his body. From that day he recovered as by a charm."

"The soldier's wife (continues the general) who was so useful to him in his extremity, was of a character rather uncommon. She had been long a follower of the camp, and had acquired some of its manners. While she was so good and useful a nurse in quarters, she was bold and fearless in the field. When the arrangements were made previously to the attack on the Vizie on the tenth of June, I directed that her husband, who was in my company, should remain behind to take charge of the men's knapsacks, which they had thrown off to be light for the advance up the hill, as I did not wish to expose him to danger on account of his wife and family. He obeyed his orders, and remained with his charge; but his wife believing, perhaps, that she was not included in these injunctions, pushed forward to the assault. When the enemy had been driven from the third redoubt, I was standing giving some directions to the men, and preparing to push on to the fourth and last redoubt, when I found myself tapped on the shoulder, and turning round, I saw my Amazonian friend standing with her clothes tucked up to her knees, and seizing my hand, 'Well done, my Highland lad,' she exclaimed, 'see how the brigands scamper like so many deer!'—'Come,' added she, 'let us drive them from yonder hill!' On inquiry, I found that she had been in the hottest fire, cheering and animating the men; and when the action was over, she was as active as any of the surgeons in assisting the wounded."

disembarked. As the inhabitants of Porto Rico, whose dispositions had been represented as favourable, did not show any disposition to surrender, and as the Moro or castle was too strong to be attacked with such an inconsiderable force, which was insufficient to blockade more than one of its sides, the commander-in-chief resolved to give up the attempt, and accordingly re-embarked his troops on the thirtieth of April. This was the last enterprise against the enemy in that quarter during the rest of the war. The Highlanders were sent to Martinique, where they embarked for England, free from sickness, after having the casualties of the two preceding years more than supplied by volunteers from the 79th Highlanders, then stationed in Martinique. The Royal Highlanders landed at Portsmouth on the thirtieth of July in good health, and were marched to Hillsea barracks. After remaining a few weeks there, the five companies embarked for Gibraltar, where they joined the five other companies, whose destination had been changed by their return to port after the sailing of the expedition to the West Indies. The regiment was now eleven hundred men strong.

The next service in which the Royal Highlanders was engaged, was on an expedition against the island of Minorca, under the command of Lieutenant-general the Hon. Sir Charles Stewart, in the month of November, seventeen hundred and ninety-eight. The British troops having invested Cittadella, the principal fortress in the island, on the fourteenth of November, the Spanish commander, who had concentrated his forces in that garrison, surrendered on the following day. The Spanish general, whose force greatly exceeded that of the invaders, was deceived as to their numbers, which, from the artful mode in which they were dispersed over the adjoining eminences, he believed to amount to at least ten thousand men.

The possession of Minorca was of considerable importance, as it was made the rendezvous of a large force about to be employed on the coast of the Mediterranean, in support of our allies, in the year eighteen hundred. The command of this army was given to Sir Ralph Abercromby, who arrived on the twenty-second of June, accompanied by Major-generals Hutchinson and Moore. A part of the army was embarked for the relief of Genoa, then closely besieged by the French, and a detachment was also sent to Colonel Thomas Graham of Balgowan, who blockaded the garrison of La Vallette in the island of Malta.

Genoa having surrendered before the reinforcement arrived, the troops returned to Minorca, and were afterwards embarked for Gibraltar, where they arrived on the fourteenth of September, when accounts were received of the surrender of Malta, after a blockade of nearly two years. Early in October, the armament sailed for Cadiz, to take possession of the city, and the Spanish fleet in the harbour of Carraccas, and was joined by the army under Sir James Pulteney from Ferrol; but when the Highlanders and part of the reserve were about landing in the boats, a gun from Cadiz announced the approach of a flag of



truce. The town was suffering dreadfully from the ravages of the pestilence, and the object of the communication was to implore the British commander to desist from the attack. Sir Ralph Abercromby, with his characteristic humanity, could not withstand the appeal, and accordingly suspended the attack. The fleet got under weigh the following morning for the bay of Tetuan, on the coast of Barbary, and after being tossed about in a violent gale, during which it was obliged to take refuge under the lee of Cape Spartell, the fleet returned to Gibraltar.

Government having determined to make an attempt to drive the French out of Egypt, despatched orders to the commander-in-chief to proceed to Malta, where, on their arrival, the troops were informed of their destination. Tired of confinement on board the transports, they were all greatly elevated on receiving this intelligence, and looked forward to a contest on the plains of Egypt with the hitherto victorious legions of France, with the feelings of men anxious to support the honour of their country. The whole of the British land forces amounted to thirteen thousand two hundred and thirty-four men, and six hundred and thirty artillery; but the efficient force was only twelve thousand three hundred and thirty-four. The French force amounted to thirty-two thousand men, besides several thousand native auxiliaries.

The fleet sailed in two divisions for Marmorice, a bay on the coast of Greece, on the twentieth and twenty-first of December, in the year eighteen hundred. The Turks were to have a reinforcement of men and horses at that place. The first division arrived on the twenty-eighth of December, and the second on the first of January following. Having received the Turkish supplies, which were in every respect deficient, the fleet again got under weigh on the twenty-third of February, and on the morning of Sunday the first of March the low and sandy coast of Egypt was descried. The fleet came to anchor in the evening in Aboukir bay, on the spot where the battle of the Nile had been fought nearly three years before. After the fleet had anchored, a violent gale sprung up, which continued without intermission till the evening of the seventh, when it moderated.

As a disembarkation could not be attempted during the continuance of the gale, the French had ample time to prepare themselves, and to throw every obstacle which they could devise in the way of a landing. No situation could be more embarrassing than that of Sir Ralph Abercromby on the present occasion; but his strength of mind carried him through every difficulty. "He had to force a landing in an unknown country, in the face of an enemy more than double his numbers, and nearly three times as numerous as they were previously believed to be,—an enemy, moreover, in full possession of the country, occupying all its fortified positions, having a numerous and well-appointed cavalry, inured to the climate, and a powerful artillery,—an enemy who knew every point where a landing could, with any prospect of success, be attempted, and who had taken advantage of the unavoidable delay, al-



ready mentioned, to erect batteries and bring guns and ammunition to the point where they expected the attempt would be made. In short, the general had to encounter embarrassments, and bear up under difficulties, which would have paralyzed the mind of a man less firm and less confident of the devotion and bravery of his troops. These disadvantages, however, served only to strengthen his resolution. He knew that his army was determined to conquer or to perish with him; and, aware of the high hopes which the country had placed in both, he resolved to proceed in the face of obstacles which some would have deemed insurmountable."\*

The first division destined to effect a landing, consisted of the flank companies of the 40th, and Welsh fusileers on the right, the 28th, 42d, and 58th, in the centre, the brigade of guards, Corsican rangers, and a part of the 1st brigade, consisting of the Royals and 54th, on the left,—amounting altogether to five thousand two hundred and thirty men. As there were not a sufficiency of boats, all this force did not land at once; and one company of Highlanders, and detachments of other regiments, did not get on shore till the return of the boats. The troops fixed upon to lead the way got into the boats at two o'clock on the morning of the eighth of March, and formed in rear of the Mondovi, Captain John Stewart, which was anchored out of reach of shot from the shore. By an admirable arrangement, each boat was placed in such a manner, that, when the landing was effected, every brigade, every regiment, and even every company, found itself in the proper station assigned to them. As such an arrangement required time to complete it, it was eight o'clock before the boats were ready to move forward. Expectation was wound up to the highest pitch, when, at nine o'clock, a signal was given, and the whole boats, with a simultaneous movement, sprung forward, under the command of the Hon. Captain Alexander Cochrane. Although the rowers strained every nerve, such was the regularity of their pace, that no boat got a-head of the rest.

At first the enemy did not believe that the British would attempt a landing in the face of their lines and defences; but when the boats had come within range of their batteries, they began to perceive their mistake, and then opened a heavy fire from their batteries in front, and from the castle of Aboukir in flank. To the showers of grape and shells, the enemy added a fire of musketry from two thousand five hundred men, on the near approach of the boats to the shore. In a short time the boats on the right, containing the 23d, 28th, 42d, and 58th regiments, with the flank companies of the 40th, got under the elevated position of the enemy's batteries, so as to be sheltered from their fire, and meeting with no opposition from the enemy, who did not descend to the beach, these troops disembarked and formed in line on the sea shore. Lest an irregular fire might have created confusion in the ranks, no

\* Stewart.

orders were given to load, but the men were directed to rush up the face of the hill and charge the enemy.

When the word was given to advance, the soldiers sprung up the ascent, but their progress was retarded by the loose dry sand which so deeply covered the ascent, that the soldiers fell back half a pace every step they advanced. When about half way to the summit, they came in sight of the enemy, who poured down upon them a destructive volley of musketry. Redoubling their exertions, they gained the height before the enemy could reload their pieces; and, though exhausted with fatigue, and almost breathless, they drove the enemy from their position at the point of the bayonet. A squadron of cavalry then advanced and attacked the Highlanders, but they were instantly repulsed, with the loss of their commander. A scattered fire was kept up for some time by a party of the enemy from behind a second line of small sand-hills, but they fled in confusion on the advance of the troops. The guards and first brigade having landed on ground nearly on a level with the water, were immediately attacked,—the first by cavalry, and the 54th by a body of infantry, who advanced with fixed bayonets. The assailants were repulsed.\*

In this brilliant affair the British had four officers, four sergeants, and ninety-four rank and file killed, among whom were thirty-one Highlanders; twenty-six officers, thirty-four sergeants, five drummers, and four hundred and fifty rank and file wounded; among whom were, of the Highlanders, Lieutenant-colonel James Stewart, Captain Charles Macquarrie, Lieutenants Alexander Campbell, John Dick, Frederick Campbell, Stewart Campbell, Charles Campbell, Ensign Wilson, seven sergeants, four drummers, and one hundred and forty rank and file.†

\* When the boats were about to start, two young French field-officers, who were prisoners on board the *Minotaur*, Captain Louis, went up the rigging "to witness, as they said, the last sight of their English friends. But when they saw the troops land, ascend the hill, and force the defenders at the top to fly, the love of their country and the honour of their arms overcame their new friendship: they burst into tears, and with a passionate exclamation of grief and surprise ran down below, and did not again appear on deck during the day."—*Stewart*.

† "The great waste of ammunition (says General Stewart), and the comparatively little execution of musketry, unless directed by a steady hand, was exemplified on this occasion. Although the sea was as smooth as glass, with nothing to interrupt the aim of those who fired,—although the line of musketry was so numerous, that the soldiers compared the fall of the bullets on the water to boys throwing handfuls of pebbles into a mill-pond,—and although the spray raised by the cannon-shot and shells, when they struck the water, wet the soldiers in the boats,—yet, of the whole landing force, very few were hurt; and of the 42d one man only was killed, and Colonel James Stewart and a few soldiers wounded. The noise and foam raised by the shells and large and small shot, compared with the little effect thereby produced, afford evidence of the saving of lives by the invention of gunpowder; while the fire, noise, and force, with which the bullets flew, gave a greater sense of danger than in reality had any existence. That eight hundred and fifty men (one company of the Highlanders did not land in the first boats) should force a passage through such a shower of balls and bomb-shells, and only one man killed and five wounded, is certainly a striking fact." Four-fifths of the loss of the Highlanders was sustained before they reached the top of the hill. General Stewart, who then commanded a company in the 42d, says that eleven of his men fell by the volley they received when mounting the ascent.

The venerable commander-in-chief, anxious to be at the head of his troops, immediately left the admiral's ship, and on reaching the shore, leaped from the boat with the vigour of youth. Taking his station on a little sand-hill, he received the congratulations of the officers by whom he was surrounded, on the ability and firmness with which he had conducted the enterprise. The general, on his part, expressed his gratitude to them for "an intrepidity scarcely to be paralleled," and which had enabled them to overcome every difficulty.

The remainder of the army landed in the course of the evening, but three days elapsed before the provisions and stores were disembarked. Menou, the French commander, availed himself of this interval to collect more troops and strengthen his position; so that on moving forward on the evening of the twelfth, the British found him strongly posted among sand-hills, and palm and date trees, about three miles east of Alexandria, with a force of upwards of five thousand infantry, six hundred cavalry, and thirty pieces of artillery.

Early on the morning of the thirteenth, the troops moved forward to the attack in three columns of regiments. At the head of the first column was the 90th or Perthshire regiment; the 92d or Gordon Highlanders formed the advance of the second; and the reserve marching in column covered the movements of the first line, to which it ran parallel. When the army had cleared the date trees, the enemy, leaving the heights, moved down with great boldness on the 92d, which had just formed in line. They opened a heavy fire of cannon and musketry, which the 92d quickly returned; and, although repeatedly attacked by the French line, supported by a powerful artillery, they maintained their ground singly till the whole line came up. Whilst the 92d was sustaining these attacks from the infantry, the French cavalry attempted to charge the 90th regiment down a declivity with great impetuosity. The regiment stood waiting their approach with cool intrepidity, and after allowing the cavalry to come within fifty yards of them, they poured in upon them a well directed volley, which so completely broke the charge that only a few of the cavalry reached the regiment, and the greater part of these were instantly bayoneted; the rest fled to their left, and retreated in confusion. Sir Ralph Abercromby, who was always in front, had his horse shot under him, and was rescued by the 90th regiment when nearly surrounded by the enemy's cavalry.

After forming in line, the two divisions moved forward,—the reserve remaining in column to cover the right flank. The enemy retreated to their lines in front of Alexandria, followed by the British army. After reconnoitring their works, the British commander conceiving the difficulties of an attack insuperable, retired, and took up a position about a league from Alexandria. The British suffered severely on this occasion, having had six officers and one hundred and fifty men killed, and sixty-six officers and one thousand and four men wounded. The Royal Highlanders, who were only exposed to distant shot, had only three rank and

file killed, and Lieutenant-colonel Dickson, Captain Archibald Argyle Campbell, Lieutenant Simon Fraser, three sergeants, one drummer, and twenty-three rank and file wounded.

In the position now occupied by the British general, he had the sea on his right flank, and the Lake Maadie on his left. On the right the reserve was placed as an advanced post; the 58th possessed an extensive ruin, supposed to have been the palace of the Ptolemies. On the outside of the ruin, a few paces onward and close on the left, was a redoubt, occupied by the 28th regiment. The 23d, the flank companies of the 40th, the 42d, and the Corsican rangers, were posted five hundred yards towards the rear, ready to support the two corps in front. To the left of this redoubt a sandy plain extended about three hundred yards, and then sloped into a valley. Here, a little retired towards the rear, stood the cavalry of the reserve; and still farther to the left, on a rising ground beyond the valley, the guards were posted, with a redoubt thrown up on their right, a battery on their left, and a small ditch or embankment in front, which connected both. To the left of the guards, in form of an echelon, were posted the royals, 54th (two battalions), and the 92d; then the 8th or king's, 18th or Royal Irish, 90th and 13th. To the left of the line, and facing the lake at right angles, were drawn up the 27th or Enniskillen, 79th or Cameron Highlanders, and 50th regiment. On the left of the second line were posted the 30th, 89th, 44th, Dillon's, De Roll's, and Stuart's regiments; the dismounted cavalry of the 12th and 26th dragoons completed the second line to the right. The whole was flanked on the right by four cutters, stationed close to the shore. Such was the disposition of the army from the fourteenth till the evening of the twentieth, during which time the whole was kept in constant employment, either in performing military duties, strengthening the position—which had few natural advantages—by the erection of batteries, or in bringing forward cannon, stores, and provisions. Along the whole extent of the line were arranged two 24-pounders, thirty-two field-pieces, and one 24-pounder in the redoubt occupied by the 28th.

The enemy occupied a parallel position on a ridge of hills extending from the sea beyond the left of the British line, having the town of Alexandria, Fort Caffarelli, and Pharos, in the rear. General Lanusse was on the left of Menou's army with four demi-brigades of infantry, and a considerable body of cavalry commanded by General Roise. General Regnier was on the right with two demi-brigades and two regiments of cavalry, and the centre was occupied by five demi-brigades. The advanced guard, which consisted of one demi-brigade, some light troops, and a detachment of cavalry, was commanded by General D'Estain.

Meanwhile the fort of Aboukir was blockaded by the queen's regiment, and, after a slight resistance, surrendered to Lord Dalhousie on the eighteenth. To replace the Gordon Highlanders, who had been much reduced by previous sickness and by the action of the thirteenth,

the queen's regiment was ordered up on the evening of the twentieth. The same evening the British general received accounts that General Menou had arrived at Alexandria with a large reinforcement from Cairo, and was preparing to attack him.

Anticipating this attack, the British army was under arms at an early hour in the morning of the twenty-first of March, and at three o'clock every man was at his post. For half an hour no movement took place on either side, till the report of a musket, followed by that of some cannon, was heard on the left of the line. Upon this signal the enemy immediately advanced, and took possession of a small picquet, occupied by part of Stuart's regiment; but they were instantly driven back. For a time silence again prevailed, but it was a stillness which portended a deadly struggle. As soon as he heard the firing, General Moore, who happened to be the general officer on duty during the night, had galloped off to the left; but an idea having struck him as he proceeded, that this was a false attack, he turned back, and had hardly returned to his brigade when a loud huzza, succeeded by a roar of musketry, showed that he was not mistaken. The morning was unusually dark, cloudy, and close. The enemy advanced in silence until they approached the picquets, when they gave a shout and pushed forward. At this moment Major Sinclair, as directed by Major General Oakes, advanced with the left wing of the 42d, and took post on the open ground lately occupied by the 28th regiment, which was now ordered within the redoubt. Whilst the left wing of the Highlanders was thus drawn up, with its right supported by the redoubt, Lieutenant-colonel Alexander Stewart was directed to remain with the right wing two hundred yards in the rear, but exactly parallel to the left wing. The Welsh fusileers and the flank companies of the 40th moved forward, at the same time, to support the 58th, stationed in the ruin. This regiment had drawn up in the chasms of the ruined walls, which were in some parts from ten to twenty feet high, under cover of some loose stones which the soldiers had raised for their defence, and which, though sufficiently open for the fire of musketry, formed a perfect protection against the entrance of cavalry or infantry. The attack on the ruin, the redoubt, and the left wing of the Highlanders, was made at the same moment, and with the greatest impetuosity; but the fire of the regiments stationed there, and of the left of the 42d, under Major Stirling, quickly checked the ardour of the enemy. Lieutenant-colonels Paget of the 28th, and Houston of the 58th, after allowing the enemy to come quite close, directed their regiments to open a fire, which was so well-directed and effective, that the enemy were obliged to retire precipitately to a hollow in their rear.\*

During this contest in front, a column of the enemy, which bore the name of the Invincibles, preceded by a six-pounder, came silently along the hollow interval from which the cavalry picquet had retired and

\* Stewart.



passed between the left of the 42d and the right of the guards. Though it was still so dark that an object could not be properly distinguished at the distance of two yards, yet with such precision did this column calculate its distance and line of march, that on coming in line with the left wing of the Highlanders, it wheeled to its left, and marched in between the right and left wings of the regiment, which were drawn up in parallel lines. As soon as the enemy were discovered passing between the two lines, Lieutenant-colonel Alexander Stewart instantly charged them with the right wing to his proper front, whilst the rear-rank of Major Stirling's wing, facing to the right about, charged to the rear. Being thus placed between two fires, the enemy rushed forward with an intention of entering the ruin, which they supposed was unoccupied. As they passed the rear of the redoubt the 28th faced about and fired upon them. Continuing their course, they reached the ruin, through the openings of which they rushed, followed by the Highlanders, when the 58th and 48th facing about as the 28th had done, also fired upon them.\* The survivors, (about two hundred,) unable to withstand this combined attack, threw down their arms and surrendered. The Generals Moore and Oakes were both wounded in the ruin, but were still able to continue in the exercise of their duty. The former, on the surrender of the Invincibles, left the ruin, and hurried to the left of the redoubt, where part of the left wing of the 42d was busily engaged with the enemy after the rear rank had followed the enemy into the ruins. At this time the enemy were seen advancing in great force on the left of the redoubt, apparently with an intention of making another attempt to turn it. On perceiving their approach, General Moore immediately ordered the Highlanders out of the ruins, and directed them to form line in battalion on the flat on which Major Stirling had originally formed, with their right supported by the redoubt. By thus extending their line they

\* "So dense and dark was the atmosphere, and such was the silence and precision with which the enemy marched, that they passed unperceived along the front of four companies of the 42d regiment. One of the soldiers evinced on this occasion great superiority of vision. When no person saw, or suspected what was in front, this soldier left his station in the centre of his company, and running up to me, said, in a low tone of voice, 'I see a strong column of the enemy marching past in our front; I know them by their large hats and white frocks,—tell the general, and allow us to charge them.' I told him to go back to his place; that the thing was impossible, as Major Stirling, with the left wing of the regiment, was in our immediate front, at the distance of only 200 yards, and that no enemy could pass between the two wings. However, as the man still insisted on the accuracy of his statement, I was sent out to the front, and soon perceived through the darkness a large moving body; and though I could not distinguish any particular object, the sound of feet and clank of arms convinced me of the soldier's correctness. In a few seconds Colonel Stewart and Major Stirling's wings charged the column in the ruins. But it is proper to explain, that it was only the rear-rank of the left wing that faced about, and charged to their rear; the front rank kept their ground to oppose the enemy in their immediate front; and thus was exhibited great presence of mind in the officers, and perfect steadiness in the execution of their duty by the soldiers, when thus, with an enemy in front, and another in rear, men less firm, and less collected, would perhaps have hesitated which way to turn, and in this hesitation lost the time for action, and thus allowed themselves to be destroyed."—*Stewart's Sketches.*



were enabled to present a larger front to the enemy; but in consequence of the rapid advance of the enemy, it was found necessary to check their progress even before the battalion had completely formed in line. Orders were therefore given to drive the enemy back, which were instantly performed with complete success.\*

Encouraged by the commander-in-chief, who called out from his station, "My brave Highlanders, remember your country, remember your forefathers!" they pursued the enemy along the plain; but they had not proceeded far, when General Moore, whose eye was keen, perceived through the increasing clearness of the atmosphere, fresh columns of the enemy drawn up on the plain beyond with three squadrons of cavalry, as if ready to charge through the intervals of their retreating infantry. As no time was to be lost, the general ordered the regiment to retire from their advanced position, and re-form on the left of the redoubt. This order, although repeated by Colonel Stewart, was only partially heard in consequence of the noise of the firing; and the result was, that whilst the companies who heard it retired on the redoubt, the rest hesitated to follow. The enemy observing the intervals between these companies, resolved to avail themselves of the circumstance, and advanced in great force. Broken as the line was by the separation of the companies, it seemed almost impossible to resist with effect an impetuous charge of cavalry; yet every man stood firm. Many of the enemy were killed in the advance. The companies who stood in compact bodies drove back all who charged them with great loss. Part of the cavalry passed through the intervals, and wheeling to their left, as the 'Invincibles' had done early in the morning, were received by the 28th, who, facing to their rear, poured on them a destructive fire, which killed many of them. It is extraordinary that in this onset only thirteen Highlanders were wounded by the sabre,—a circumstance to be ascribed to the firmness with which they stood, first endeavouring to bring down the horse, before the rider came within sword-length, and then despatching him with the bayonet, before he had time to recover his legs from the fall of the horse.†

Enraged at the disaster which had befallen the elite of his cavalry, General Menou ordered forward a column of infantry, supported by cavalry, to make a second attempt on the position; but this body was repulsed at all points by the Highlanders. Another body of cavalry now dashed forward as the former had done, and met with a similar reception, numbers falling, and others passing through to the rear, where they were again overpowered by the 28th. It was impossible for the Highlanders to withstand much longer such repeated attacks, particularly as they were reduced to the necessity of fighting every man on his own ground, and unless supported they must soon have been destroyed. The fortunate arrival of the brigade of Brigadier-general

\* Stewart.

† Ibid.

Stuart, which advanced from the second line, and formed on the left of the Highlanders, probably saved them from destruction. At this time the enemy were advancing in great force, both of cavalry and infantry, apparently determined to overwhelm the handful of men who had hitherto baffled all their efforts. Though surprised to find a fresh and more numerous body of troops opposed to them, they nevertheless ventured to charge, but were again driven back with great precipitation.

It was now eight o'clock in the morning; but nothing decisive had been effected on either side. About this time the British had spent the whole of their ammunition; and not being able to procure an immediate supply, owing to the distance of the ordnance-stores, their fire ceased, —a circumstance which surprised the enemy, who, ignorant of the cause, ascribed the cessation to design. Meanwhile, the French kept up a heavy and constant cannonade from their great guns, and a straggling fire from their sharp-shooters in the hollows, and behind some sand hills in front of the redoubt and ruins. The army suffered greatly from the fire of the enemy, particularly the Highlanders, and the right of General Stuart's brigade, who were exposed to its full effect, being posted on a level piece of ground over which the cannon-shot rolled after striking the ground, and carried off a file of men at every successive rebound. Yet notwithstanding this havoc no man moved from his position except to close up the gap made by the shot, when his right or left hand man was struck down.

At this stage of the battle the proceedings of the centre may be shortly detailed. The enemy pushed forward a heavy column of infantry, before the dawn of day, towards the position occupied by the guards. After allowing them to approach very close to his front, General Ludlow ordered his fire to be opened, and his orders were executed with such effect, that the enemy retired with precipitation. Foiled in this attempt, they next endeavoured to turn the left of the position; but they were received and driven back with such spirit by the Royals and the right wing of the 54th, that they desisted from all further attempts to carry it. They, however, kept up an irregular fire from their cannon and sharp-shooters, which did some execution. As General Rgnier, who commanded the right of the French line, did not advance, the left of the British was never engaged. He made up for this forbearance by keeping up a heavy cannonade, which did considerable injury.

Emboldened by the temporary cessation of the British fire on the right, the French sharp-shooters came close to the redoubt; but they were thwarted in their designs by the opportune arrival of ammunition. A fire was immediately opened from the redoubt, which made them retreat with expedition. The whole line followed, and by ten o'clock the enemy had resumed their original position in front of Alexandria. After this, the enemy despairing of success, gave up all idea of renewing the attack, and the loss of the commander-in-chief, among other considera-

tions, made the British desist from any attempt to force the enemy to engage again.

Sir Ralph Abercromby, who had taken his station in front early in the day between the right of the Highlanders and the left of the redoubt, having detached the whole of his staff, was left alone. In this situation two of the enemy's dragoons dashed forward, and drawing up on each side, attempted to lead him away prisoner. In a struggle which ensued, he received a blow on the breast; but with the vigour and strength of arm for which he was distinguished, he seized the sabre of one of his assailants, and forced it out of his hand. A corporal of the 42d coming up to his support at this instant, shot one of the dragoons, and the other retired. The general afterwards dismounted from his horse, though with difficulty; but no person knew that he was wounded, till some of the staff who joined him observed the blood trickling down his thigh. A musket-ball had entered his groin, and lodged deep in the hip-joint. Notwithstanding the acute pain which a wound in such a place must have occasioned, he had, during the interval between the time he had been wounded and the last charge of cavalry, walked with a firm and steady step along the line of the Highlanders and General Stuart's brigade, to the position of the guards in the centre of the line, where, from its elevated position, he had a full view of the whole field of battle, and from which place he gave his orders as if nothing had happened to him. In his anxiety about the result of the battle, he seemed to forget that he had been hurt; but after victory had declared in favour of the British army, he became alive to the danger of his situation, and in a state of exhaustion, lay down on a little sand-hill near the battery.

In this situation he was surrounded by the generals and a number of officers. The soldiers were to be seen crowding round this melancholy group at a respectful distance, pouring out blessings on his head, and prayers for his recovery. His wound was now examined, and a large incision was made to extract the ball; but it could not be found. After this operation he was put upon a litter, and carried on board the *Fondroyant*, Lord Keith's ship, where he died on the morning of the twenty-eighth of March. "As his life was honourable, so his death was glorious. His memory will be recorded in the annals of his country, will be sacred to every British soldier, and embalmed in the memory of a grateful posterity."\*

The loss of the British, of whom scarcely six thousand were actually engaged, was not so great as might have been expected. Besides the commander-in-chief, there were killed ten officers, nine sergeants, and two hundred and twenty-four rank and file; and sixty officers, forty-eight sergeants, three drummers, and one thousand and eighty-two rank and file, were wounded. Of the Royal Highlanders, Brevet-Major Robert Bisset, Lieutenants Colin Campbell, Robert Anderson, Alexander Stewart,

\* General Hutchinson's official Despatches.

Alexander Donaldson, and Archibald M'Nicol, and forty-eight rank and file, were killed; and Major James Stirling, Captain David Stewart, Lieutenant Hamilton Rose, J. Milford Sutherland, A. M. Cunningham, Frederick Campbell, Maxwell Grant, Ensign William Mackenzie, six sergeants, and two hundred and forty-seven rank and file wounded. As the 42d regiment was more exposed than any of the other regiments engaged, and sustained the brunt of the battle, their loss was nearly three times the aggregate amount of the loss of all the other regiments of the reserve. The total loss of the French was about four thousand men.

General Hutchinson, on whom the command of the British army now devolved, remained in the position before Alexandria for some time, during which a detachment under Colonel Spencer took possession of Rosetta. Having strengthened his position between Alexandria and Aboukir, General Hutchinson transferred his head-quarters to Rosetta, with a view to proceed against Rhamanieh, an important post, commanding the passage of the Nile, and preserving the communication between Alexandria and Cairo. The general left his camp on the fifth of May to attack Rhamanieh; but although defended by four thousand infantry, eight hundred cavalry, and thirty-two pieces of cannon, the place was evacuated by the enemy on his approach.

The commander-in-chief proceeded to Cairo, and took up a position four miles from that city, on the sixteenth of June. Belliard, the French general, who had a force of thirteen thousand men under him in the town, of whom ten thousand eight hundred and fifty were French, might have made a formidable resistance; but he had made up his mind to capitulate whenever he could do so with honour; and accordingly, on the twenty-second of June, when the British had nearly completed their approaches, he offered to surrender, on condition of his army being sent to France with their arms, baggage, and effects.

Nothing now remained to render the conquest of Egypt complete, but the reduction of Alexandria. Returning from Cairo, General Hutchinson proceeded to invest that city. Whilst General Coote, with nearly half the army, approached to the westward of the town, the general himself advanced from the eastward. General Menou, anxious for the honour of the French arms, at first disputed the advances made towards his lines; but finding himself surrounded on two sides by an army of fourteen thousand five hundred men, by the sea on the north, and cut off from the country on the south by a lake which had been formed by breaking down the dike between the Nile and Alexandria, he applied for, and obtained, on the evening of the twenty-sixth of August, an armistice of three days. On the second of September the capitulation was signed, the terms agreed upon being much the same with those granted to General Belliard.

The number of the French troops re-embarked for France, in terms of the capitulations of Cairo and Alexandria, was twenty-seven thou-

sand, four hundred and eighty-two, showing a deficit out of the original force, when the British landed, of about seven thousand men by war and sickness, after a campaign of about five months.

After the French were embarked, immediate arrangements were made for settling in quarters the troops that were to remain in the country, and to embark those destined for other stations. Among these last were the three Highland regiments. The 42d regiment landed at Southampton, and marched to Winchester. With the exception of those who were affected with ophthalmia, all the men were healthy. At Winchester, however, the men caught a contagious fever, of which Captain Lamont and several privates died.

“At this period,” says General Stewart, “a circumstance occurred which caused some conversation, and to which I have alluded in a note,\* on the French standard taken at Alexandria. The Highland society of London, much gratified with the accounts given of the conduct of their countrymen in Egypt, resolved to bestow on them some mark of their esteem and approbation. The society being composed of men of the first rank and character in Scotland, and including several of the royal family as members, it was considered that such an act would be honourable to the corps and agreeable to all. It was proposed to commence with the 42d as the oldest of the Highland regiments, and with the others in succession, as their service offered an opportunity of distinguishing themselves. Fifteen hundred pounds were immediately subscribed for this purpose. Medals were struck with a head of Sir Ralph Abercromby, and some emblematical figures on the obverse. A superb piece of plate was likewise ordered. While these were in preparation, the society held a meeting, when Sir John Sinclair, with the warmth of a clansman, mentioned his namesake, Sergeant Sinclair, as having taken or having got possession of the French standard, which had been brought home. Sir John being at that time ignorant of the circumstances, made no mention of the loss of the ensign which the sergeant had gotten in charge. This called forth the claim of Lutz, a soldier of Stuart’s regiment, accompanied with some strong remarks by Cobbett, the editor of the work in which the claim appeared. The society then asked an explanation from the officers of the 42d regiment. To this very proper request a reply was given by the officers who were then present with

\* The affair alluded to is shortly this:—When the ‘Invincibles’ were followed into the ruin by the 42d, the French officer surrendered the standard of his regiment to Major Stirling, who gave it in charge to a sergeant of his regiment. The sergeant, when standing by a gun, was overthrown and stunned by the cavalry, who had charged in the rear. When he recovered, the standard was gone, and he could give no account of it. Some time after this, a soldier of Stewart’s regiment brought a standard to Colonel Abercromby, the deputy adjutant-general, which he stated he had taken from a French cavalry officer in front of his regiment, and for which he got a receipt, and a reward of twenty-four dollars. This standard is preserved; but whether it is the identical one which was delivered up to Major Stirling, is uncertain. At all events, the honour of obtaining possession of the standard belonging to the ‘Invincibles,’ belongs to the 42d.



the regiment. The majority of these happened to be young men, who expressed, in warm terms, their surprise that the society should imagine them capable of countenancing any statement implying that they had laid claim to a trophy to which they had no right. This misapprehension of the society's meaning brought on a correspondence, which ended in an interruption of farther communication for many years. By this unfortunate misunderstanding, a check was given to the intention of the society to present marks of their esteem to those of their countrymen who, either in collective bodies as regiments, or individually, had distinguished themselves, and contributed, by their actions, to support the military character of Scotland. The approbation of such a body as the Highland Society of London, composed of men of the first rank and talent, and every way competent to appreciate the character and actions of our national corps, would unquestionably have acted as an incitement to the youth of the north to establish future claims to their notice. That a purpose so well intended should have suffered a temporary interruption, was therefore a matter of regret.

"However, as a prelude to a fresh correspondence and intimacy between the society and the Highland regiments, the communication with the 42d was again renewed in 1816. I was then one of the vice-presidents of the society; and being in the full knowledge of the circumstances, although absent from the regiment when the first correspondence took place, and knowing that the whole originated in mistake and misapprehension, I was requested by the society to open a communication with the regiment. This ended in a complete understanding; and on the anniversary of the battle of Alexandria, the twenty-first of March, eighteen hundred and seventeen, his royal highness the duke of York, then president of the Highland Society, in the chair, presented the marquis of Huntly, on behalf of the 42d regiment, with a superb piece of plate, in token of the respect of the society for a corps which, for more than seventy years, had contributed to uphold the martial character of their country. This his royal highness accompanied with an impressive speech, in which he recapitulated the various services of the corps, from the battle of Fontenoy, down to those of Quatre Bras and Waterloo."

In May, eighteen hundred and two, the regiment marched to Ashford, where they were reviewed by George III., who expressed himself satisfied with the appearance of the regiment; but although the men had a martial air, they had a diminutive look, and were by no means equal to their predecessors, either in bodily appearance or in complexion.

Shortly after this review the regiment was ordered to Edinburgh. During their march to the north, the men were every where received with kindness; and, on approaching the northern metropolis, thousands of its inhabitants met them at a distance from the city, and, welcoming them with acclamations, accompanied them to the castle. They remained in their new quarters, giving way too freely to the temptations to which



they were exposed, by the hospitality of the inhabitants, till the spring of eighteen hundred and three, when, in consequence of the interruption of peace, they were embarked at Leith for the camp then forming at Weeley in Essex. The regiment at this time did not exceed four hundred men, in consequence, chiefly, of the discharge of four hundred and seventy-five men the preceding year.

As a means at once of providing for the internal defence of the kingdom, and recruiting the regular army, an act was passed to raise a body of men by ballot, to be called "The Army of Reserve." Their services were to be confined to Great Britain and Ireland, with liberty to volunteer into the regular army, on a certain bounty. In the first instance, the men thus raised in Scotland were formed into second battalions to regiments of the line. The quota raised in the counties of Perth, Elgin, Nairn, Cromarty, Ross, Sutherland, Caithness, Argyle, and Bute, which was to form the second battalion of the 42d, amounted to thirteen hundred and forty-three men. These embarked in November at Fort George, to join the first battalion in Weeley barracks, about which time upwards of five hundred had volunteered into the regular army. In April of this year Captain David Stewart, Garth, was appointed major, and Lieutenants Robert Henry Dick and Charles M'Lean, captains to the second battalion of the 78th regiment. In September following, Colonel Dickson was appointed brigadier-general; and Lieutenant-colonels James Stewart and Alexander Stewart having retired, they were succeeded by Lieutenant-colonels Stirling and Lord Blantyre. Captains M'Quarrie and James Grant became majors; Lieutenants Stewart Campbell, Donald Williamson, John M'Diarmid, John Dick, and James Walker, captains; and Captain Lord Saltoun was promoted to the foot-guards.

In consequence of the removal of a part of the garrison of Gibraltar, the first battalion of the 42d, and the second battalion of the 78th, or Seaforth's Highlanders, were marched to Plymouth, where they embarked early in October for Gibraltar, which they reached in November. Nothing worthy of notice occurred during their stay in Gibraltar. Since their former visit, the moral habits of the 42d had improved, and they did not fall into those excesses in drinking in which they had indulged when formerly at Gibraltar. The mortality consequently was not so great as before,—thirty-one only out of eight hundred and fifty men having died during the three years they remained at this station.

In eighteen hundred and six Sir Hector Munro, the colonel of the regiment, died, and was succeeded by major-general the marquis of Huntly, now duke of Gordon. Sir Hector was a brave man; but he felt little interest in the regiment, and kept aloof from his officers and men; and to such an extent did he carry this reserve, that although both battalions were quartered a considerable time at Fort George, in the neighbourhood of which his country-seat was, he never came near them except once, when he stopped to change horses in the garrison on his way to London.

After the battle of Vimiera, which was fought on the twenty-first of August, eighteen hundred and eight, the British army was joined by the 42d regiment from Gibraltar, then six hundred and twenty-four men strong,\* and by the Gordon and Cameron Highlanders from England. Major-general Sir Arthur Wellesley, who had gained the battle, was superseded the same day by two senior generals, Sir Harry Burrard and Sir John Moore, who were, strange to tell, again superseded by General Sir Hew Dalrymple the following morning. Generals Burrard and Dalrymple having been recalled in consequence of the convention of Cintra, the command of the army devolved on Sir John Moore, who, on the sixth of October, received an order to march into Spain. Having made no previous preparations for marching, the advance of the army from Lisbon was retarded: and as he could obtain little assistance from the Portuguese government, and no correct information of the state of the country, or of the proper route he ought to take, he was obliged to act almost entirely upon conjecture. Conceiving it impossible to convey artillery by the road through the mountains, he resolved to divide his army and to march into Spain by different routes.

One of these, consisting of the brigade of artillery and four regiments of infantry, of which the 42d was one, under the Hon. Lieutenant-general Hope, marched upon Madrid and Espinar; another under General Paget, moved by Elvas and Alcantara; a third by Coimbra and Almeida, under General Beresford; and a fourth, under General Mackenzie Fraser, by Abrantes and Almeida. These divisions, amounting together to eighteen thousand infantry and nine hundred cavalry, were to form a junction at Salamanca. General Moore reached Salamanca on the thirteenth of November, without seeing a single Spanish soldier. The armies which he had expected to find were either dispersed or removed to too great a distance for co-operation, and the people themselves seemed to take no interest in the war. Whilst on the march, Lieutenant-general Sir David Baird arrived off Corunna with a body of troops from England, for the purpose of forming a junction with General Moore; but his troops were kept on board from the thirteenth to the thirty-first of October, and, when allowed to disembark, no exertions were made by the Spaniards to forward his march.

Whilst waiting the junction of General Baird and the division of General Hope, which, from its circuitous route, was the last of the four in reaching Salamanca, General Moore received intelligence of the defeat and total dispersion of General Blake's army on the tenth of November, at Espenora de los Monteros, as well as of a similar fate which subsequently befell the army of General Castanos at Tudela. No Spanish army now remained in the field except the corps under the marquis of Romana, but acting independently, it tended rather to obstruct than forward the plans of the British commander.

\* Of these, 231 were Lowlanders, 7 English, and 3 Irish.

It was now the first of December. General Baird had reached Astorga, and General Hope's division was still four days' march from Salamanca. Beset by accumulated difficulties, and threatened with an army already amounting to a hundred thousand men, and about to be increased by additional reinforcements, General Moore resolved on a retreat, though such a measure was opposed to the opinion of many officers of rank. Whilst he himself was to fall back upon Lisbon, he ordered Sir David Baird to retire to Corunna, and embark for the Tagus. He afterwards countermanded the order for retreat, on receiving some favourable accounts from the interior, but having soon ascertained that these were not to be relied on, he resumed his original intention of retiring. Instead of proceeding, however, towards Lisbon, he determined to retreat to the north of Spain, with the view of joining General Baird. This junction he effected at Toro on the twenty-first of December. Their united forces amounted to twenty-six thousand three hundred and eleven infantry, and two thousand four hundred and fifty cavalry, besides artillery.

The general resolved to attack Marshal Soult at Saldanha; but after making his dispositions, he gave up his determination, in consequence of information that Soult had received considerable reinforcements; that Buonaparte had marched from Madrid with forty thousand infantry and cavalry; and that Marshals Junot, Mortier, and Lefebvre, with their different divisions, were also on their march towards the north of Spain. The retreat was begun on the twenty-fourth of December, on which day the advanced guard of Buonaparte's division passed through Tordesillas.

When ordered again to retreat, the greatest disappointment was manifested by the troops, who, enraged at the apathy shown by the people, gratified their feelings of revenge by acts of insubordination and plunder hitherto unheard of in a British army. To such an extent did they carry their ravages, that they obtained the name of "malditos ladrones," or cursed robbers, from the unfortunate inhabitants. The following extract of general orders, issued at Benevente on the twenty-seventh of December, shows how acutely the gallant Moore felt the disgrace which the conduct of his troops brought on the British name. "The Commander of the Forces has observed, with concern, the extreme bad conduct of the troops, at a moment when they are about to come into contact with the enemy, and when the greatest regularity and the best conduct are most requisite. The misbehaviour of the troops in the column which marched from Valderas to this place, exceeds what he could have believed of British soldiers. It is disgraceful to the officers, as it strongly marks their negligence and inattention. The Commander of the Forces refers to the general orders of the fifteenth of October and of the eleventh of November. He desires that they may be again read at the head of every company in the army. He can add nothing but his determination to execute them to the fullest extent. He can feel

no mercy towards officers who neglect, in times like these, essential duties, or towards soldiers who injure the country they are sent to protect. It is impossible for the General to explain to his army his motive for the movements he directs. When it is proper to fight a battle he will do it, and he will choose the time and place he thinks most fit. In the mean time, he begs the officers and soldiers of the army to attend diligently to discharge their part, and leave to him and to the general officers the decision of measures which belong to them alone."

It is quite unnecessary, in a work of this nature, to give the details of this memorable retreat. Suffice it to say, that after a series of brilliant and successful rencounters with the enemy, and after enduring the most extraordinary privations, the British army arrived in the neighbourhood of Corunna on the eleventh of January, eighteen hundred and nine. Had the transports been at Corunna, the troops might have embarked without molestation, as the French general did not push forward with vigour from Lago; but, as they had to wait the arrival of transports from Vigo, the enemy had full time to come up. The inhabitants showed the greatest kindness to the troops, and in conjunction with them exerted themselves with much assiduity to put the town in a proper state of defence.

On the land side Corunna is surrounded by a double range of hills, a higher and a lower. As the outward or higher range was too extensive, the British were formed on the inner or lower range. The French on their arrival took post on the higher range.

Several of the transports having arrived on the fourteenth, the sick, the cavalry, and part of the artillery, were embarked. Next day was spent in skirmishing, with little loss on either side; but on the sixteenth, affairs assumed a more serious aspect. After mid-day, the enemy were seen getting under arms. The British drew up immediately in line of battle. General Hope's division occupied the left. It consisted of Major-general Hill's brigade of the queen's, 14th, 32d, and Colonel Crawford's brigade of the 36th, 71st, and 92d or Gordon Highlanders. On the right of the line was the division of General Baird, consisting of Lord William Bentinck's brigade of the 4th, 42d or Royal Highlanders, and 50th regiment; and Major-general Manningham's brigade of the third battalion of the royals, 26th or Cameronians, and second battalion of the 81st; and Major-general Ward with the first and second battalions of the foot guards. The other battalions of guards were in reserve, in rear of Lord William Bentinck's brigade. The rifle corps formed a chain across a valley on the right of Sir David Baird, communicating with Lieutenant-general Fraser's division, which was drawn up in the rear at a short distance from Corunna. This division was composed of the 6th, 9th, 23d or Welsh fusileers, and second battalion of the 43d, under Major-general Beresford; and the 36th, 79th or Cameron Highlanders, and 82d, under Brigadier-general Fane. General Paget's brigade of reserve formed in rear of the left. It consisted of the 20th, 28th, 52d,

91st, and rifle corps. The whole force under arms amounted to nearly sixteen thousand men.

The battle was begun by the enemy, who, after a discharge of artillery, advanced upon the British in four columns. Two of these moved towards General Baird's wing, a third advanced upon the centre, and a fourth against the left. The enemy kept a fifth column as a reserve in the rear. On the approach of the French the British advanced to meet them. The 50th regiment, under Majors Napier and Stanhope, two young officers who had been trained up under the general's own eye, passing over an enclosure in front, charged and drove the enemy out of the village of Elvina, with great loss. General Moore, who was at the post occupied by Lord William Bentinck's brigade, directing every movement, on observing the brave conduct of the regiment, exclaimed, "Well done the 50th—well done my majors!" Then proceeding to the 42d, he cried out, "Highlanders, remember Egypt." They thereupon rushed forward, accompanied by the general, and drove back the enemy in all directions. He now ordered up a battalion of the guards to the left flank of the Highlanders. The light company conceiving, as their ammunition was spent, that the guards were to relieve them, began to fall back; but Sir John discovering their mistake, said to them, "My brave 42d, join your comrades,—ammunition is coming,—you have your bayonets." This was enough.

Sir David Baird about this time was forced to leave the field, in consequence of his arm being shattered by a musket ball, and immediately thereafter a cannon ball struck Sir John Moore in the left shoulder and beat him to the ground. "He raised himself and sat up with an unaltered countenance, looking intensely at the Highlanders, who were warmly engaged. Captain Harding threw himself from his horse and took him by the hand; then observing his anxiety, he told him the 42d were advancing, upon which his countenance immediately brightened up."

After the general and Sir David Baird had been carried off the field, the command of the army devolved upon Lieutenant-general Hope, who, at the close of the battle, addressed a letter to the latter, from which the following is an extract: "The first effort of the enemy was met by the commander of the forces and by yourself, at the head of the 42d regiment, and the brigade under Lord William Bentinck. The village on your right became an object of obstinate contest. I lament to say, that, after the severe wound which deprived the army of your services, Lieutenant-general Sir John Moore, who had just directed the most able disposition, fell by a cannon-shot. The troops, though not unacquainted with the irreparable loss they had sustained, were not dismayed, but by the most determined bravery not only repelled every attempt of the enemy to gain ground, but actually forced him to retire, although he had brought up fresh troops in support of those originally engaged. The enemy finding himself foiled in every attempt to force



the right of the position, endeavoured by numbers to turn it. A judicious and well-timed movement which was made by Major-general Paget with the reserve, which corps had moved out of its cantonments to support the right of the army, by a vigorous attack defeated this intention. The major-general having pushed forward the 95th (rifle corps) and the first battalion of the 52d regiment, drove the enemy before him, and in his rapid and judicious advance threatened the left of the enemy's position. This circumstance, with the position of Lieutenant-general Fraser's division, (calculated to give still farther security to the right of the line,) induced the enemy to relax his efforts in that quarter. They were however more forcibly directed towards the centre, when they were again successfully resisted by the brigade under Major-general Manningham, forming the left of your division, and a part of that under Major-general Leith, forming the right of that under my orders. Upon the left the enemy at first contented himself with an attack upon our picquets, which however in general maintained their ground. Finding, however, his efforts unavailing on the right and centre, he seemed determined to render the attack upon the left more serious, and had succeeded in obtaining possession of the village through which the great road to Madrid passes, and which was situated in front of that part of the line. From this post, however, he was soon expelled, with a considerable loss, by a gallant attack of some companies of the second battalion of the 14th regiment, under Lieutenant-colonel Nicholls. Before five in the evening, we had not only successfully repelled every attack made upon the position, but had gained ground, in almost all points, and occupied a more forward line than at the commencement of the action; whilst the enemy confined his operations to a cannonade, and the fire of his light troops, with a view to draw off his other corps. At six the firing ceased."

The loss of the British was eight hundred men killed and wounded. The 42d regiment had one sergeant and thirty-six rank and file killed; and six officers, viz., Captains Duncan Campbell, John Fraser, and Maxwell Grant, and Lieutenants Alexander Anderson, William Middleton, and Thomas Macinnes; one sergeant, and one hundred and four rank and file wounded. The enemy lost upwards of three thousand men,—a remarkable disproportion, when it is considered that the British troops fought under many disadvantages.

Though the victory was gained, General Hope did not consider it advisable, under existing circumstances, to risk another battle, and therefore issued orders for the immediate embarkation of the army. By the great exertions of the naval officers and seamen, the whole, with the exception of the rear guard, were on board before the morning; and the rear guard, with the sick and wounded, were all embarked the following day.

General Moore did not long survive the action. When he fell he was removed, with the assistance of a soldier of the 42d, a few yards



behind the shelter of a wall. He was afterwards carried to the rear in a blanket by six soldiers of the 42d and guards. When borne off the field his aid-de-camp, Captain Harding, observing the resolution and composure of his features, expressed his hopes that the wound was not mortal, and that he would still be spared to the army. Turning his head round, and looking steadfastly at the wound for a few seconds, the dying commander said, "No, Harding; I feel that to be impossible." A sergeant of the 42d and two spare files, in case of accident, were ordered to conduct their brave general to Corunna. Whilst carried slowly along, he made the soldiers turn frequently round, that he might view the field of battle and listen to the firing. As the sound grew fainter, an indication that the enemy were retiring, his countenance evinced the satisfaction he felt. In a few hours he was numbered with the dead.

Thus died, in the prime of life, one of the most accomplished and bravest soldiers that ever adorned the British army. "From his youth he embraced the profession with the sentiments and feelings of a soldier. He felt that a perfect knowledge and an exact performance of the humble but important duties of a subaltern officer, are the best foundation for subsequent military fame. In the school of regimental duty, he obtained that correct knowledge of his profession, so essential to the proper direction of the gallant spirit of the soldier; and was enabled to establish a characteristic order and regularity of conduct, because the troops found in their leader a striking example of the discipline which he enforced on others. In a military character, obtained amidst the dangers of climate, the privations incident to service, and the sufferings of repeated wounds, it is difficult to select any point as a preferable subject for praise. The life of Sir John Moore was spent among his troops. During the season of repose, his time was devoted to the care and instruction of the officer and soldier; in war, he courted service in every quarter of the globe. Regardless of personal considerations, he esteemed that to which his country called him, the post of honour; and, by his undaunted spirit and unconquerable perseverance, he pointed the way to victory"\*

General Moore had been often heard to express a wish that he might die in battle like a soldier; and, like a soldier, he was interred in his full uniform, in a bastion in the garrison of Corunna.

When the embarkation of the army was completed it sailed for England. One division, in which the 42d was, landed at Portsmouth. Another disembarked at Plymouth.

The regiment was now brigaded at Shorncliffe with the rifle corps, under the command of Major-general Sir Thomas Graham. As the second battalion, which had been in Ireland since eighteen hundred and five, was about to embark for Portugal, they could obtain no draughts

\* General orders, Horse Guards, 1st February, 1809.

from it to supply the casualties which they had suffered in the late retreat and the loss at Corunna, but these were speedily made up otherwise.

The 42d was next employed in the disastrous expedition to Walcheren, and returned to Dover in September eighteen hundred and nine, having only two hundred and four men fit for duty out of seven hundred and fifty-eight, who, about six weeks before, had left the shores of England. The regiment marched to Canterbury on the eleventh of September, where it remained till July eighteen hundred and ten, when it was removed to Scotland, and quartered in Musselburgh. The men had recovered very slowly from the Walcheren fever, and many of them still suffered under its influence. During their stay at Musselburgh, the men unfortunately indulged themselves to excess in the use of ardent spirits, a practice which would have destroyed the health of the men. had not a change of duty put an end to this baneful practice.

## CHAPTER IV.

Return of the 42d to England—Embarks a second time for Portugal in 1812—Consolidation of the first and second battalions—Spain—Battle of Salamanca—Madrid—Siege of Burgos—Retreat into Portugal—Campaign of 1813—Battle of Vittoria—Siege of St Sebastian—Its suspension—Pyrenees—Succession of battles—Fall of St Sebastian—Allied army enters France—Crosses the Nivelle—Passage of the Nive—Series of actions—Bayonne—Battles of Orthés and Ayre—Bordeaux—Tarbes—Battle of Toulouse—Conclusion of the Peninsular war—Peace of 1814—War of 1815—Quatre Bras—Waterloo—Return of the 42d to Scotland—Reception in Edinburgh.

IN August, eighteen hundred and eleven, the regiment sailed for England, and after remaining some time in Lewis barracks, embarked in April of the following year for Portugal. The ardour for recruiting had now ceased, and the consequence was that the regiment obtained few recruits while in Scotland. Lieutenant-colonel Lord Blantyre, the commander of the second battalion, had experienced the growing indifference of the Highlanders for the army, having been obliged, before his departure for Portugal, to enlist one hundred and fifty men from the Irish militia. The first battalion joined the army, under Lord Wellington, after the capture of Ciudad Rodrigo and Badajoz, and meeting with the second battalion, they were both consolidated. The second battalion, which had been two years in the Peninsula, was actively engaged at Fuentes d'Honoro, in May eighteen hundred and eleven, and had maintained the good character of the regiment during its whole service.

On the consolidation of the two battalions, the officers and staff of the second were ordered to England, leaving the first upwards of eleven hundred and sixty rank and file fit for service. These were placed in the division under Lieutenant-general Sir Thomas Graham. The allied army now amounted to fifty-eight thousand men, being larger than any single division of the enemy, whose whole force exceeded one hundred and sixty thousand men.

After a successful attack on Almaraz by a division of the army under General Hill, Lord Wellington moved forward and occupied Salamanca, which the French evacuated on his approach, leaving eight hundred men behind to garrison the fort, and retain possession of two redoubts formed from the walls and ruins of some convents and colleges. After

a gallant defence of some days, the fort and redoubts surrendered on the twenty-seventh of June.

Whilst the siege was proceeding, Marshal Marmont manœuvred in the neighbourhood; but not being yet prepared for a general action, he retired across the Douro, and took up a position on the twenty-second from La Seca to Pollos. By the accession of a reinforcement from the Asturias, and another from the army of the centre, the marshal's force was increased to nearly sixty thousand men. Judging himself now able to cope with the allied army, he resolved either to bring Lord Wellington to action, or force him to retire towards Portugal, by threatening his communication with that country. By combining with Marshal Soult from the south, he expected to be able to intercept his retreat and cut him off. Marmont did not, however, venture to re-cross the Douro, but commenced a series of masterly manœuvres, with the view of ensnaring his adversary. Alluding to this display of tactics, the *Moniteur* remarked that "there were seen those grand French military combinations which command victory, and decide the fate of empires; that noble audacity which no reverse can shake, and which commands events." These movements were met with corresponding skill on the part of the British general, who baffled all the designs of his skilful opponent. Several accidental rencounters took place in the various changes of positions, in which both sides suffered considerably.

Tired of these evolutions, Lord Wellington crossed the Guarena on the night of the nineteenth of July, and on the morning of the twentieth drew up his army in order of battle on the plains of Valisa; but Marmont declined the challenge, and, crossing the river, encamped with his left at Babila Fuentes, and his right at Villamedia. This manœuvre was met by a corresponding movement on the part of the allies, who marched to their right in columns along the plain, in a direction parallel to the enemy, who were on the heights of Cabeça Vilhosa. In this and the other movements of the British, the sagacity of the commander-in-chief appeared so strange to a plain Highlander, who had paid particular attention to them, that he swore Lord Wellington must be gifted with the second sight, as he saw and was prepared to meet Marmont's intended changes of position before he commenced his movements.\*

The allied army were now on the same ground they had occupied near Salamanca, when reducing the forts the preceding month; but in consequence of the enemy crossing the Tormes at Alba de Tormes, and appearing to threaten Ciudad Rodrigo, Lord Wellington made a corresponding movement, and on the twenty-first halted his army on the heights on the left bank. During the night the enemy possessed themselves of the village of Calvarasa de Ariba, and the heights of Nuestra Señora de la Pena. In the course of this night, Lord Wellington received intelligence that General Clausel had reached Pollos with a large

body of cavalry, and would certainly join Marmont on the twenty-third or twenty-fourth.

The morning of the twenty-second, a day memorable in the annals of the Peninsular war, was ushered in with a violent tempest, and a dreadful storm of thunder and lightning. The operations of the day commenced soon after seven o'clock, when the out-posts of both armies attempted to get possession of two hills, Los Arapiles, on the right of the allies. The enemy, by his numerical superiority, succeeded in possessing himself of the most distant of these hills, and thus greatly strengthened his position. With his accustomed skill, Marmont manœuvred until two o'clock, when imagining that he had succeeded in drawing the allies into a snare, he opened a general fire from his artillery along his whole line, and threw out numerous bodies of sharpshooters, both in front and flank, as a feint to cover an attempt he meditated to turn the position of the British. This *ruse* was thrown away on Lord Wellington, who, acting on the defensive only, to become, in his turn, the assailant with the more effect, and perceiving at once the grand error of his antagonist in extending his line to the left, without strengthening his centre, which had now no second line to support it, made immediate preparations for a general attack; and, with his characteristic determination of purpose, took advantage of that unfortunate moment, which, as the French commander observed, "destroyed the result of six weeks of wise combinations of methodical movements, the issue of which had hitherto appeared certain, and which every thing appeared to presage to us that we should enjoy the fruit of."\*

The arrangements were these. Major-general Pakenham, with the third division, was ordered to turn the left of the enemy, whilst he was to be attacked in front by the divisions of Generals Leith, Cole, Bradford, and Cotton,—those of Generals Clinton, Hope, and Don Carlos de Espana, acting as a reserve. The divisions under Generals Alexander Campbell and Alten were to form the left of the line. Whilst this formation was in progress, the enemy did not alter his previous position, but made an unsuccessful attempt to get possession of the village of Arapiles, held by a detachment of the guards.

About four o'clock in the afternoon the attack commenced. General Pakenham, supported by the Portuguese cavalry, and some squadrons of the 14th dragoons under Colonel Harvey, carried all their respective points of attack. The divisions in the centre were equally successful, driving the enemy from one height to another. They however received a momentary check from a body of troops from the heights of Arapiles. A most obstinate struggle took place at this post. Having descended from the heights which they occupied, the British dashed across the intervening valley and ascended a hill, on which they found the enemy most advantageously posted, formed in solid squares, the front ranks

\* Marmont's Despatch

kneeling, and supported by twenty pieces of cannon. On the approach of the British, the enemy opened a fire from their cannon and musketry, but this, instead of retarding, seemed to accelerate the progress of the assailants. Gaining the brow of the hill, they instantly charged, and drove the enemy before them; a body of them attempting to rally, were thrown into utter confusion by a second charge with the bayonet. A general rout now took place, and night alone saved the French army from utter annihilation.

Seven thousand prisoners and eleven pieces of cannon fell into the hands of the victors; but the loss of the enemy in killed and wounded was not ascertained. General Marmont himself was wounded, and many of his officers were killed or disabled. The loss of the allies was six hundred and twenty-four killed, and about four thousand wounded.

Among other important results to which this victory led, not the least was the appointment of Lord Wellington as generalissimo of the Spanish armies, by which he was enabled to direct and control the operations of the whole Spanish forces, which had hitherto acted as independent corps.

The allied army pushed forward to Madrid, and, after various movements and skirmishes, entered that city on the twelfth of August, amid the acclamations of the inhabitants. Learning that General Clausel, who had succeeded Marshal Marmont in the command, had organized an army, and threatened some of the British positions on the Douro, Lord Wellington left Madrid on the first of September, and marching northward, entered Valladolid on the seventh, the enemy retiring as he advanced. Being joined by Castanos, the Spanish general, with an army of twelve thousand foot, he took up a position close to Burgos, in which the enemy had left a garrison of two thousand five hundred men. The castle was in ruins, but the strong thick wall of the ancient keep was equal to the best casements, and it was strengthened by a horn-work which had been erected on Mount St Michael. A church had also been converted into a fort, and the whole enclosed within three lines, so connected, that each could defend the other. Preliminary to an attack on the castle, the possession of the horn-work was necessary. Accordingly, on the evening of the nineteenth of September, the light infantry of General Stirling's brigade having driven in the out-posts, took possession of the out-works close to the mount. When dark it was attacked by the same troops, supported by the 42d, and carried by assault.

On the twenty-ninth an unsuccessful attempt was made to spring a mine under the enemy's works, but on the fourth of October another mine was exploded with better effect. The second battalion of the 24th regiment established themselves within the exterior line of the castle, but were soon obliged to retire. The enemy made two vigorous sorties on the eighth, drove back the covering parties, and damaged the works of the besiegers, who sustained considerable loss. A third mine was exploded on the thirteenth, when the troops attempted an assault, but



without success. The last attack, a most desperate one, was made on the nineteenth, but with as little success; two days after which, Lord Wellington, to the great disappointment of the besiegers, ordered the siege, which had lasted thirty days, to be raised, in consequence of the expected advance of a French army of eighty thousand men. The loss sustained by the 42d regiment in this siege, was three officers, two sergeants, and forty-four rank and file killed, and six officers, eleven sergeants, one drummer, and two hundred and thirty rank and file wounded. The officers killed were Lieutenants R. Ferguson and P. Milne, and Ensign David Cullen; those wounded were Captains Donald Williamson (who died of his wounds), Archibald Menzies, and George Davidson, Lieutenants Hugh Angus Fraser, James Stewart, and Robert Mackinnon.\*

Whilst Lord Wellington was besieging Burgos, the enemy had been concentrating their forces, and on the twentieth of October his lordship received intelligence of the advance of the French army. Joseph Buonaparte, newly raised by his brother to the throne of Spain, was, with one division, to cut off Lord Wellington's communication with General Hill's division between Aranjuez and Toledo, and another, commanded by General Souham, was to raise the siege of Burgos. After the abandonment of the siege, on the twenty-first of October, the allied army retired after night-fall, unperceived by General Souham, who followed with a superior force, but did not overtake them till the evening of the twenty-third.

During this retrograde movement, the troops suffered greatly from the inclemency of the weather, from bad roads, but still more from the want of a regular supply of provisions; and the same irregularities and disorganization prevailed among them as in the retreat to Corunna. In the general orders which the commander-in-chief issued on the occasion, he stated that both divisions of the army indulged in a laxity of discipline to a greater degree "than any army with which he had ever served, or of which he had ever read." In continuation, he observed that "it must be obvious to every officer that, from the time the troops commenced their retreat from Burgos, on the one hand, and from Madrid on the other, the officers lost all command over their men. Irregularities and outrages of every description were committed with impunity." Much of this disorder has been ascribed to the impatience with which British soldiers bear a retreat, when influenced by the feeling that they are considered incapable of meeting an enemy, a feeling which makes them quickly lose their usual sense of duty and discipline. Pressed as they were in their rear by the enemy's cavalry, an arm in which the French were vastly superior, they nevertheless displayed their usual gallantry, and whenever the enemy appeared in sight, they seemed to forget all their privations, formed as they were ordered, and repulsed with vigour every attack.

\* The loss of the 79th will be found stated in the memoirs of that regiment.

The allied army retired upon Salamanca, and afterwards to Frenada and Corea, on the frontiers of Portugal, where they took up their winter quarters. The enemy, apparently unable to advance, unwilling to retire, and renouncing the hope of victory, followed the example thus set. Subsequent events proved that this opinion, expressed at the time, was correct, "for every movement of the enemy after the campaign of eighteen hundred and twelve was retrograde, every battle a defeat."\*

Having obtained a reinforcement of troops and abundant military supplies from England, Lord Wellington opened the campaign of eighteen hundred and thirteen by moving on Salamanca, of which, for the third time, the British troops took possession on the twenty-fourth of May. The division of Sir R. Hill was stationed between Tormes and the Douro, and the left wing, under Sir Thomas Graham, took post at Miranda de Douro. The enemy, who gave way as the allies advanced, evacuated Valladolid on the fourth of June, and General Hill having, on the twelfth, attacked and defeated a division of the French army under General Reille, the enemy hastened their retreat, and blew up the works of the castle of Burgos, on which they had expended much labour the preceding year.

The enemy fell back on Vittoria, followed by Lord Wellington, who drew up his army on the river Bayas, separated by some high grounds from Vittoria. His men were in the highest spirits, and the cheerfulness and alacrity with which they performed this long march, more than two hundred and fifty miles, formed a favourable contrast with their conduct when retreating the previous year. The French army, under the command of Joseph Buonaparte and Marshal Jourdan, made a stand near Vittoria, for the purpose of defending the passage of the river Zadorra, having that town on their right, the centre on a height, commanding the valley of that stream, and the left resting on the heights between Arunex and Puebla de Arlanzon. The hostile armies were about seventy thousand men each.

On the morning of the twenty-first of June, the allied army moved forward in three columns to take possession of the heights in the front of Vittoria. The right wing was commanded by General Hill, the centre by General Cole, and the left wing by General Graham. The operations of the day commenced by General Hill attacking and carrying the heights of Puebla, on which the enemy's left rested. They made a violent attempt to regain possession, but they were driven back at all points, and pursued across the Zadorra. Sir Rowland Hill passing over the bridge of La Puebla, attacked and carried the village of Sabijana de Alava, of which he kept possession, notwithstanding repeated attempts of the enemy to regain it. The fourth and light divisions now crossed the Zadorra at different points, while, almost at the same instant of time, the column under Lord Dalhousie reached Mendonza; and the third, under Sir T. Picton, followed by the seventh division, crossed a bridge

higher up. These four divisions forming the centre of the army, were destined to attack the right of the enemy's centre on the heights, whilst General Hill pushed forward from Alava to attack the left. The enemy dreading the consequences of an attack on his centre, which he had weakened to strengthen his posts on the heights, abandoned his position, and commenced a rapid retreat to Vittoria.

Whilst these combined movements of the right and centre were in progress, the left wing, under Sir Thomas Graham, drove the enemy's right from the hills above Abechuco and Gamarra. To preserve their communication with Bayonne, which was nearly cut off by this movement, the enemy had occupied the villages of Gamarra, Mayor, and Menor, near which the great road touches the banks of the Zadorra. They were, however, driven from these positions by a Spanish division under Colonel Longa, and another of Portuguese under General Pack, supported by General Anson's cavalry brigade and the fifth division of infantry under General Oswald. General Graham, at the same time, attacked and obtained possession of the village of Abechuco.

Thus cut off from retreat by the great road to France, the enemy, as soon as the centre of the allies had penetrated to Vittoria, retreated with great precipitation towards Pampluna, the only other road left open, and on which they had no fortified positions to cover their retrograde movement. The enemy left behind them all their stores and baggage, and out of one hundred and fifty-two pieces of cannon, they carried off only one howitzer. General Hill, with his division, continued to pursue the panic-stricken French from one position to another till the seventh of July, when he took post on the summit of the pass of Maya, beyond the Pyrenees, "those lofty heights which," as Marshal Soult lamented, in a proclamation he issued, "enabled him proudly to survey our fertile valleys."

With the exception of Pampluna and St Sebastian, the whole of this part of the north of Spain was now cleared of the enemy. To reduce these places was the next object. It was resolved to blockade the former and lay siege to the latter, which last-mentioned service was intrusted to General Graham. This was a most arduous task, as St Sebastian was, in point of strength, next to Gibraltar.

The arrangements for the siege of St Sebastian being completed, the batteries opened on the convent of St Bartolomeo on the fourteenth of July, and on the seventeenth this stronghold, though fortified with a protecting work, and a steep hill on its left flank, was so completely destroyed, that General Graham ordered both to be stormed. The division of General Oswald carried these posts, though bravely defended by a strong body of men. Having made two breaches which were considered practicable, a party of two thousand men made an assault on the twenty-fifth; but after an obstinate contest they were recalled, after sustaining a very severe loss. The attention of the commander-in-chief being now directed to the movements of Marshal Soult,

who was advancing with a large army, the siege of St Sebastian was suspended for a time.

At this time the allied army occupied a range of mountain passes between the valley of Roncesvalles, celebrated as the field of Charlemagne's defeat, and St Sebastian, but as the distance between these stations was sixty miles, it was found impossible so to guard all these passes as to prevent the entrance of an army. The passes occupied by the allies were defended by the following troops :—Major-general Byng's brigade and a division of Spanish infantry held the valley of Roncesvalles, to support which General Cole's division was posted at Piscarret, with General Picton's in reserve at Olague; the valley of Bastan and the pass of Maya was occupied by Sir Rowland Hill, with Lieutenant-general William Stewart's and Silveira's Portuguese divisions, and the Spanish corps under the Condé de Amaran; the Portuguese brigade of Brigadier-general Archibald Campbell was detached to Los Alduidos; the heights of St Barbara, the town of Pera, and the Puerto de Echelar, were protected by Lord Dalhousie and Baron Alten's light division, Brigadier-general Pack's being in reserve at Estevan. The communication between Lord Dalhousie and General Graham was kept up by General Longa's Spanish division; and the Condé de Abisbal blockaded Pampluna.

Such were the positions of the allied army when Marshal Soult, who had been lately appointed to the command of a numerous French army, recently collected, having formed a plan of operations for a general attack on the allied army, advanced on the twenty-fifth of July at the head of a division of thirty-six thousand men against Roncesvalles, whilst General Count d'Erlon, with another division of thirteen thousand men, moved towards the pass of Maya. Pressed by this overwhelming force, General Byng was obliged, though supported by part of Sir Lowry Cole's division, to descend from the heights that commanded the pass, in order to preserve his communication, in which situation he was attacked by Soult and driven back to the top of the mountain, whilst the troops on the ridge of Arola, part of Cole's division, were forced to retire with considerable loss, and to take up a position in the rear. General Cole was again obliged to retire, and fell back on Lizoain. Next day General Picton moved forward to support General Cole, but both were obliged to retire in consequence of Soult's advance.

Meanwhile Count d'Erlon forced the battalions occupying the narrow ridges near the pass of Maya to give way; but these being quickly supported by Brigadier-general Barnes's brigade, a series of spirited actions ensued, and the advance of the enemy was arrested. General Hill hearing of the retrograde movement from Roncesvalles, retired behind the Irurita, and took up a strong position. On the twenty-seventh Sir Thomas Picton resumed his retreat. The troops were greatly dejected at this temporary reverse; but the arrival of Lord Wellington, who had been with the army before St Sebastian, revived their drooping spirits. Immediately on his arrival he directed the troops in reserve

to move forward to support the division opposed to the enemy. He formed General Picton's division on a ridge on the left bank of the Argua, and General Cole's on the high grounds between that river and the Lanz. To support the positions in front, General Hill was posted behind the Lizasso; but, on the arrival of General Pakenham on the twenty-eighth, he took post on the left of General Cole, facing the village of Sourarem; but before the British divisions had fully occupied the ground, they were vigorously attacked by the enemy from the village. The enemy were, however, driven back with great loss, after a short but severe contest.

Soult next brought forward a strong column, and advancing up the hill against the centre of the allies, on the left of General Cole's line, obtained possession of that post, but he was almost immediately driven back at the point of the bayonet by the Fusileers. The French renewed the attack, but were again quickly repulsed. About the same time, another attack was made on the right of the centre, where a Spanish brigade, supported by the 40th, was posted. The Spaniards gave way, but the 40th not only kept their ground, but drove the enemy down the hill with great loss.

The enemy pushing forward in separate bodies with great vigour, the battle now became general along the whole front of the heights occupied by the fourth division, but they were repulsed at all points, except one occupied by a Portuguese battalion, which was overpowered and obliged to give way. The occupation of this post by the enemy exposed the flank of Major-general Ross's brigade, immediately on the right, to a destructive fire, which forced him to retire. The enemy were, however, soon dispossessed of this post by Colonel John Maclean, who, advancing with the 27th and 48th regiments, charged and drove them from it, and immediately afterwards attacked and charged another body of the enemy who were advancing from the left. The enemy persevered in his attacks several times, but was as often repulsed, principally by the bayonet. Several regiments charged four different times.

The division of Lord Dalhousie, from the left, having reinforced the centre the following day, Soult withdrew a part of his troops from his strong position in front of the allies, with the intention of turning the left of their position. Though the position occupied by Soult in front appeared almost impregnable, yet Lord Wellington resolved, after this reduction of Soult's force, to attempt it. Accordingly, on the morning of the thirtieth, Lord Dalhousie made a well-conducted attack on the heights on the right, which was performed with great bravery by Brigadier-general Inglis's brigade. Sir Thomas Picton, during this operation, turned their left, whilst General Pakenham, at the same time, drove them from the village of Ostiz. These successful attacks were followed up by one made in front by General Cole's division, upon which the enemy, to use the words of Lord Wellington, "abandoned a position which is one of the strongest and most difficult of access that I have yet seen occupied by troops."



The enemy were now pursued beyond Olaque, in the vicinity of which General Hill, who had been engaged the whole day, had repulsed all the attacks of Count d'Erlon.

The enemy endeavoured to rally in their retreat, but were driven from one position to another till the second of August, when the allies had regained all the posts they had occupied on the twenty-fifth of July, when Soult made his first attack. As the 92d or Gordon Highlanders was the only Highland regiment which had the good fortune to be engaged in these brilliant attacks, in which they particularly distinguished themselves, the account of these operations might have been deferred till we come to give an account of the services of that excellent regiment; but as the omission of these details in this place would have broken the continuity of the narrative, it was deemed proper to insert them here.

After this second expulsion of the French beyond the Pyrenees, the siege of St Sebastian was resumed with redoubled energy. A continued fire was kept up from eighty pieces of cannon, which the enemy withstood with surprising courage and perseverance. At length a practicable breach was made, and on the morning of the thirty-first of August the troops advanced to the assault. The breach was extensive, but there was only one point where it was possible to enter, and this could only be done by single files. All the inside of the wall to the height of the curtain formed a perpendicular scarp of twenty feet. The troops made the most persevering exertions to force the breach, and every thing that bravery could attempt was repeatedly tried by the men who were brought forward in succession from the trenches; but each time, on attaining the summit, all who attempted to remain were destroyed by a heavy fire from the entrenched ruins within, so that "no man outlived the attempt to gain the ridge."\* The moment was critical; but General Graham, with great presence of mind, directed his artillery to play against the curtain, so as to pass a few feet over the heads of the troops in the breach. The fire was directed with admirable precision, and the troops advanced with perfect confidence. They struggled unrelentingly for two hours to force the breach, and, taking advantage of some confusion occasioned by an explosion of ammunition within the ramparts, they redoubled their efforts, and by assisting each other got over the walls and ruins. After struggling about an hour among their works, the French retreated with great loss to the castle, leaving the town, which was now reduced to a heap of ruins, in the possession of the assailants. This success was dearly purchased,—the loss of the allies, in killed and wounded, being upwards of two thousand men. Soult made an attempt to raise the siege, by crossing the Bidassoa on the very day the assault was made with a force of nearly forty thousand men; but he was obliged, after repeated attacks, to repass the river.

\* General Graham's Despatches.



Having determined to carry the war into France, Lord Wellington crossed the Bidassoa at low water, near its mouth, on the seventh of October. After a series of successful operations, the allied army was established in the French territories; but as Pampluna still held out, the commander-in-chief delayed his advance for a time. Pampluna surrendered on the thirty-first of October, after a blockade of four months. Lord Wellington having now the whole allied force, amounting to upwards of eighty-five thousand men, at his disposal, resolved to commence operations.

Since the battle of the Pyrenees, the French had occupied a position with their right towards the sea, at a short distance from St Jean de Luz, their centre, on a village in Sare, and on the heights behind it, with their left resting on a stony height in the rear of Ainhoe. This position, strong by nature, had been rendered still stronger by art. The attack on the French lines was to be made in column of divisions. In consequence of heavy falls of snow and rain, Lord Wellington was obliged to defer his attack till the tenth of November, on the morning of which day the allies moved forward against the enemy. General Hill, who commanded the right, comprizing the divisions of Sir William Stewart, Sir Henry Clinton, Sir John Hamilton's, (Portuguese,) and General Morilla's (Spanish) marched against the left of the enemy, whilst Marshal Beresford, at the head of the centre, consisting of the divisions of Sir Thomas Picton, Sir Lowry Cole, Lord Dalhousie, Baron Alten, and the Spanish reserve under Generals Giron and Freyre, was to attack the enemy's centre. The left, under General Hope, (now second in command, in consequence of the resignation of General Graham,) consisting of the brigades of Major-generals Howard and Oswald, the Portuguese brigades of Brigadier-generals Wilson and Bradford, and Lord Aylmer's independent British brigade, was directed to move against all the enemy's lines from the centre to the sea.

The attack was begun by General Cole's division, which attacked and carried the principal redoubt in front of Sare with such rapidity, that several of the enemy were taken in it before it could be evacuated. Another redoubt on the left was carried in the same rapid manner by Lord Dalhousie's division, commanded in his absence by Colonel Le Cor. General Cole's division thereupon took possession of the village. General Alten having carried La Petite Rhune, the whole centre divisions united, and made a joint attack on the enemy's principal position behind the village. Sir Thomas Picton's division, (now commanded in his absence by General Colville,) and that of Le Cor, carried the redoubt on the left of the enemy's centre. The light division advancing from La Petite Rhune, attacked the works in their front, supported by the 52d regiment, who, crossing with great rapidity a narrow neck of land, where they were exposed to the fire of two flanking batteries, rushed up the hill with such impetuosity, that the enemy grew alarmed, and fled with precipitation.

Meanwhile the right, under General Hill, attacked the heights of Ainhoe. The attack was led by General Clinton's division, which, marching on the left of five redoubts, forded the Nivelle, the banks of which were steep and difficult, and attacked the troops in front of the works. These were immediately driven back with loss, and General Hamilton joining in the attack on the other redoubt, the enemy hastily retired. The brigade of General Stewart's division, under General Pringle, drove in the enemy's picquets in front of Ainhoe, whilst General Byng's brigade attacked and drove the enemy from the entrenchments, and from a redoubt farther to the left.

By these successful movements the allies were firmly established on the right bank of the Nivelle; but as the troops driven from the enemy's centre were concentrating above the heights of Saint Pé, some farther efforts were necessary. Accordingly the divisions of Colville and Le Cor crossed the river below the village, and driving the enemy from these heights, established themselves in the position beyond them. The enemy now seeing further resistance hopeless, abandoned all their positions and works in front of St Jean de Luz and retired upon Bidart, after destroying all the bridges on the Lower Nivelle. In these successful and complicated movements, the allies had twenty-one officers and two hundred and forty-four soldiers killed, and one hundred and twenty officers and sixteen hundred and fifty-seven soldiers wounded. Of the 42d regiment, Captain Mungo Macpherson and Lieutenant Kenneth Macdougall were wounded, one private only killed, and two sergeants and twenty-three rank and file wounded. The French lost thirty-one pieces of cannon, fifteen hundred prisoners, and had a proportional number killed and wounded.

In consequence of the heavy rains and the destruction of the bridges, the allies were prevented from pursuing the enemy, who retired to an entrenched camp near Bayonne. The allied troops were cantoned between the Nivelle and the sea, and made preparations for dislodging the French from their new position; but the incessant rains, which continued till December, put a total stop to all active movements. Having thrown bridges over the Nive in the beginning of December, Lord Wellington commenced operations on the ninth for the passage of that river. As the position of the enemy was considered too strong to be attacked in front, the commander-in-chief determined to make a movement to the right, and by thus threatening Soult's rear, he hoped to induce him to abandon his position. Accordingly the allied army crossed the Nive at different points on the ninth of November. General Hope met with little opposition, and General Hill, who crossed by the ford of Cambo, was scarcely opposed. In danger of being intercepted by General Clinton's division, which had crossed at Ustariz, the enemy retired in great haste, and assembled in considerable numbers at Ville Franche, but they were driven from this post by the light infantry and two Portuguese regiments, under Colonels Douglas and Browne. General Hill

next day took up a position with his division, with his left on Ville Franche and his right on the Adour, in consequence of which he cut off the communication between Bayonne and St Jean Pied de Port. In this situation the French troops stationed at the latter place were forced to retire on St Palais.

Leaving a force to keep General Hill in check, Marshal Soult left his entrenched camp on the morning of the tenth, and making an impetuous attack on the light division of General Hope's wing, drove back his out-posts. Then establishing himself on a ridge between the corps of Baron Alten and Major-general Andrew Hay's fifth division, he turned upon the latter, and attacked it with a determined bravery which it was almost impossible to withstand; but after an arduous struggle the enemy were repulsed by Brigadier-general Robinson's brigade of the fifth division, and Brigadier-general Archibald Campbell's Portuguese brigade. The enemy, no way discouraged by these repulses, renewed the attack about three o'clock, but with the same want of success.

During the night, Soult made dispositions for attacking the light division at Arcangues; but Sir John Hope perceiving his intention, moved towards the threatened point. Anticipated in this movement, the experienced Marshal again changed his dispositions to the left; but General Hope, equally on the alert, met him also in that direction. With the exception of some partial skirmishing between the out-posts, no occurrence of any importance took place on the following day; but on the twelfth the enemy renewed the attack on the left, but without success.

Thus foiled in all his attempts, Soult resolved to change entirely his plan of operations, and accordingly, during the night of the twelfth, he drew his army through Bayonne, and on the morning of the thirteenth attempted to force his way between the centre and right of the British position, at the head of thirty thousand men. Advancing with great vigour and celerity, he might have succeeded, had not General Hill, with his usual promptitude of decision, ordered his troops on the flanks to support the centre. The enemy, after a violent struggle, were repulsed with great loss, and retired with such precipitation that they were out of reach before the arrival of the sixth division, which had been ordered up to support General Hill.

Whilst this contest was going on, General Byng's brigade, supported by the Portuguese brigade under General Buchan, carried an important height, from which the enemy made several attempts to dislodge them, but being unsuccessful at all points, they at length retired to their entrenchments, whither they were followed by General Hill, who took up a parallel position.

The inclemency of the weather, and a succession of heavy rains which had swelled the rivers and destroyed the roads, rendering farther movements impracticable for a time, Marshal Soult availed himself of the interruption thus given to the progress of the allied army to strengthen his position. The weather becoming favourable about the middle of

February, eighteen hundred and fourteen, Lord Wellington began a series of movements with the view of inducing Soult to withdraw from his strong position, or, should he decline, to cut off his communication with France, by marching the allied army into the heart of that country. By these movements the British general obtained the command of the Adour, which obliged Soult, who obtained his supplies down that river from the interior, to withdraw from Bayonne in the direction of Daxe. He left, however, a strong garrison in the place.

Leaving General Hope to blockade Bayonne, Lord Wellington made a general movement with the right and centre of the army on the twenty-fourth of February. Next day they marched forward to dislodge the enemy from a position they had taken up on the Gave de Pau at Orthés. Between the extreme points of this position ran a chain of heights receding in a line, bending inwards, the centre of which was so retired as to be protected by the guns of both wings. On his left, Soult was supported in this strong position by the town and the river; his right rested on a commanding height in rear of the village of St Bois; whilst the centre, accommodating itself to the incurvation of the heights, described a horizontal reversed segment of a circle protected by the strong position of both wings.

The arrangements for carrying this important post were as follow :— Marshal Beresford, with Generals Cole's and Walker's divisions, and Colonel Vivian's brigade of cavalry, was ordered to attack and endeavour to turn the right; the heights on the left and centre were to be attacked by Generals Picton and Clinton, with General Cotton's and Lord Edward Somerset's brigades of cavalry, supported by General Alten's light division in reserve in rear of the two columns; whilst General Hill was to cross the Gave two miles above Orthés, and attack the left flank and rear of the position. In pursuance of these dispositions, Marshal Beresford attacked, and, after an obstinate resistance, carried the village of St Bois. General Cole then advanced against the heights above the village, but the defile through which he attempted to pass was so narrow, that only two battalions could be brought forward in line to oppose the weight of the whole force on the heights, and he was therefore obliged to relinquish the advance in that direction. A new plan was instantly adopted by the reserve and the troops of the right, by making an attack upon the enemy's left, in the expectation of turning their flank. In a short time every point was carried, but the enemy retired in a very orderly manner, firing by echelons of divisions, each covering the other as they retreated. Observing General Hill, who had just crossed the river, advancing upon their left flank, on the road from Orthés to St Sever, the enemy became at once apprehensive that they would be intercepted, and, instead of continuing their masterly retreat, they ran off at full speed, followed by their pursuers. The latter continued the chase for nearly three miles at a full trot, and the French at length breaking their lines, threw away their arms, and fled in all directions. The pur-

suit was continued however as far as Sault de Navailles, on reaching which the remains even of an army were no longer to be seen. The loss of the enemy was estimated at eight thousand men in killed, wounded, and prisoners. The loss of the allies in killed and wounded amounted to about sixteen hundred. Of the 42d, Lieutenant John Innes was the only officer killed, besides one sergeant, and three rank and file. Major William Cowell, Captain James Walker, Lieutenants Duncan Stewart and James Brander, five sergeants, and eighty-five rank and file were wounded.

The French army, lately so formidable, was now broken and dispersed, and many of the soldiers, dispirited by their reverses, returned to their homes; others, for the first time, abandoned their standards, and went over to the allies. Soult, however, undismayed by these difficulties, collected the remains of that part of his army which still remained faithful, and exerted all his energies to arrest the progress of the victors, but his efforts were unavailing; and after sustaining a defeat at Ayre, where he attempted to cover the removal of considerable magazines, he retreated to Tarbes. All the western part of Gascony being thus left exposed to the operations of the allied army, Lord Wellington detached Marshal Beresford and Lord Dalhousie, with three divisions, to Bordeaux, which they entered amidst the acclamations of the inhabitants.

Having obtained reinforcements from Spain and England, Lord Wellington, after leaving four thousand men at Bordeaux under Lord Dalhousie, again put his army in motion. Soult attempted to make a stand at Vicq with two divisions, but he was driven from this position by General Picton with the third division, and forced to retire beyond Tarbes. With the apparent intention of disputing the farther advance of the allies, the Marshal concentrated his whole force at this point; but he was dislodged from this position by a series of combined movements. It was now discovered that the enemy were drawn up on two hills running parallel to those from which their advance had been driven, and it was farther ascertained that this commanding position could not be gained by an advance in front without a great sacrifice of men, reinforced as it had been by the troops driven from the heights in front. It was therefore determined to attack it on flank; but before the necessary arrangements could be completed night came on, and Soult taking advantage of the darkness, moved off towards Toulouse, whither he was followed next morning by the allies, who reached the banks of the Garonne on the twenty-seventh of March.

This river was much swollen by recent rains and the melting of the snow on the Pyrenees. There being only one bridge at Toulouse, and that being in possession of the enemy, it became necessary to procure pontoons to enable the army to pass. Whilst the necessary preparations were going on for this purpose, Marshal Soult made the most extraordinary exertions to put himself in a proper posture of defence. He was not even yet without hopes of success; and although it is generally be-



lieved that he was now aware of the abdication of Buonaparte, an event which, he must have known, would put an immediate end to the war, he was unwilling to let slip the only opportunity he now had of wiping off the disgrace of his recent defeats.

The city of Toulouse is defended by an ancient wall, flanked with towers. On three sides it is surrounded by the great canal of Languedoc and by the Garonne, and on the fourth side it is flanked by a range of hills close to the canal, over which pass all the roads on that side the town. On the summit of the nearest of these hills the French had erected a chain of five redoubts, between which and the defences of the town they formed entrenchments and lines of connexion. These defences consisted of extensive field-works, and of some of the ancient buildings in the suburbs well fortified. At the foot of the height, and along one half its length, ran the small river Ers, the bridges of which had all been destroyed; on the top of the height was an elevated and elongated plain in a state of cultivation, and towards the end next the town there stood a farm-house and offices. Some trenches had been cut around this house, and three redoubts raised on its front and left. Such was the field selected by Soult to redeem, if possible, by a last effort, his fallen reputation, and to vindicate the tarnished honour of the French arms.

Pontoons having been procured, part of the allied army crossed the Garonne on the fourth of April; but the melting of the snow on the Pyrenees, owing to a few days of hot weather, swelled the river so much, that it became necessary to remove the pontoons, and it was not till the eighth that they could be replaced. On that day the whole army crossed the river, except General Hill's division, which remained opposite the town in front of the great bridge, to keep the enemy in check on that side. From the insulated nature of the town, no mode of attack was left to Lord Wellington but to attempt the works in front.

Accordingly, on the tenth of April, he made the following dispositions: The Spaniards under Don Manuel Freyre were to attack the redoubts fronting the town; General Pieton and the light division were to keep the enemy in check on the great road to Paris, but not to attack; and Marshal Beresford, with General Clinton and the sixth division, was to attack the centre of the entrenchments, whilst General Cole with the fourth marched against the right. When formed in this order, the divisions marched in a parallel direction to the heights on their right, from which they were exposed to a smart cannonade till they came opposite to their respective points of attack, when they immediately changed their front to the right and marched up the hill. The lines and a redoubt on the right were attacked and carried by General Pack's brigade of the 42d, 79th, and 91st, supported by General Lambert's brigade of the 36th, 37th, and 61st regiments. These brigades having gained the summit, the enemy retreated to the redoubt at the farm-house.

Observing this attack, Don Manuel Freyre with great spirit marched



up with a Spanish division, but it was thrown into great confusion by a severe cannonade, which being observed by the enemy, they rushed out of their entrenchments and drove the Spaniards down the hill; but the light division advancing to their support, they again rallied on the plain at the bottom in front of General Picton's division. With the intention of crossing the canal, General Picton pushed forward the 45th regiment and part of his division, but, from the width and depth of the canal, it was found impracticable to cross it, and being exposed to a heavy fire of cannon and musketry, they were compelled to retire.

The repulse of the Spaniards had disarranged the plan of attack, and a general cessation ensued at all points till they were rallied and brought forward again,—a piece of service which was performed by Lord Wellington in person. Meanwhile Marshal Beresford's artillery, which he had left at Monthlanc, was brought up to cannonade the heights. The attack now recommenced. The Spaniards made several attempts, but were unable to succeed. General Pack's brigade advanced to attack the works at the farm-house and the two centre redoubts, and whilst marching forward several hundred yards over a ploughed field, which, from its breadth and smooth surface, gave a full range to the enemy's fire, he was exposed to the whole fire of the lines, redoubts, and entrenchments. The troops did not however return a shot, and advanced with a steadiness that surprised the enemy. Alluding to the 42d and 79th, a French officer exclaimed, "My God! how firm these sans culottes are!" On reaching the redoubt, they leaped into the trenches, and carried them with the bayonet. Two thirds of the lines which defended the heights, and three of the redoubts, were now in the possession of the allies.

Two of these redoubts on the left were occupied by the 42d,—that on the right by the 79th, and the 91st was stationed in rear of the farm-house. The outward redoubt on the left was on the edge of the declivity towards the plain at the bottom of the hill. Traversing the summit of the heights were three roads sunk deep into the earth by long use, and having very high banks on each side. One of these roads ran close to the outward redoubt on the left, and by some oversight had not been properly occupied, the men being stationed in the inner entrenchment. To regain, if possible, these positions, the enemy, under shelter of this kind of covered-way, marched up a column of between five and six thousand men, and with such secrecy, that the head of the column had nearly passed the unoccupied redoubt before they were observed. Having gained the proper point, they immediately rushed furiously forward in such numbers, as almost to overpower the 42d, who were compelled to retire to the farm-house; but being promptly supported by the 91st, they attacked the enemy and drove them down the hill, with great loss. The Highlanders also suffered very severely.\* De-

\* In a conversation between General Hill and Major-general Stewart (Garth), a few  
IV.

terminated to carry the redoubts, a fresh body of the enemy advanced up the hill and made a most desperate attack, and persevered with a gallantry which it required the utmost firmness of the British troops to resist. In this struggle the 42d occupied the outward redoubt, the 79th that in the centre, and the 91st the farm-yard.

After a furious contest, the enemy were forced to desist from the attempt. The whole of the French then retired, leaving the heights in full possession of the allies.

Finding the city, which was now within reach of the guns of the allies, quite untenable, Soult evacuated it the same evening, and was allowed to retire without molestation. Even had he been able to have withstood a siege, he must soon have surrendered for want of the provisions necessary for the support of a population of sixty thousand inhabitants; and of his own army, which was now reduced by the casualties of war and recent desertions to thirty thousand men. "Thus, as a wary and experienced fox, (to use a familiar illustration) who, after a long and intricate chase, and in spite of his numberless doublings and manœuvres, is at length earthed under some bank,—so the Field Marshal of France was now cooped up within the small circle of a city, the capital of the second province of France, into which an army which had conquered two kingdoms had been driven for shelter, after a series of retrograde movements and manœuvres from Seville to Toulouse. In the course of these operations, the army of Great Britain and her allies had liberated and given independence to two kingdoms, and had fought eight pitched battles against the bravest soldiers, and the ablest and most experienced generals of France, who had been foiled by the British general in their boasted tactics, and out-manœuvred, out-marched, out-flanked, and overturned. That army had been also successful in many arduous sieges and assaults, and had at length established themselves in Bordeaux and Toulouse, the two principal cities of the south of France. Such are a few of the glorious results of these campaigns. Quatre Bras

days after the battle, the former, alluding to the attempt of the enemy to take the redoubt, said to General Stewart, "I saw your old friends the Highlanders in a most perilous situation; and had I not known their firmness I should have trembled for the result. As it was, they could not have resisted the force brought against them if they had not been so instantaneously supported." Being asked by General Stewart what was the amount at which he calculated the strength of the enemy's column of attack, he replied, "Not less than 6000 men." In passing soon afterwards through Languedoc, Garth stopped to view a brigade of French infantry exercising. The French commanding officer rode up to him, and invited him, with great politeness, to accompany him through the ranks. Talking of the recent battles, the French general concluded his observations thus,—“Well, we are quite satisfied if the English army think we fought bravely, and did our duty well.” General Stewart mentioning the Highland corps, “Ah!” said the Frenchman, “these are brave soldiers. If they had good officers, I should not like to meet them unless I was well supported. I put them to the proof on that day.” Being asked in what manner; he answered “that he led the division which attempted to retake the redoubt;” and on a further question as to the strength of the column, he replied “More than 6000 men.” As General Hill was more than two miles from the field of action, the accuracy of his calculation is remarkable.

and Waterloo completed a series of victories, the more honourable, as they were gained over an enemy remarkable for transcendent military talents and genius.”\*

The loss of the 42d in the battle of Toulouse, was four officers, three sergeants, and forty-seven rank and file killed; and twenty-one officers, fourteen sergeants, one drummer, and two hundred and thirty-one rank and file wounded. The names of the officers killed were Captain John Swanson, Lieutenant William Gordon, Ensigns John Latta and Donald Maccrummen; the wounded were Lieutenant-colonel Robert Macara, Captains James Walker, John Henderson (who died of his wounds), and Alexander Mackenzie, Lieutenants Donald Mackenzie, Thomas Munro, Hugh Angus Fraser, James Robertson, R. A. Mackinnon, Roger Stewart, Robert Gordon, Charles Maclaren, Alexander Strange, Donald Farquharson (who died of his wounds), James Watson, William Urquhart, Ensigns Thomas Macniven, Colin Walker, James Geddes, John Malcolm, and Mungo Macpherson.

The allies entered Toulouse on the morning after the battle, and were received with enthusiasm by the inhabitants, who, doubtless, considered themselves extremely fortunate in being relieved from the presence of the French army, whose retention of the city a few hours longer would have exposed it to all the horrors of a bombardment. By a singular coincidence, official accounts reached Toulouse in the course of the day of the abdication of Buonaparte, and the restoration of Louis XVIII.; but it is said that these despatches had been kept back on the road.

In consequence of the cessation of hostilities, the British troops removed without delay to their appointed destinations, and the three Highland regiments were embarked for Ireland, where they remained till May, eighteen hundred and fifteen, when they were shipped for Flanders, on the return of Buonaparte from Elba.

The intelligence of Buonaparte's advance reached Brussels on the evening of the fifteenth of June, when orders were immediately issued by the duke of Wellington for the assembling of the troops. The 42d and 92d regiments were among the first to muster. The men had become great favourites in Brussels, and were on such terms of friendly intercourse with the inhabitants in whose houses they were quartered, that it was no uncommon thing to see a Highland soldier taking care of the children, and even keeping the shop of his host,—an instance of confidence perhaps unexampled.

The 42d, with other regiments, hastened to Quatre Bras early next morning, to take up a position, but before they were able to unite, the enemy advanced in great numbers from a variety of points, and attacked these regiments separately. The 42d was drawn up in a field of barley nearly breast-high. At some distance they observed a corps of cavalry, which they supposed, from their uniform, to be Prussians or Belgians.

\* Stewart.

They were in fact a body of French lancers, but the mistake was not discovered in time to receive the squadrons of the enemy in proper formation. The Highlanders endeavoured to throw themselves into a kind of square, which movement being observed by the enemy, they galloped up and charged the Highlanders with great impetuosity before they had nearly completed their formation. The enemy were, however, repulsed, and forced back at every point. The regiment now formed itself into a compact square, and in that situation gallantly withstood the repeated attacks of the lancers, who were unable to make any impression. At the end of every charge, the enemy, turning their backs, scampered off to a short distance, amid the jeers and laughter of the Highlanders, who kept firing at them both on their approach and retreat. Finding all their attempts against the Highland phalanx fruitless, the enemy desisted from the attack.

The principal loss sustained by the Highlanders was at the first onset; yet it was by no means so severe as might have been expected. Lieutenant-colonel Sir Robert Macara, Lieutenant Robert Gordon and Ensign William Gerrard, two sergeants, and forty rank and file were killed. Including officers, there were two hundred and forty-three wounded. The names of the officers were Lieutenant-colonel Dick, Captains A. Menzies, George Davidson (who died of his wounds), Donald Macdonald, Donald Mackintosh, and Robert Boyle, Lieutenants Donald Chisholm, Duncan Stewart, Donald Mackenzie, Hugh Angus Fraser, John Malcolm, and A. Dunbar, Ensigns William Fraser and A. L. Fraser, and Adjutant James Young.

In the battle of Waterloo, in which the regiment was partially engaged, the 42d had only five men killed and forty-five wounded. In these last are included the following officers, viz.: Captain Mungo Macpherson, Lieutenants John Orr, George Gunn Munro, Hugh Angus Fraser, and James Brander, and Quarter-master Donald Mackintosh.

With the battle of Waterloo, the last of a long series of engagements, the present history of the 42d regiment, embracing a period of seventy-five years, ends. It has been observed, as a remarkable circumstance in the history of the Royal Highlanders, that on every occasion when they fired a shot at an enemy, (except at Ticonderoga, where success was almost impossible,) they were successful to such an extent at least, that whatever the general issue of the battle might be, that part of the enemy opposed to them never stood their ground, unless the Highlanders were by insurmountable obstacles prevented from closing upon them. Fontenoy even does not form an exception, for although the allies were defeated, the Highlanders carried the points assigned them, and then, as at Ticonderoga, they were the last to leave the field.\*

After the surrender of Paris the regiment returned to England, whence they marched for Scotland in the spring of eighteen hundred and six-

teen. On their arrival in the vicinity of Edinburgh on the eighteenth of March, an immense number of the inhabitants went out several miles to welcome the heroes to the capital of their native land; and on entering the suburb of the Canongate the crowd was so dense, and the pressure of the moving mass so great, that the pipers and band were obliged to put up their instruments for want of room to play, and of the soldiers little was seen except their bonnets and feathers. In the spacious High-street of the city the crowd was equally great, and the windows of that majestic and continued double range of lofty houses, extending from the Watergate to the Castle-hill, were filled with spectators, chiefly ladies. In marching into the castle, Lieutenant-colonel Robert Dick, who had succeeded Lieutenant-colonel Macara in the command, was accompanied at the head of the regiment by Major-general Hope, commander of the forces, and Colonel (afterwards major-general) David Stewart of Garth. In consequence of the density of the crowd, the march towards the castle was so much impeded, that the soldiers took an hour and a quarter to walk from the palace of Holyrood to the castle gate, where they experienced the utmost difficulty to disengage themselves from the crowd. All the city bells were rung on the occasion, and during their march through the city the spectators rent the air with their acclamations. Nor did this manifestation of public feeling towards this meritorious body of men stop here. A public dinner was given to them in the Assembly Rooms, George-street, which was superintended by Sir Walter Scott and other eminent citizens; and each soldier was presented with a ticket of admission to the theatre for one night.

Nothing now remains but to give a summary of the number of men that entered the regiment, from its formation down to the battle of Waterloo, and the number of those who were killed, wounded, died of sickness, or were discharged during that period.

The grand total of men embodied in the Black Watch and 42d or Royal Highland regiment, from its origin at Tay Bridge in April 1740, to 24th June, 1815, exclusive of the second battalion of 1780*	
and that of 1803,† was	- 8792

Of these there were killed, during that period, exclusive of thirty-five officers,	816
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Wounded during the same period, exclusive of one hundred and thirty-three officers,	2413
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Died by sickness, wounds, and various casualties, including those who were discharged and those who volunteered into other regiments, when the 42d left America in 1767, up to 25th June, 1793,	2275
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\* There was no exchange of men and officers between this and the first battalion.

† The number of men who died in this battalion from December, 1803, to 24th October, 1814, was 322. The number discharged and transferred to the first battalion and to other regiments, from 1803 till the reduction in 1814, was 965 men.

Died by sickness, wounds, and various casualties, from 25th	
June, 1793, to 24th June, 1815, - - - - -	1135*
Discharged during same period, - - - - -	1485
Unaccounted for during same period, having been left sick in	
an enemy's country, prisoners, &c. - - - - -	138
	<hr/> 8262

Number remaining in the first battalion on 24th June, 1815, 530

When it is considered that out of seventy-five years' service, forty-five were spent in active warfare, the trifling loss of the regiment by the enemy will appear extraordinary; and the smallness of that loss can only be accounted for by the determined bravery and firmness of the men, it being now the opinion of military men that troops, who act vigorously, suffer less than those who are slow and cautious in their operations.

\* The deaths by sickness in the second battalion are not included. This battalion sustained very little loss in war.



## LOUDON'S HIGHLANDERS.—1745.

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NEXT in order of date, this regiment falls to be noticed.

The bravery displayed by Lord John Murray's Highlanders at Fontenoy opened the eyes of government to the importance of securing the military services of the clans. It was, therefore, determined to repair, in part, the loss sustained in that well-fought action, by raising a second regiment in the Highlands, and authority to that effect was granted to the Earl of Loudon. By the influence of the noblemen, chiefs, and gentlemen of the country, whose sons and connexions were to be appointed officers, a body of twelve hundred and fifty men was raised, of whom seven hundred and fifty assembled at Inverness, and the remainder at Perth. The whole were formed into a battalion of twelve companies, under the following officers, their commissions being dated the eighth of June, seventeen hundred and forty-five.

*Colonel.*—John Campbell, earl of Loudon, who died in 1782, a general in the army.

*Lieutenant-colonel.*—John Campbell, (late duke of Argyle,) who died a field-marshal in 1806.

### *Captains.*

John Murray, (late duke of Athole,) son of Lord George Murray.

Alexander Livingston Campbell, son of Ardkinglass.

John Macleod, younger of Macleod.

Henry Munro, son of Colonel Sir Robert Munro of Fowlis.

Lord Charles Gordon, brother of the duke of Gordon.

John Stewart, son of the earl of Moray.

Alexander Mackay, son of Lord Reay.

Ewen Macpherson of Clunie.

John Sutherland of Forse.

Colin Campbell of Ballimore, killed at Culloden.

Archibald Macnab, who died a lieutenant-general in 1791, son of the laird of Macnab.

### *Lieutenants.*

Colin Campbell of Kilberrie.

Alexander Maclean.

John Campbell of Strachur, who died in 1806, a general in the army, and colonel of the 57th regiment.

Duncan Robertson of Drumachuine, afterwards of Strowan.

Patrick Campbell, son of Achallader.

Donald Macdonald.

James Macpherson of Killihuntly

John Robertson, or Reid of Straloch, who died in 1806, at the age of eighty-five, a general in the army, and colonel of the 88th or Connaught Rangers.\*

Patrick Grant, younger of Rothiemurchus.

John Campbell of Ardsloginish.

Alexander Campbell, brother to Barcaldine.

Donald Macdonell of Lochgarry.

Colin Campbell of Glenure.

### *Ensigns.*

James Stewart of Urrard.

John Martin of Inch.

George Munro of Novar.

Malcolm Ross, younger of Pitcalnie.

Hugh Mackay.

James Fraser.

David Spalding of Ashintully.

Archibald Campbell.

Donald Macneil.

Alexander MacLagan, son of the minister of Little Dunkeld.

Robert Bisset of Glenelbert, afterwards commissary-general of Great Britain.

John Grant, younger of Dalraclunie.

Before the regiment was disciplined, the rebellion broke out, and so rapid were the movements of the rebels, that the communication between the two divisions, at Perth and Inverness, was cut off. They were therefore obliged to act separately. The formation of the regiment at the time was considered a fortunate circumstance, as many of the men would certainly have joined in the insurrection; and indeed several of the officers and men went over to the rebels. Four companies were employed in the central and southern Highlands, whilst the rest were occupied in the northern Highlands, under Lord Loudon. Three companies under the Hon. Captains Stewart and Mackay, and Captain Munro of Fowlis, were, with all their officers, taken prisoners at the battle of Gladsmuir. Three other companies were also at the battle of Culloden, where Captain Campbell and six men were killed, and two soldiers wounded.

On the thirtieth of May, seventeen hundred and forty-seven, the regiment embarked at Barntisland for Flanders, but it did not join the duke of Cumberland's army till after the battle of Lafeldt, on the second of July. Though disappointed of the opportunity which this battle would

\* General Reid was the son of Alexander Robertson of Straloch, whose forefathers, for more than three centuries, were always called Barons Rua, Roy, or Red, from the first of the family having red hair. The signature of the representative of the family, however, was always Robertson, all the younger children bearing that name. The general, though the heir of the family, however, did not observe this rule, but kept the name and signature, of Red, which he changed in the signature to Reid. He had a good taste for music, and was one of the best flute-players of the age. When major of the 12d, he set the words of "The Garb of Old Gaul," written by Captain, afterwards Sir Charles Es-king, to music,—a composition which has ever since been the regimental march. He left £52,000 in the 3 per cents., subject to the life-rent of his daughter, for the purpose of establishing a professorship of music in the university of Edinburgh, where he was educated,—the salary not to be less than £200 per annum. By his will, he appointed an annual concert to be held in the hall of the professor of music, on the anniversary of his birth-day, thirteenth January, to commence with several pieces of his own composition, among the first of which is that of the "The Garb of Old Gaul."

have given them of distinguishing themselves, another soon offered for the display of their gallantry. Marshal Saxe having determined to attack the strong fortress of Bergen-op-Zoom, with an army of twenty-five thousand men under General Count Lowendahl, all the disposable forces in Brabant, including Loudon's Highlanders, were sent to defend the lines, which were strongly fortified. To relieve the garrison, consisting of six battalions, and to preserve a communication with the country, eighteen battalions occupied the lines. The fortress, which was considered impregnable, was defended by two hundred and fifty pieces of cannon. The siege was carried on unremittingly from the fifteenth of July till the seventeenth of September, during which interval many sorties were made. In the Hague Gazette, an account is given of one of these, which took place on the twenty-fifth of July, in which it is stated "that the Highlanders, who were posted in Fort Rouro, which covers the lines of Bergen-op-Zoom, made a sally, sword in hand, in which they were so successful as to destroy the enemy's grand battery, and to kill so many of their men, that Count Lowendahl beat a parley, in order to bury the dead. To this it was answered, that had he attacked the place agreeably to the rules of war, his demand would certainly have been granted; but as he had begun the siege, like an incendiary, by setting fire to the city with red-hot balls, a resolution had been taken neither to ask or grant any suspension of arms."

Having made breaches in a ravelin and two bastions, the besiegers made an unexpected assault on the night of the sixteenth of September, and throwing themselves into the fosse, mounted the breaches, forced open a sally port, and, entering the place, ranged themselves along the ramparts, almost before the garrison had assembled. Cronstrun, the old governor, and many of his officers, were asleep, and so sudden and unexpected was the attack, that several of them flew to ranks in their shirts. Though the possession of the ramparts sealed the fate of the town, the Scottish troops were not disposed to surrender it without a struggle. The French were opposed by two regiments of the Scotch brigade, in the pay of the States-general, who, by their firmness, checked the progress of the enemy, and enabled the governor and garrison to recover from their surprise. The Scotch assembled in the market-place, and attacked the French with such vigour that they drove them from street to street, till, fresh reinforcements pouring in, they were compelled to retreat in their turn,—disputing every inch as they retired, and fighting till two-thirds of their number fell on the spot, killed or severely wounded,—when the remains brought off the old governor, and joined the troops in the lines.

The troops in the lines, most unaccountably, retreated immediately, and the enemy thus became masters of the whole navigation of the Scheldt. "Two battalions," says an account of the assault published in the Hague Gazette, "of the Scotch brigade have, as usual, done honour to their country,—which is all we have to comfort us for the

loss of such brave men, who, from 1450, are now reduced to 330 men,—and those have valiantly brought their colours with them, which the grenadiers twice recovered from the midst of the French at the point of the bayonet. The Swiss have also suffered, while others took a more *speedy way to escape danger*.” In a history of this memorable siege the brave conduct of the Scotch is also thus noticed: “It appears that more than 300 of the Scotch brigade fought their way through the enemy, and that they have had 19 officers killed and 18 wounded. Lieutenants Francis and Allan Maclean of the brigade were taken prisoners, and carried before General Lowendahl, who thus addressed them: ‘Gentlemen, consider yourselves on parole. If all had conducted themselves as you and your brave corps have done, I should not now be master of Bergen-op-Zoom.’ ”\*

The loss of a fortress hitherto deemed impregnable was deeply felt by the allies. The eyes of all Europe had been fixed upon this important siege, and when the place fell strong suspicions were entertained of treachery in the garrison. Every thing had been done by the people of the United Provinces to enable the soldiers to hold out: they were allowed additional provisions of the best quality, and cordials were furnished for the sick and dying. Large sums of money were collected to be presented to the soldiers, if they made a brave defence; and £17,000 were collected in one day in Amsterdam, to be applied in the same way, if the soldiers compelled the enemy to raise the siege. Every soldier who carried away a gabion from the enemy was paid a crown, and such was the activity of the Scotch, that some of them gained ten crowns a-day in this kind of service. Those who ventured to take the burning fuse out of the bombs of the enemy, (and there were several who did so) received ten or twelve ducats. In this remarkable siege the French sustained an enormous loss, exceeding twenty-two thousand men; that of the garrison did not exceed four thousand.†

\* Lieutenant Allan Maclean was son of Maclean of Torloisk. He left the Dutch and entered the British service. He was a captain in Montgomery’s Highlanders in 1757; raised the 114th Highland regiment in 1759; and, in 1775, raised a battalion of the 84th, a Highland Emigrant regiment; and, by his unwearied zeal and abilities, was the principal cause of the defeat of the Americans at the attack on Quebec in 1775-6. Lieutenant Francis Maclean also entered the British service, and rose to the rank of Major-general. In the year 1777 he was appointed colonel of the 82d regiment, and, in 1779, commanded an expedition against Penobscot in Nova Scotia, in which he was completely successful.”—*Stewart’s Sketches*.

† The following anecdote of faithful attachment is told by Mrs Grant, in her ‘Superstitions of the Highlanders.’ Captain Fraser of Culduthel, an officer of the Black Watch, was a volunteer at this celebrated siege, as was likewise his colonel, Lord John Murray. Captain Fraser was accompanied by his servant, who was also his foster-brother. A party from the lines was ordered to attack and destroy a battery raised by the enemy. Captain Fraser accompanied this party, directing his servant to remain in the garrison. “The night was pitch dark, and the party had such difficulty in proceeding that they were forced to halt for a short time. As they moved forward Captain Fraser felt his path impeded, and putting down his hand to discover the cause, he caught hold of a plaid, and seized the owner, who seemed to grovel on the ground. He held the caitiff with one hand, and drew his dirk with the other, when he heard the imploring

After the loss of Bergen-op-Zoom, Loudon's Highlanders joined the duke of Cumberland's army, and at the peace of seventeen hundred and forty-eight returned to Scotland, and was reduced at Perth in June of the same year.

## MONTGOMERY'S HIGHLANDERS,

OR

### SEVENTY-SEVENTH REGIMENT.—1757.

ALLUDING to the formation of several Highland regiments during this and the following years, Lord Chatham thus expresses himself, in his celebrated speech on the differences with America in seventeen hundred and sixty-six: "I sought for merit wherever it was to be found; it is my boast that I was the first minister who looked for it and found it in the mountains of the North. I called it forth, and drew into your service a hardy and intrepid race of men, who, when left by your jealousy, became a prey to the artifice of your enemies, and had gone nigh to have overturned the state in the war before the last. These men, in the last war, were brought to combat on your side; they served with fidelity, and they fought with valour, and conquered for you in every part of the world." The only way by which the Highlanders could be gained over was by adopting a liberal course of policy, the leading features of which should embrace the employment of the chiefs, or their connexions, in the military service of the government. It was reserved to the sagacity of Chatham to trace the cause of the disaffection of the Highlanders to its source, and, by suggesting a remedy, to give to their military virtue a safe direction.

Acting upon the liberal plan he had devised, Lord Chatham, (then Mr Pitt,) in the year seventeen hundred and fifty-seven, recommended to his Majesty George II. to employ the Highlanders in his service, as

voice of his foster-brother. 'What the devil brought you here?' 'Just love of you and care of your person.' 'Why so, when your love can do me no good; and why encumber yourself with a plaid?' 'Alas! how could I ever see my mother had you been killed or wounded, and I not been there to carry you to the surgeon, or to Christian burial? and how could I do either without any plaid to wrap you in?' Upon inquiry it was found that the poor man had crawled out on his knees and hands between the sentinels, then followed the party to some distance, till he thought they were approaching the place of assault, and then again crept in the same manner on the ground, beside his master, that he might be near him unobserved."

Captain Fraser was unfortunately killed a few days thereafter, by a random shot, while looking over the ramparts.

the best means of attaching them to his person. The king approved of the plan of the minister, and letters of service were immediately issued for raising several Highland regiments. This call to arms was responded to by the clans, and "battalions on battalions," to borrow the words of an anonymous author, "were raised in the remotest part of the Highlands, among those who a few years before were devoted to, and too long had followed the fate of the race of Stuart. Frasers, Macdonalds, Camerons, Macleans, Macphersons, and others of disaffected names and clans, were enrolled; their chiefs or connexions obtained commissions; the lower class, always ready to follow, with eagerness endeavoured who should be first listed."

This regiment was called Montgomery's Highlanders, from the name of its colonel, the Hon. Archibald Montgomerie, son of the earl of Eglintoun, to whom, when major, letters of service were issued for recruiting it. Being popular among the Highlanders, Major Montgomerie soon raised the requisite body of men, who were formed into a regiment of thirteen companies of one hundred and five rank and file each; making in all fourteen hundred and sixty effective men, including sixty-five sergeants, and thirty pipers and drummers.

The colonel's commission was dated the fourth of January, seventeen hundred and fifty-seven. The commissions of the other officers were dated each a day later than his senior in the same rank.

*Lieutenant-colonel commanding.*

The Hon. Archibald Montgomerie, afterwards earl of Eglintoun, died a general in the army, and colonel of the Scots Greys, in 1796.

*Majors.*

James Grant of Ballindalloch, died a general in the army in 1806.

Alexander Campbell.

*Captains.*

John Sinclair.

Hugh Mackenzie.

John Gordon.

Alexander Mackenzie, killed at St John's, 1761.

William Macdonald, killed at Fort du Quèsne, 1759.

George Munro, do. do.

Robert Mackenzie.

Allan Maclean, from the Dutch brigade, colonel of the 84th Highland Emigrants; died a Major-general, 1784.

James Robertson.

Allan Cameron.

Captain-lieutenant, Alexander Mackintosh.

*Lieutenants.*

Charles Farquharson.

Donald Macdonald.

Alexander Mackenzie, killed at Fort du Quèsne, 1759.

William Mackenzie, killed at Fort du Quèsne.

Nichol Sutherland, died Lieutenant-colonel of the 47th regiment, 1780.

Robert Mackenzie, do.

Henry Munro.



Archibald Robertson.  
 Duncan Bayne.  
 James Duff.  
 Colin Campbell, killed at Fort du  
 Quèsne, 1759.  
 James Grant.  
 Alexander Macdonald.  
 Joseph Grant.  
 Robert Grant.  
 Cosmo Martin.  
 John Macnab.  
 Hugh Gordon, killed in Martinique,  
 1762.

Alexander Macdonald, killed at Fort  
 du Quèsne.  
 Donald Campbell.  
 Hugh Montgomerie, late earl of Eglin-  
 toun.  
 James Maclean, killed in the West  
 Indies, 1761.  
 Alexander Campbell.  
 John Campbell of Melford.  
 James Macpherson.  
 Archibald Macvicar, killed at the Ha-  
 vannah, 1762.

#### *Ensigns.*

Alexander Grant.  
 William Haggart.  
 Lewis Houston.  
 Ronald Mackinnon.  
 George Munro.  
 Alexander Mackenzie.  
 John Maclachlane.

William Maclean  
 James Grant.  
 John Macdonald.  
 Archibald Crawford.  
 James Bain.  
 Allan Stewart.

*Chaplain.*—Henry Munro.

*Quarter-master.*—Alex. Montgomerie.

*Adjutant.*—Donald Stewart.

*Surgeon.*—Allan Stewart.

The regiment embarked at Greenock for Halifax, and on the commencement of hostilities in seventeen hundred and fifty-eight was attached to the corps under Brigadier-general Forbes, in the expedition against Fort du Quèsne, one of the three great enterprises undertaken that year against the French possessions in North America. Although the point of attack was not so formidable, nor the number of the enemy so great, as in the cases of Ticonderoga and Crown Point; yet the great extent of country which the troops had to traverse, covered with woods, morasses, and mountains, made the expedition as difficult as the other two. The army of General Forbes was six thousand two hundred and thirty-eight men strong

The brigadier reached Raystown, about ninety miles from the Fort, in September. Having sent Colonel Bouquet forward to Loyal Henning, forty miles nearer, with two thousand men, this officer rashly despatched Major Grant of Montgomery's with four hundred Highlanders, and five hundred Provincials, to reconnoitre. When near the garrison Major Grant imprudently advanced with pipes playing and drums beating, as if entering a friendly town. The enemy instantly marched out, and a warm contest took place. Major Grant ordered his men to throw off their coats and advance sword in hand. The enemy fled on the first charge and spread themselves among the woods; but being afterwards joined by a body of Indians, they rallied and surrounded the detachment on all sides. Protected by a thick foliage, they opened a destructive fire upon the British. Major Grant then endeavoured to

force his way into the wood, but was taken in the attempt: on seeing which his troops dispersed. Only one hundred and fifty of the Highlanders returned to Loyal Henning.

In this unfortunate affair two hundred and thirty-one soldiers of the regiment were killed and wounded. The names of the officers killed on this occasion have been already mentioned; the following were wounded: viz. Captain Hugh Mackenzie, Lieutenants Alexander Macdonald, junior, Archibald Robertson, Henry Monro, and Ensigns John Macdonald and Alexander Grant. The enemy did not venture to oppose the main body, but retired from Fort du Quèsne on its approach, leaving their ammunition, stores, and provisions untouched. General Forbes took possession of the Fort on the twenty-fourth of November, who, in honour of Mr Pitt, gave it the name of Pittsburgh.

The regiment passed the winter of seventeen hundred and fifty-eight in Pittsburgh, and in May following they joined part of the army under General Amherst in his proceedings at Ticonderoga, Crown Point, and the Lakes,—a detail of which has been given in the history of the service of the 42d regiment.

In consequence of the renewed cruelties committed by the Cherokees, in the spring of seventeen hundred and sixty, the commander-in-chief detached Colonel Montgomery with seven hundred Highlanders of his own regiment, four hundred of the Royals, and a body of provincials, to chastise these savages. The colonel arrived in the neighbourhood of the Indian town Little Keowee, in the middle of June, having, on his route, detached the light companies of the Royals and Highlanders to destroy the place. This service was performed with the loss of a few men killed, and two officers of the Royals wounded. Finding, on reaching Estatoe, that the enemy had fled, Colonel Montgomery retired to Fort Prince George. The Cherokees still proving refractory he paid a second visit to the middle settlement, where he met with some resistance. He had two officers and twenty men killed, and twenty-six officers and sixty-eight men wounded.\* Of these, the Highlanders had one ser-

\* "Several soldiers of this and other regiments fell into the hands of the Indians, being taken in an ambush. Allan Macpherson, one of these soldiers, witnessing the miserable fate of several of his fellow-prisoners, who had been tortured to death by the Indians, and seeing them preparing to commence some operations upon himself, made signs that he had something to communicate. An interpreter was brought. Macpherson told them, that, provided his life was spared for a few minutes, he would communicate the secret of an extraordinary medicine, which, if applied to the skin, would cause it to resist the strongest blow of a tomahawk, or sword; and that, if they would allow him to go to the woods with a guard, to collect the proper plants for this medicine, he would prepare it, and allow the experiment to be tried on his own neck by the strongest and most expert warrior amongst them. This story easily gained upon the superstitious credulity of the Indians, and the request of the Highlander was instantly complied with. Being sent into the woods, he soon returned with such plants as he chose to pick up. Having boiled the herbs, he rubbed his neck with their juice, and laying his head upon a log of wood, desired the strongest man amongst them to strike at his neck with his tomahawk, when he would find he could not make the smallest impression. An Indian levelling a blow with all his might cut with such force, that the head flew off at the distance of several yards. The

geant and six privates killed, and Captain Sutherland, Lieutenants Macmaster and Mackinnon, and Assistant-surgeon Monro, and one sergeant, one piper, and twenty-four rank and file wounded. The detachment took Fort Loudon,—a small fort on the confines of Virginia,—which was defended by two hundred men.

The next service in which Montgomery's Highlanders were employed was in an expedition against Dominique, consisting of a small land force, which included six companies of Montgomery's Highlanders, and four ships of war, under Colonel Lord Rollo and Commodore Sir James Douglas. The transports from New York were scattered in a gale of wind, when a small transport, with a company of the Highlanders on board, being attacked by a French privateer, was beat off by the Highlanders, with the loss of Lieutenant Maclean and six men killed, and Captain Robertson and eleven men wounded. The expedition arrived off Dominique on the sixth of June, seventeen hundred and sixty-one. The troops immediately landed, and marched with little opposition to the town of Roseau. Lord Rollo without delay attacked the entrenchments, and, though the enemy kept up a galling fire, they were driven, in succession, from all their works, by the grenadiers, light infantry, and Highlanders. This service was executed with such vigour and rapidity that few of the British suffered. The governor and his staff being made prisoners, surrendered the island without further opposition.

In the following year Montgomery's Highlanders joined the expeditions against Martinique and the Havannah, of which some account will be found in the narrative of the service of the 42d regiment. In the enterprise against Martinique, Lieutenant Hugh Gordon and four rank and file were killed, and Captain Alexander Mackenzie, one sergeant, and twenty-six rank and file, were wounded. Montgomery's Highlanders suffered still less in the conquest of the Havannah, Lieutenant Macvicar and two privates only having been killed, and six privates wounded. Lieutenants Grant and Macnab and six privates died of the fever. After this last enterprise Montgomery's Highlanders returned to New York, where they landed in the end of October.

Before the return of the six companies to New York, the two companies that had been sent against the Indians in the autumn of seventeen hundred and sixty-one, had embarked with a small force, under Colonel Amherst, destined to retake St John's, Newfoundland, which was occupied by a French force. The British force, which consisted of the flank companies of the Royals, a detachment of the 45th, two companies of Fraser's and Montgomery's Highlanders, and a small party of Provincials, landed on the twelfth of September seven miles to the northward

Indians were fixed in amazement at their own credulity, and the address with which the prisoner had escaped the lingering death prepared for him; but, instead of being enraged at this escape of their victim, they were so pleased with his ingenuity, that they refrained from inflicting farther cruelties on the remaining prisoners."—*Stewart's Sketches.*

of St John's. A mortar battery having been completed on the seventeenth and ready to open on the garrison, the French commander surrendered by capitulation to an inferior force. Of Montgomery's Highlanders, Captain Mackenzie and four privates were killed, and two privates wounded.

After this service the two companies joined the regiment at New York, where they passed the ensuing winter. In the summer of seventeen hundred and sixty-three a detachment accompanied the expedition sent to the relief of Fort Pitt under Colonel Bouquet, the details of which have been already given in the account of the 42d regiment. In this enterprise one drummer and five privates of Montgomery's Highlanders were killed, and Lieutenant Donald Campbell, and Volunteer John Peebles, three sergeants, and seven privates, were wounded.

After the termination of hostilities an offer was made to the officers and men either to settle in America or return to their own country. Those who remained obtained a grant of land in proportion to their rank. On the breaking out of the American war a number of these, as well as officers and men of the 78th regiment, joined the royal standard in seventeen hundred and seventy-five, and formed a corps along with the Highland Emigrants in the 84th regiment.

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## FRASER'S HIGHLANDERS,

OR

SEVENTY-EIGHTH AND SEVENTY-FIRST REGIMENTS.

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### *I.—78th Regiment, raised in 1757.*

FOLLOWING up the liberal policy which Lord Chatham (then Mr Pitt) had resolved to pursue in relation to the Highlanders, he prevailed upon his Majesty George II. to appoint the Hon. Simon Fraser, son of the unfortunate Lord Lovat, and who had himself, when a youth, been forced into the rebellion by his father, Lieutenant-colonel Commandant of a regiment to be raised among his own kinsmen and clan. Though not possessed of an inch of land, yet, such was the influence of clanship, that young Lovat in a few weeks raised a corps of eight hundred men, to which were added upwards of six hundred more by the gentlemen of the country and those who had obtained commissions. The battalion was, in point of the number of companies and men, precisely the same as Montgomery's Highlanders.

The following is a list of the officers whose commissions were dated the fifth of January, seventeen hundred and fifty-seven :—

*Lieutenant-colonel* commandant.

The Hon. Simon Fraser, died a Lieutenant-general in 1782.

*Majors.*

James Clephane.

John Campbell of Dunoon, afterwards Lieutenant-colonel, commandant of the Campbell Highlanders in Germany.

*Captains.*

John Macpherson, brother of Clunie.

John Campbell of Ballimore.

Simon Fraser of Inverallochy, killed on the heights of Abraham, 1759.

Donald Macdonald, brother to Clanranald, killed at Quebec in 1760.

John Macdonell of Lochgarry, afterwards colonel of the 76th, or Macdonald's regiment, died in 1789 colonel.

Alexander Cameron of Dungallon.

Thomas Ross of Culrossie, killed on the heights of Abraham, 1759.

Thomas Fraser of Strui.

Alexander Fraser of Culduthel.

Sir Henry Seton of Abercorn and Culbeg.

James Fraser of Belladrum.

*Captain-lieutenant*—Simon Fraser, died Lieutenant-general in 1812

*Lieutenants.*

Alexander Macleod.

Hugh Cameron.

Ronald Macdonell, son of Keppoch.

Charles Macdonell from Glengary, killed at St John's.

Roderick Macneill of Barra, killed on the heights of Abraham, 1759.

William Macdonell.

Archibald Campbell, son of Glenlyon.

John Fraser of Balnain.

Hector Macdonald, brother to Boisdale, killed 1759.

Allan Stewart, son of Innernaheil.

John Fraser.

Alexander Macdonald, son of Barisdale, killed on the heights of Abraham, 1759.

Alexander Fraser, killed at Louisbourg.

Alexander Campbell of Aross.

John Douglass.

John Nairn.

Arthur Rose of the family of Kilravock.

Alexander Fraser.

John Macdonell of Leeks, died in Berwick, 1818

Cosmo Gordon, killed at Quebec, 1760.

David Baillie, killed at Louisbourg.

Charles Stewart, son of Colonel John Roy Stewart.

Ewen Cameron, of the family of Glennevis.

Allan Cameron.

John Cuthbert, killed at Louisbourg.

Simon Fraser.

Archibald Macallister, of the family of Loup.

James Murray, killed at Louisbourg.

Alexander Fraser.

Donald Cameron, son of Fassavern, died lieutenant on half-pay, 1817.

*Ensigns.*

John Chisholm.

Simon Fraser

Malcolm Fraser, afterwards captain  
84th regiment.

Hugh Fraser, afterwards captain 84th,  
or Highland Emigrants.

Robert Menzies.

*Chaplain.*—Robert Macpherson.

*Adjutant.*—Hugh Fraser.

John Fraser of Errogic.

James Mackenzie.

Donald Macneil.

Henry Munro.

Alexander Gregorson, Ardtornish.

James Henderson.

John Campbell.

*Quarter-master.*—John Fraser.

*Surgeon.*—John Maclean.

The uniform of the regiment “was the full Highland dress with musket and broad-sword, to which many of the soldiers added the dirk at their own expense, and a purse of badger’s or otter’s skin. The bonnet was raised or cocked on one side, with a slight bend inclining down to the right ear, over which were suspended two or more black feathers. Eagle’s or hawk’s feathers were usually worn by the gentlemen, in the Highlands, while the bonnets of the common people were ornamented with a bunch of the distinguishing mark of the clan or district. The ostrich feather in the bonnets of the soldiers was a modern addition of that period, as the present load of plumage on the bonnet is a still more recent introduction, forming, however, in hot climates, an excellent defence against a vertical sun.”\*

The regiment embarked in company with Montgomery’s Highlanders at Greenock, and landed at Halifax in June, seventeen hundred and fifty-seven. They were intended to be employed in an expedition against Louisbourg, which, however, after the necessary preparations, was abandoned. About this time it was proposed to change the uniform of the regiment, as the Highland garb was judged unfit for the severe winters and the hot summers of North America; but the officers and soldiers having set themselves in opposition to the plan, and being warmly supported by Colonel Fraser, who represented to the commander-in-chief the bad consequences that might follow if it were persisted in, the plan was relinquished. “Thanks to our gracious chief,” said a veteran of the regiment, “we were allowed to wear the garb of our fathers, and, in the course of six winters, showed the doctors that they did not understand our constitution; for, in the coldest winters, our men were more healthy than those regiments who wore breeches and warm clothing.”

Amongst other enterprises projected for the campaign of seventeen hundred and fifty-eight, the design of attacking Louisbourg was renewed. Accordingly, on the twenty-eighth of May, a formidable armament sailed from Halifax, under the command of Admiral Bos-



cawen and Major-general Amherst, and Brigadier-generals Wolfe, Laurence, Monckton, and Whitmore. This armament, consisting of twenty-five sail of the line, eighteen frigates, and a number of bombs and fire-ships, with thirteen thousand troops, including the 78th Highlanders, anchored, on the second of June, in Gabarus Bay, seven miles from Louisbourg. In consequence of a heavy surf no boat could approach the shore, and it was not till the eighth of June that a landing could be effected. The garrison of Louisbourg consisted of two thousand five hundred regulars, six hundred militia, and four hundred Canadians and Indians. For more than seven miles along the beach a chain of posts had been established by the enemy, with entrenchments and batteries; and, to protect the harbour, there were six ships of the line and five frigates placed at its mouth, of which frigates three were sunk.

The disposition being made for landing, a detachment of several sloops, under convoy, passed the mouth of the harbour towards Lorembec, in order to draw the enemy's attention that way, whilst the landing should really be on the other side of the town. On the eighth of June, the troops being assembled in the boats before day-break in three divisions, several sloops and frigates, that were stationed along shore in the bay of Gabarus, began to scour the beach with their shot. The division on the left, which was destined for the real attack, consisted of the grenadiers and light infantry of the army, and Fraser's Highlanders, and was commanded by Brigadier-general Wolfe. After the fire from the sloops and frigates had continued about a quarter of an hour, the boats containing this division were rowed towards the shore; and, at the same time, the other two divisions on the right and in the centre, commanded by Brigadiers-general Whitmore and Laurence, made a show of landing, in order to divide and distract the enemy. The landing-place was occupied by two thousand men entrenched behind a battery of eight pieces of cannon and ten swivels. The enemy reserved their fire till the boats were near the beach, when they opened a discharge of cannon and musketry which did considerable execution. A considerable surf aided the enemy's fire, and numbers of the men were drowned by the upsetting of the boats. Captain Baillie and Lieutenant Cuthbert of the Highlanders, Lieutenant Nicholson of Amherst's, and thirty-eight men were killed; but, notwithstanding these disadvantages, General Wolfe pursued his point with admirable courage and deliberation: "and nothing could stop our troops, when headed by such a general. Some of the light infantry and Highlanders got first ashore, and drove all before them. The rest followed; and, being encouraged by the example of their heroic commander, soon pursued the enemy to the distance of two miles, where they were checked by a cannonading from the town."

The town of Louisbourg was immediately invested; but the difficulty of landing stores and implements in boisterous weather, and the nature of the ground, which, being marshy, was unfit for the conveyance of heavy cannon, retarded the operations of the siege. The governor of

Louisbourg, having destroyed the grand battery which was detached from the body of the place, recalled his outposts, and prepared for a vigorous defence. He opened a fire against the besiegers and their works from the town, the island battery, and the ships in the harbour, but without much effect. Meanwhile General Wolfe, with a strong detachment, marched round the north-east part of the harbour to secure a point called the Light-house Battery, from which the guns could play on the ships and on the batteries on the opposite side of the harbour. This service was performed on the twelfth by General Wolfe with great ability, who, "with his Highlanders and flankers," took possession of this and all the other posts in that quarter with very trifling loss. On the twenty-fifth the inland battery immediately opposite was silenced from this post. The enemy, however, kept up an incessant fire from their other batteries and the shipping in the harbour. On the ninth of July they made a sortie on Brigadier-general Lawrence's brigade, but were quickly repulsed. In this affair Captain, the earl of Dundonald, was killed. On the sixteenth General Wolfe pushed forward some grenadiers and Highlanders, and took possession of the hills in front of the Light Horse battery, where a lodgement was made under a fire from the town and the ships. On the twenty-first one of the enemy's line-of-battle ships was set on fire by a bombshell and blew up, and the fire being communicated to two others, they were burned to the water's edge. The fate of the town was now nearly decided, the enemy's fire being almost totally silenced and their fortifications shattered to the ground. To reduce the place nothing now remained but to get possession of the harbour, by taking or burning the two ships of the line which remained. For this purpose, in the night between the twenty-fifth and twenty-sixth, the admiral sent a detachment of six hundred men in the boats of the squadron, in two divisions, into the harbour, under the command of Captains Laforey and Balfour. This enterprise was gallantly executed, in the face of a terrible fire of cannon and musketry, the seamen boarding the enemy sword in hand. One of the ships was set on fire and destroyed, and the other towed off. The town surrendered on the twenty-sixth, and was taken possession of by Colonel Lord Rollo the following day: the garrison and seamen, amounting together to five thousand six hundred and thirty-seven men, were made prisoners of war. Besides Captain Baillie and Lieutenant Cuthbert, the Highlanders lost Lieutenants Fraser and Murray, killed; Captain Donald M'Donald, Lieutenants Alexander Campbell, (Barcaldine,) and John M'Donald, wounded; and sixty-seven rank and file killed and wounded.

In consequence of the treaty of peace between Great Britain and the several nations of Indians between the Apalachian mountains and the Lakes, in October, seventeen hundred and fifty-nine, the British government was enabled to carry into effect those operations which had been projected against the French settlements in Canada. The plan and

partial progress of these combined operations have been already detailed in the service of the 42d regiment. The enterprise against Quebec, the most important by far of the three expeditions planned in seventeen hundred and fifty-nine, falls now to be noticed from the share which Fraser's Highlanders had in it.

According to the plan fixed upon for the conquest of Canada, Major-general Wolfe, who had given promise of great military talents at Louisbourg, was to proceed up the river St Lawrence and attack Quebec, whilst General Amherst, after reducing Ticonderoga and Crown Point, was to descend the St Lawrence and co-operate with General Wolfe in the conquest of Quebec. Though the enterprise against this place was the main undertaking, the force under General Wolfe did not exceed seven thousand effective men, whilst that under General Amherst amounted to more than twice that number; but the commander-in-chief seems to have calculated upon a junction with General Wolfe in sufficient time for the siege of Quebec.

The forces under General Wolfe comprehended the following regiments,—15th, 28th, 35th, 43d, 47th, 48th, 58th, Fraser's Highlanders, the Rangers, and the grenadiers of Louisbourg. The fleet, under the command of Admirals Saunders and Holmes, with the transports, proceeded up the St Lawrence, and reached the island of Orleans, a little below Quebec, in the end of June, where the troops were disembarked without opposition. The Marquis de Montcalm, who commanded the French troops, which were greatly superior in number to the invaders, resolved rather to depend upon the natural strength of his position than his numbers, and took his measures accordingly. The city of Quebec was tolerably well fortified, defended by a numerous garrison, and abundantly supplied with provisions and ammunition. This able, and hitherto fortunate, leader had reinforced the troops of the colony with five regular battalions, formed of the best of the inhabitants, and he had, besides, completely disciplined all the Canadians of the neighbourhood capable of bearing arms, and several tribes of Indians. He had posted his army on a piece of ground along the shore of Beaufort, from the river St Charles to the falls of Montmorency,—a position rendered strong by precipices, woods, and rivers, and defended by intrenchments where the ground appeared the weakest. To undertake the siege of Quebec under the disadvantages which presented themselves, seemed a rash enterprise; but, although General Wolfe was completely aware of these difficulties, a thirst for glory, and the workings of a vigorous mind, which set every obstacle at defiance, impelled him to make the hazardous attempt. His maxim was, that "a brave and victorious army finds no difficulties;"\* and he was anxious to verify the truth of the adage in the present instance.

Having ascertained that, to reduce the place, it was necessary to erect

\* General Wolfe's Despatches.

batteries on the north of the St Lawrence, the British general endeavoured, by a series of manœuvres, to draw Montcalm from his position; but the French commander was too prudent to risk a battle. With the view of attacking the enemy's intrenchments, General Wolfe sent a small armament up the river above the city, and, having personally surveyed the banks on the side of the enemy from one of the ships, he resolved to cross the river Montmorency and make the attack. He therefore ordered six companies of grenadiers and part of the Royal Americans to cross the river and land near the mouth of the Montmorency, and at the same time directed the two brigades commanded by Generals Murray and Townshend to pass a ford higher up. Close to the water's edge there was a detached redoubt, which the grenadiers were ordered to attack, in the expectation that the enemy would descend from the hill in its defence, and thus bring on a general engagement. At all events the possession of this post was of importance, as from it the British commander could obtain a better view of the enemy's intrenchments than he had yet been able to accomplish. The grenadiers and Royal Americans were the first who landed. They had received orders to form in four distinct bodies, but not to begin the attack till the first brigade should have passed the ford, and be near enough to support them. No attention, however, was paid to these instructions. Before even the first brigade had crossed, the grenadiers, before they were regularly formed, rushed forward with impetuosity and considerable confusion to attack the enemy's intrenchments. They were received with a well-directed fire, which effectually checked them and threw them into disorder. They endeavoured to form under the redoubt, but being unable to rally, they retreated and formed behind the first brigade, which had by this time landed, and was drawn up on the beach in good order. The plan of attack being thus totally disconcerted, General Wolfe repassed the river and returned to the isle of Orleans. In this unfortunate attempt the British lost five hundred and forty-three of all ranks killed, wounded, and missing. Of the Highlanders, up to the second of September, the loss was eighteen rank and file killed, Colonel Fraser, Captains Macpherson and Simon Fraser, and Lieutenants Cameron of Gleneves, Ewen Macdonald, and H. Macdonald, and eighty-five rank and file, wounded. In the general orders which were issued the following morning, General Wolfe complained bitterly of the conduct of the grenadiers: "The check which the grenadiers met with yesterday will, it is hoped, be a lesson to them for the time to come. Such impetuous, irregular, and unsoldier-like proceedings, destroy all order, make it impossible for the commanders to form any disposition for attack, and put it out of the general's power to execute his plan. The grenadiers could not suppose that they alone could beat the French army; and therefore it was necessary that the corps under Brigadiers Monckton and Townshend should have time to join, that the attack might be general. The very first fire of the enemy was sufficient to repulse men who had lost

all sense of order and military discipline. Amherst's (15th regiment) and the Highlanders alone, by the soldier-like and cool manner they were formed in, would undoubtedly have beaten back the whole Canadian army if they had ventured to attack them."

General Wolfe now changed his plan of operations. Leaving his position at Montmorency, he re-embarked his troops and artillery, and landed at Point Levi, whence he passed up the river in transports; but finding no opportunity of annoying the enemy above the town, he resolved to convey his troops farther down, in boats, and land them by night within a league of Cape Diamond, with the view of ascending the heights of Abraham,—which rise abruptly, with steep ascent, from the banks of the river,—and thus gain possession of the ground on the back of the city, where the fortifications were less strong. A plan more replete with dangers and difficulties could scarcely have been devised; but, from the advanced period of the season, it was necessary either to abandon the enterprise altogether, or to make an attempt upon the city, whatever might be the result. The troops, notwithstanding the recent disaster, were in high spirits, and ready to follow their general wherever he might lead them. The commander, on the other hand, though afflicted with a severe dysentery and fever, which had debilitated his frame, resolved to avail himself of the readiness of his men, and to conduct the hazardous enterprise in which they were about to engage in person. In order to deceive the enemy, Admiral Holmes was directed to move farther up the river on the twelfth of September, but to sail down in the night time, so as to protect the landing of the forces. These orders were punctually obeyed. About an hour after midnight of the same day four regiments, the light infantry, with the Highlanders and grenadiers, were embarked in flat-bottomed boats, under the command of Brigadiers Monckton and Murray. They were accompanied by General Wolfe, who was among the first that landed. The boats fell down with the tide, keeping close to the north shore in the best order; but, owing to the rapidity of the current, and the darkness of the night, most of the boats landed a little below the intended place of disembarkation.\* When the troops were landed the boats were sent

\* "The French had posted sentries along shore to challenge boats and vessels, and give the alarm occasionally. The first boat that contained the English troops being questioned accordingly, a captain of Fraser's regiment, who had served in Holland, and who was perfectly well acquainted with the French language and customs, answered without hesitation to *Qui vive?*—which is their challenging word,—*la France*; nor was he at a loss to answer the second question, which was much more particular and difficult. When the sentinel demanded, *a quel regiment?* the captain replied, *de la reine*, which he knew, by accident, to be one of those that composed the body commanded by Bougainville. The soldier took it for granted this was the expected convoy, (a convoy of provisions expected that night for the garrison of Quebec,) and, saying *passé*, allowed all the boats to proceed without further question. In the same manner the other sentries were deceived; though one, more wary than the rest, came running down to the water's edge, and called, *Pour quoi est ce que vous ne parlez pas haut?* 'Why don't you speak with an audible voice?' To this interrogation, which implied doubt, the captain answered with



back for the other division of the troops, which was under the command of Brigadier-general Townshend. The ascent to the heights was by a narrow path, that slanted up the precipice from the landing-place: this path the enemy had broken up, and rendered almost impassable, by cross ditches, and they had made an intrenchment at the top of the hill. Notwithstanding these difficulties, Colonel Howe, who was the first to land, ascended the woody precipices, with the light infantry and the Highlanders, and dislodged a captain's guard which defended the narrow path. They then mounted without further molestation, and General Wolfe, who was among the first to gain the summit of the hill, formed the troops on the heights as they arrived. In the ascent the precipice was found to be so steep and dangerous, that the troops were obliged to climb up the rugged projections of the rocks, and, by aid of the branches of the trees and shrubs growing on both sides of the path, to pull themselves up. Though much time was thus necessarily occupied in the ascent, yet such was the perseverance of the troops, that they all gained the summit in time to enable the general to form in order of battle before day-break. M. de Montcalm had now no way left of saving Quebec but by risking a battle, and he therefore determined to leave his stronghold and meet the British in the open field. Leaving his camp at Montmorency, he crossed the river St Charles, and, forming his line with great skill, advanced forward to attack his opponents. His right was composed of half the provincial troops, two battalions of regulars, and a body of Canadians and Indians; his centre, of a column of two battalions of Europeans, with two field-pieces; and his left of one battalion of regulars, and the remainder of the colonial troops. In his front, among brushwood and corn-fields, fifteen hundred of his best marksmen were posted to gall the British as they approached. The British were drawn up in two lines: the first, consisting of the grenadiers, 15th, 28th, 35th Highlanders, and 58th; the 47th regiment formed the second line, or reserve. The left of the front line was covered by the light infantry. It appearing to be the intention of the French commander to out-flank the left of the British, Brigadier-general Townshend, with Amherst's regiment, (15th,) which he formed *en potence*,—thus presenting a double front to the enemy. The Canadians and the Indians, who were posted among the brushwood, kept up an irregular galling fire, which proved fatal to many officers, who, from their dress, were singled out by these marksmen. The fire of this body was, in some measure, checked by the advanced posts of the British, who returned the fire; and a small gun, which was dragged up by the seamen from the landing-place, was brought forward, and did considerable execution. The French now advanced to the charge with great

admirable presence of mind, in a soft tone of voice, *Tai toi nous serens entendues!* 'Hush! we shall be overheard and discovered.' Thus cautioned, the sentry retired without farther altercation."—*Smollett*.



spirit, firing as they advanced; but, in consequence of orders they received, the British troops reserved their fire till the main body of the enemy had approached within forty yards of their line. When the enemy had come within that distance, the whole British line poured in a general and destructive discharge of musketry. Another discharge followed, which had such an effect upon the enemy, that they stopped short, and after making an ineffectual attempt upon the left of the British line, they began to give way. At this time General Wolfe, who had received two wounds which he had concealed, was mortally wounded whilst advancing at the head of the grenadiers with fixed bayonets. At this instant every separate corps of the British army exerted itself, as if the contest were for its own peculiar honour. Whilst the right pressed on with their bayonets, Brigadier-general Murray briskly advanced with the troops under his command, and soon broke the centre of the enemy, "when the Highlanders, taking to their broad-swords, fell in among them with irresistible impetuosity, and drove them back with great slaughter."\* The action on the left of the British was not so warm. A smart contest, however, took place between part of the enemy's right and some light infantry, who had thrown themselves into houses, which they defended with great courage. During this attack, Colonel Howe, who had taken post with two companies behind a copse, frequently sallied out on the flanks of the enemy, whilst General Townshend advanced in platoons against their front. Observing the left and centre of the French giving way, this officer, on whom the command had just devolved in consequence of General Monckton, the second in command, having been dangerously wounded, hastened to the centre, and finding that the troops had got into disorder in the pursuit, formed them again in line. At this moment, Monsieur de Bougainville, who had marched from Cape Rouge as soon as he heard that the British troops had gained the heights, appeared in their rear at the head of two thousand fresh men. General Townshend immediately ordered two regiments, with two pieces of artillery, to advance against this body; but Bougainville retired on their approach. The wreck of the French army retreated to Quebec and Point Levi.

The loss sustained by the enemy was considerable. About one thousand of them were made prisoners, including a number of officers, and about five hundred died on the field of battle. The death of their brave commander, Montcalm, who was mortally wounded almost at the same instant with General Wolfe, was a serious calamity to the French arms. When informed that his wound was mortal,—“So much the better,” said he, “I shall not live to see the surrender of Quebec.” Before his death he wrote a letter to General Townshend, recommending the prisoners to the generous humanity of the British. The death of the two commanders-in-chief, and the disasters which befell Generals Monckton

\* General account of the battle.

and Severergues, the two seconds in command, who were respectively carried wounded from the field, are remarkable circumstances in the events of this day. This important victory was not gained without considerable loss on the part of the British, who, besides the commander-in-chief, had eight officers and forty-eight men killed; and forty-three officers and four hundred and thirty-five men wounded. Of these, the Highlanders had Captain Thomas Ross of Culrossie, Lieutenant Roderick Macneil of Barra, Alexander Macdonell, son of Barrisdale, one sergeant and fourteen rank and file killed; and Captains John Macdonell of Lochgarry, Simon Fraser of Inverallochy; Lieutenants Macdonell, son of Keppoch, Archibald Campbell, Alexander Campbell, son of Barcaldine, John Douglas, Alexander Fraser, senior; and Ensigns James Mackenzie, Malcolm Fraser, and Alexander Gregorson; seven sergeants, and one hundred and thirty-one rank and file, wounded. The death of General Wolfe was a national loss. "He inherited from nature an animating fervour of sentiment, an intuitive perception, and extensive capacity, and a passion for glory, which stimulated him to acquire every species of military knowledge that study could comprehend, that actual service could illustrate and confirm. Brave above all estimation of danger, he was also generous, gentle, complacent, and humane;—the pattern of the officer, the darling of the soldier. There was a sublimity in his genius which soared above the pitch of ordinary minds; and had his faculties been exercised to their full extent by opportunity and action, had his judgment been fully matured by age and experience, he would, without doubt, have rivalled in reputation the most celebrated captains of antiquity."\* When the fatal ball pierced the breast of the young hero, he found himself unable to stand, and leaned upon the shoulder of a lieutenant who sat down on the ground. This officer, observing the French give way, exclaimed,—“They run! they run!” “Who run?” inquired the gallant Wolfe with great earnestness. When told that it was the French who were flying: “What,” said he, “do the cowards run already? Then I die happy!” and instantly expired.†

On the eighteenth of September the town surrendered, and a great part of the circumjacent country being reduced, General Townshend embarked for England, leaving a garrison of five thousand effective men in Quebec, under the Hon. General James Murray. Apprehensive of a visit from a considerable French army stationed in Montreal and the neighbouring country, General Murray repaired the fortifications, and put the town in a proper posture of defence; but his troops suffered so much from the rigours of winter, and the want of vegetables and fresh provisions, that, before the end of April, the garrison was reduced, by death and disease, to about three thousand effective men. Such was the situation of affairs when the general received certain intelligence

\* Smollett.

† Ibid.

that General de Levi, who succeeded the Marquis de Montcalm, had reached Point au Tremble with a force of ten thousand French and Canadians, and five hundred Indians. It was the intention of the French commander to cut off the posts which the British had established; but General Murray defeated this scheme, by ordering the bridges over the river Rouge to be broken down, and the landing places at Sylleri and Foulon to be secured. Next day, the twenty-seventh of April, he marched in person with a strong detachment and two field-pieces, and took possession of an advantageous position, which he retained till the afternoon, when the outposts were withdrawn, after which he returned to Quebec with very little loss, although the enemy pressed closely on his rear.

General Murray was now reduced to the necessity of withstanding a siege, or risking a battle. He chose the latter alternative, a resolution which was deemed by some military men as savouring more of youthful impatience and overstrained courage, than of judgment; but the dangers with which he was beset, in the midst of a hostile population, and the difficulties incident to a protracted siege, seem to afford some justification for that step. In pursuance of his resolution, the general marched out on the twenty-eighth of April, at half-past six o'clock in the morning, and formed his little army on the heights of Abraham. The right wing, commanded by Colonel Burton, consisted of the 15th, 48th, 58th, and second battalion of the 60th, or Royal Americans: the left under Colonel Simon Fraser, was formed of the 43d, 47th Welsh fusileers, and the Highlanders. The 35th, and the third battalion of the 60th, constituted the reserve. The right was covered by Major Dalling's corps of light infantry; and the left by Captain Huzzen's company of rangers, and one hundred volunteers, under the command of Captain Macdonald of Fraser's regiment. Observing the enemy in full march in one column, General Murray advanced quickly forward to meet them before they should form their line. His light infantry coming in contact with Levi's advance, drove them back on their main body; but pursuing too far, they were furiously attacked and repulsed in their turn. They fell back in such disorder on the line, as to impede their fire, and in passing round by the right flank to the rear, they suffered much from the fire of a party who were endeavouring to turn that flank. The enemy having made two desperate attempts to penetrate the right wing, the 35th regiment was called up from the reserve, to its support. Meanwhile the British left was struggling with the enemy, who succeeded so far, from their superior numbers, in their attempt to turn that flank, that they obtained possession of two redoubts, but were driven out from both by the Highlanders, sword in hand. By pushing forward fresh numbers, however, the enemy at last succeeded in forcing the left wing to retire, the right giving way about the same time. The French did not attempt to pursue, but allowed the British to retire quietly within the walls of the city, and to carry away their wounded. The British had six officers, and

two hundred and fifty rank and file killed; and eighty-two officers, and six hundred and seventy-nine non-commissioned officers and privates, wounded. Among the killed, the Highlanders had Captain Donald Macdonald,\* Lieutenant Cosmo Gordon, and fifty-five non-commissioned officers, pipers, and privates; their wounded were Colonel Fraser, Captains John Campbell of Dunoon, Alexander Fraser, Alexander Macleod, Charles Macdonell, Lieutenants Archibald Campbell, son of Glenlyon, Charles Stewart,† Hector Macdonald, John Macbean, Alexander Fraser, senior, Alexander Campbell, John Nairn, Arthur Rose, Alexander Fraser, junior, Simon Fraser, senior, Archibald M'Alister, Alexander Fraser, John Chisholm, Simon Fraser, junior, Malcolm Fraser, and Donald M'Neil; Ensigns Henry Monro, Robert Menzies, Duncan Cameron (Fassafarn), William Robertson, Alexander Gregorson, and Malcolm Fraser, and one hundred and twenty-nine non-commissioned officers and privates. The enemy lost twice the number of men.

Shortly after the British had retired, General Levi moved forward on Quebec, and having taken up a position close to it, opened a fire at five o'clock. He then proceeded to besiege the city in form, and General Murray made the necessary dispositions to defend the place. The siege was continued till the tenth of May, when it was suddenly raised; the enemy retreating with great precipitation, leaving all their artillery implements and stores behind. This unexpected event was occasioned by the destruction or capture of all the enemy's ships above Quebec, by

\* "Captain Macdonald was an accomplished high-spirited officer. He was a second son of Clanranald. He entered early in life into the French service, and following Prince Charles Edward to Scotland, in 1745, he was taken prisoner, and along with O'Neil, afterwards a lieutenant-general in the service of Spain, and commander of the expedition against Algiers in 1775, was confined in the castle of Edinburgh; but being liberated without trial, he returned to France, where he remained till 1756, when he came back to Scotland, and was appointed to a company in Fraser's Highlanders. On the expeditions against Louisburg and Quebec he was much in the confidence of Generals Amherst, Wolfe, and Murray, by whom he was employed on all duties where more than usual difficulty and danger was to be encountered, and where more than common talent, address, and spirited example were required. Of this several instances occurred at Louisburg and Quebec."—*Stewart*.

† "This officer engaged in the Rebellion of 1745, and was in Stewart of Appin's regiment, which had seventeen officers and gentlemen of the name of Stewart killed, and ten wounded, at Culloden. He was severely wounded on that occasion, as he was on this. As he lay in his quarters some days afterwards, speaking to some brother officers, on the recent battles, he exclaimed, 'From April battles, and Murray generals, good Lord, deliver me!' alluding to his wound at Culloden, where the vanquished blamed Lord George Murray, the commander-in-chief of the rebel army, for fighting on the best field in the country for regular troops, artillery, and cavalry; and likewise alluding to his present wound, and to General Murray's conduct in marching out of a garrison to attack an enemy, more than treble his numbers, in an open field, where their whole strength could be brought to act. One of those story retailers who are sometimes about headquarters, lost no time in communicating this disrespectful prayer of the rebellious clansman; General Murray, who was a man of humour and of a generous mind, called on the wounded officer the following morning, and heartily wished him better deliverance in the next battle, when he hoped to give him occasion to pray in a different manner."

—*Ibid.*

an English squadron which had arrived in the river, and the advance of General Amherst on Montreal. General Murray left Quebec in pursuit of the enemy, but was unable to overtake them. The junction of General Murray with General Amherst, in the neighbourhood of Montreal, in the month of September, and the surrender of that last stronghold of the French in Canada, have been already mentioned in the history of the service of the 42d regiment.

Fraser's Highlanders were not called again into active service till the summer of seventeen hundred and sixty-two, when they were, on the expedition under Colonel William Amherst, sent to retake St John's, Newfoundland, a detail of which has been given in the notice of Montgomery's Highlanders. In this service Captain Macdonell of Fraser's regiment, was mortally wounded, three rank and file killed, and seven wounded.

At the conclusion of the war, a number of the officers and men having expressed a desire to settle in North America, had their wishes granted, and an allowance of land given them. The rest returned to Scotland, and were discharged. When the war of the American revolution broke out, upwards of three hundred of those men who had remained in the country, enlisted in the 84th regiment, in seventeen hundred and seventy five, and formed part of two fine battalions embodied under the name of the Royal Highland Emigrants.

The loss of this regiment during four years active service was,

								KILLED.
In Officers,	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	14
Non-commissioned Officers, and Privates,	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	109
Total,	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	123
								WOUNDED.
In Officers,	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	46
Non-commissioned Officers and Privates,	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	400
Total,	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	446
Grand Total,	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	569

## II.—FRASER'S HIGHLANDERS,

OR

### SEVENTY-FIRST REGIMENT.—1775.

THE American revolutionary war requiring extraordinary exertions on the part of the government, it was resolved to revive Fraser's Highlanders, by raising two battalions, under the auspices of Colonel Fraser,



who, in testimony of his services, had been rewarded by King George III. with a grant of the family estates of Lovat, which had been forfeited in seventeen hundred and forty-six. In his exertions to raise the battalions, Colonel Fraser was warmly assisted by his officers, of whom no less than six, besides himself, were chiefs of clans, and within a few months after the letters of service were issued, two battalions of two thousand three hundred and forty Highlanders were raised, and assembled first at Stirling, and afterwards at Glasgow, in April seventeen hundred and seventy-six. The following were the names of the officers :

#### FIRST BATTALION.

*Colonel.*—The honourable Simon Fraser, of Lovat, died in 1782, a lieutenant-general.

*Lieutenant-colonel.*—Sir William Erskine of Torry, died in 1795, a lieutenant-general.

#### *Majors.*

John Macdonell of Lochgarry, died in 1789, colonel.

Duncan Macpherson of Cluny, retired from the foot-guards in 1791, died in 1820.

#### *Captains.*

Simon Fraser, died lieutenant-general in 1812.

Duncan Chisholm of Chisholm.

Colin Mackenzie, died general in 1818.

Francis Skelly died in India, lieutenant-colonel of the 94th regiment.

Hamilton Maxwell, brother of Monreith, died in India lieutenant-colonel of the 74th regiment, 1794.

John Campbell, son of Lord Stonefield, died lieutenant-colonel of the 2d battalion of the 42d regiment at Madras, 1784.

Norman Macleod of Macleod, died lieutenant-general, 1796.

Sir James Baird of Saughtonhall.

Charles Cameron of Lochiel, died 1776.

#### *Lieutenants.*

Charles Campbell son of Ardochattan,  
killed at Catauba.

John Macdougall.

Colin Mackenzie.

John Nairne, son of Lord Nairne.

William Nairne, now Lord Nairne.

Charles Gordon.

David Kinloch.

Thomas Tause, killed at Savannah.

William Sinclair.

Hugh Fraser.

Alexander Fraser.

Thomas Fraser son of Leadclune.

Dougald Campbell son of Craignish.

Robert Macdonald son of Sanda.

Alexander Fraser.

Roderick Macleod.

John Ross.

Patrick Cumming.

Thomas Hamilton.

#### *Ensigns.*

Archibald Campbell.

Henry Macpherson.

John Grant.

Robert Campbell son of Ederline.

Allan Malcolm.

John Murchison.

Angus Macdonell.

Peter Fraser



*Chaplain*,—Hugh Blair, D. D. professor of Rhetoric in the university of Edinburgh,

*Adjutant*,—Donald Cameron.  
*Quarter-master*,—David Campbell.  
*Surgeon*,—William Fraser.

## SECOND BATTALION.

*Colonel*.—Simon Fraser.

*Lieutenant-colonel*.—Archibald Campbell, died lieutenant-general, 1792.

*Majors.*

Norman Lamont, son of the laird of Lamont.

Robert Menzies, killed in Boston harbour, 1776.

*Captains.*

Angus Mackintosh of Kellachy, formerly Captain in Keith's Highlanders, died in South Carolina, 1780.

Patrick Campbell, son of Glenure.

Andrew Lawrie.

Æneas Mackintosh, of Mackintosh.

Charles Cameron, son of Fassaferrn, killed at Savannah, 1779.

George Munro, son of Culcairn.

Boyd Porterfield.

Law. Robert Campbell.

*Lieutenants.*

Robert Hutchison.

Alexander Sutherland.

Archibald Campbell.

Hugh Lamont.

Robert Duncanson.

George Stewart.

Charles Barrington Mackenzie.

James Christie.

James Fraser.

Dougald Campbell, son of Achnaba.

Lodovick Colquhoun, son of Luss.

John Mackenzie.

Hugh Campbell, son of Glenure.

John Campbell.

Arthur Forbes.

Patrick Campbell.

Archibald Maclean.

David Ross.

Thomas Fraser.

Archibald Balnevis, son of Edradour.

Robert Grant.

Thomas Fraser.

*Ensigns.*

William Gordon.

Charles Main.

Archibald Campbell.

Donald Cameron.

*Chaplain*,—Malcolm Nicholson.

*Adjutant*,—Archibald Campbell.

*Quarter-master*,—J. Ogilvie.

Smollett Campbell, son of Craignish.

Gilbert Waugh.

William Bain.

John Grant.

*Surgeon*,—Colin Chisholm, afterwards physician in Bristol.

At the time when the regiment was mustered in Glasgow, there were nearly six thousand Highlanders in that city, of whom three thousand belonging to the 42d and 71st regiments were raised and brought from the North in ten weeks. A finer and a more healthy and robust body of men could not have been any where selected; and their conduct was so laudable and exemplary as to gain the affections of the inhabitants, between whom and the soldiers the greatest cordiality prevailed. So great was the desire of the Highlanders to enlist into this new regiment, that before leaving Glasgow for embarkation, it was found that more men had arrived than were required, and it became necessary, therefore,

to leave some of them behind ; but unwilling to remain, several of these stole on board the transports, and were not discovered till the fleet was at sea. There were others, however, who did not evince the same ardour to accompany their countrymen. A body of one hundred and twenty men had been raised on the forfeited estate of Captain Cameron of Lochiel, by the ancient tenants, with the view of securing him a company. Lochiel was at the time in London, and being indisposed, was unable to join the regiment. His men were exceedingly disappointed at not meeting their chief and captain at Glasgow, and when they received orders to embark, they hesitated, as they believed that some misfortune had befallen him ; but General Fraser, with a persuasive eloquence, in which he was well skilled, removed their scruples ; and as Captain Cameron of Fassafarn, a friend and near relation of Lochiel, was appointed to the company, they cheerfully consented to embark.\* When Lochiel heard of the conduct of his men he hastened to Glasgow, though he had not recovered from the severe illness which had detained him in London ; but the fatigue of the journey brought on a return of his complaint, to which he fell a victim in a few weeks. His death was greatly lamented, as he was universally respected.

Some time after the sailing of the fleet, they were scattered in a violent gale, and several of the ships were attacked singly by American privateers. One of these, with eight guns, attacked a transport with two six pounders only, having Captain, afterwards Sir Æneas Mackintosh and his company on board. Having spent all their ammunition, the transport bore down upon the privateer to board her ; but the latter sheered off, and the transport proceeded on her voyage.

Another transport having Colonel Archibald Campbell and Major Menzies on board, was not so fortunate. Ignorant of the evacuation of Boston by General Howe, they sailed into Boston harbour, and were instantly attacked by three privateers full of men. The transport beat off her antagonists, but expended all her ammunition, and getting her rudder disabled by a shot, she grounded under a battery, and was forced to surrender. Major Menzies and seven men were killed, and Colonel Campbell and the rest were made prisoners. The death of Major Menzies was a great loss, as from his great military experience he was particularly well qualified to discipline the corps which had not yet undergone the process of drilling.

The regiment joined the army under General Howe in Staten island,

\* "While General Fraser was speaking in Gaelic to the men, an old Highlander, who had accompanied his son to Glasgow, was leaning on his staff gazing at the General with great earnestness. When he had finished, the old man walked up to him, and with that easy familiar intercourse which in those days subsisted between the Highlanders and their superiors, shook him by the hand, exclaiming, 'Simon, you are a good soldier, and speak like a man ; as long as you live, Simon of Lovat will never die ;' alluding to the general's address, and manner, which, as was said, resembled much that of his father, Lord Lovat, whom the old Highlanders knew perfectly. The late General Sir George Beckwith witnessed the above scene, and often spoke of it with much interest."—*Stewart.*

and though totally undisciplined, the 71st was immediately put in front, the general judging well from the experience he had had of Fraser's Highlanders in the seven years war, that their bravery, if engaged before being disciplined, would make up for their want of discipline. The regiment was divided, the grenadiers being placed in the battalion under the Hon. Lieutenant-colonel Charles Stewart, and the other companies, which were formed into three small battalions, formed a brigade under Sir William Erskine.

The first affair in which they were engaged, was the battle of Brooklyn, detailed in the notice of the 42d. In this action they fully justified the expectations of the commander. They displayed, in common with the other troops, great eagerness to push the enemy to extremities, and compel them to abandon the strong position they had taken up; but from a desire to save the lives of his troops, General Howe restrained their ardour by recalling the right wing, in which the grenadiers were, from the attack. The loss sustained on this occasion, by the 71st, was three rank and file killed, and two sergeants and nine rank and file wounded.

The regiment passed the winter at Amboy. The next campaign was spent in skirmishes, in some of which the regiment was engaged. They were also employed in the expeditions against Willsborough, and Westfield, at the commencement of the campaign of seventeen hundred and seventy-seven. They afterwards embarked for the Chesapeake, and part of them were engaged in the battle of Brandy-wine. They embarked for New York in November, where they received an accession of two hundred recruits from Scotland. Along with a hundred more from the hospital, they were formed into a corps under Captain Colin (afterwards General) Mackenzie. This small corps acted as light infantry, and formed part of an expedition sent up the New River to make a diversion in favour of General Burgoyne's movements. This corps led a successful assault on Fort Montgomery on the sixth of October, in which they displayed great courage. In the year seventeen hundred and seventy-eight, the 71st regiment was employed in the Jerseys, under Lord Cornwallis, in which excursion no occasion occurred for distinguishing themselves.

On the twenty-ninth of November, seventeen hundred and seventy-seven, an expedition, of which the 71st formed a part, destined against Savannah, the capital of Georgia, sailed from Sandy Hook, and reached the river of that name about the end of December, under Lieutenant Colonel Archibald Campbell, who had been exchanged this year. The 1st battalion and the light infantry, having landed a little below the town, Captain Cameron, an "officer of high spirit and great promise," instantly pushed forward to attack the advanced post of the enemy, when he and three men were killed by a volley. The remainder advancing, charged the enemy and drove them back on the main body, drawn up in line in an open plain behind the town. As soon as the

disembarkation was finished, Colonel Campbell formed his army in line; and whilst he detached Sir James Baird with the light infantry, to get round the right flank of the enemy by a narrow path, he sent the corps, lately Captain Cameron's, to get round the left. The attention of the enemy being occupied by the army in front, they neglected to watch the motions of the flanking parties, who, on reaching their ground, made signals to the front to advance. These being instantly answered, the enemy now perceived they were nearly surrounded, and turning their backs fled in great disorder. They suffered severely from the light infantry, who closed in upon their flanks; they had one hundred men killed, and five hundred wounded or taken prisoners. The British had only four soldiers killed and five wounded. The town then surrendered, and the British took possession of all the shipping and stores and forty-five pieces of cannon.

Colonel Campbell now advanced into the interior, and entered Augusta, a town one hundred and fifty miles distant from Savannah, where he established himself. Meanwhile General Prevost, having arrived at Savannah from Florida, assumed the command. Judging the ground occupied too extensive, he evacuated Augusta. The Americans taking courage from this retrograde movement, assembled in considerable numbers, and harassed the rear of the British. The Loyalists in the interior were greatly dispirited, and, being left unprotected, suffered much from the disaffected. The winter was spent in making some inroads into the interior, to keep the Americans in check. About this time Lieutenant-colonel Maitland succeeded to the command of the regiment, in consequence of the return of Colonel Campbell to England, on leave of absence.

The regiment remained almost inactive till the month of February, seventeen hundred and seventy-nine, when it was employed in an enterprise against Boston Creek, a strong position defended by upwards of two thousand men, besides one thousand men occupied in detached stations. The front of this position was protected by a deep swamp, and the only approach in that way was by a narrow causeway: on each flank were thick woods nearly impenetrable, except by the drier parts of the swamps which intersected them; but the position was more open in the rear. To dislodge the enemy from this stronghold, which caused considerable annoyance, Lieutenant-colonel Duncan Macpherson,\* with the first battalion of the 71st, was directed to march upon the front of the position; whilst Colonel Prevost, and Lieutenant-colonels Maitland and Macdonald, with the 2d battalion, the light infantry, and a party of provincials, were ordered to attempt the rear by a circuitous route of many miles. These combined movements were executed with such precision, that, in ten minutes after Colonel Macpherson appeared at the head of

\* This officer was called *Duncan of the Kiln*, from the circumstance of his being born in an old malt-kiln, which was fitted up as a temporary residence for his mother, after the destruction of his father's castle of Clunie, in 1715.

the causeway in front, the fire of the body in the rear was heard. Sir James Baird, with the light infantry, rushing through the openings in the swamps, on the left flank, the enemy were overpowered after a short resistance. In this affair the Highlanders had three soldiers killed, and one officer and twelve rank and file wounded.

General Prevost next determined to dislodge a considerable force under General Lincoln, stationed on the South Carolina side of the river. With the troops lately so successful at Brien's Creek, he crossed the river ten miles below the enemy's position. Whilst the general advanced on their front, he ordered the 71st to attack their rear by a circuitous march of several miles. Guided by a party of Creek Indians, the Highlanders entered a woody swamp at eleven o'clock at night, in traversing which, they were frequently up to the shoulders in the swamp. They cleared the woods at eight o'clock in the morning, with their ammunition destroyed. They were now within half a mile of the enemy's rear, and although General Prevost had not yet moved from his position, the Highlanders instantly attacked and drove the enemy from their position without sustaining any loss.

Emboldened by this partial success, the general made an attempt upon Charleston; but after summoning the town to surrender, he was induced, by the approach of the American general, Lincoln, with a large force, to desist, and determined to return to his former quarters in Georgia. As the Americans were in arms, and had possessed themselves of the principal pass on the route, he was forced to return by the sea-coast, a course very injurious to the troops, as they had to march through unfrequented woods, and salt water marshes and swamps, where they could not obtain fresh water. In this retreat, the British force was separated in consequence of Lieutenant-colonel Prevost, the Quarter-master-general, who had gone with a party on a foraging excursion, having removed part of a bridge of boats leading to John's Island. The enemy, who had five thousand men in the neighbourhood, endeavoured to avail themselves of this circumstance, and pushed forward two thousand men with some artillery, to attack a battalion of the Highlanders and some Hessians under Colonel Maitland, who were placed in a redoubt at Stone Ferry, for the purpose of protecting the foraging party. Hearing of the advance of the enemy, Colonel Maitland sent out Captain Colin Campbell,\* with four officers and fifty-six men, to reconnoitre. Whilst this small party was standing on an open field, the enemy emerged from a thick wood. Regardless of the inequality of numbers, Captain Campbell attacked the enemy with great vivacity; and a desperate contest took place, in which all the Highlanders and officers, except seven of the soldiers, fell. When Captain Campbell was struck, he desired such of his men as were able, to retire to the redoubt; but they refused to obey, as they considered that if they left their officers be-

\* He was son of Campbell of Glendarnel in Argyleshire



hind in the field, they would bring a lasting disgrace on themselves. The enemy, unexpectedly, ceased firing, and the seven men, availing themselves of the respite, retired, carrying their wounded officers along with them, followed by such of the soldiers as were able to walk. The enemy then advanced on the redoubt, and the Hessians having got into confusion, they forced an entrance; but they were driven out by the Highlanders, at the point of the bayonet. The enemy were preparing for another attack, but the second battalion of the Highlanders having come up, the Americans retired with considerable loss.

After this affair, General Prevost retired with the main body towards Savannah, leaving behind him seven hundred men under Colonel Maitland, who took up a position in the island of Port Royal. In the month of September, seventeen hundred and seventy-nine, the Count D'Estaing arrived on the coast of Georgia with a large fleet, with troops on board, for the purpose of retaking Savannah, then garrisoned by eleven hundred effective men, including one battalion of the 71st. The town, situated on a sandy plain, gently declining towards the south, had few natural or artificial means of defence, and as the force about to attack it was said to exceed twelve thousand men, the British general had nothing to rely upon but the energy and firmness of his troops. The Count, on landing, made regular approaches, and summoned the town to surrender. In the absence of Colonel Maitland's detachment in Port Royal, time was of importance, and being demanded, was granted. Colonel Maitland on hearing of the arrival of the enemy, instantly set out for Savannah; but finding the principal passes and fords in possession of the enemy, he made a wide circuit; and after a most tedious march through marshes and woods hitherto considered impassable, he reached Savannah before General Prevost had returned a definitive answer to D'Estaing's summons.

Having thus accomplished his object, General Prevost made immediate preparations to defend the place to the last extremity, and being seconded by the zeal and abilities of Captain Moncrieff, the chief engineer, and the exertions of the officers and soldiers, assisted by the Negro population, the town was put in a good state of defence, before the enemy had completed their approaches. During these operations, several sorties were made by the garrison. On the morning of the twenty-fourth of September, Major Colin Graham sallied out with the light company of the 16th, and the Highlanders, and drove the enemy from their outworks, with the loss of fourteen officers, and one hundred and forty-five men killed, wounded, and prisoners. In this affair, Lieutenant Henry Macpherson of the 71st and three privates were killed, and fifteen wounded. In another sortie, Major Macarthur with the piquets of the Highlanders advanced with such caution, that, after a few rounds, the Americans and French mistaking their object, fired on each other, and killed fifty men, during which rencounter he retired without loss.



Having completed his arrangements, D'Estaing made an assault, on the ninth of October, before day-break, with all his forces. Owing to a thick fog, and the darkness of the morning, it was some time before the besieged could ascertain in what direction the principal attack was to be made. As soon as daylight appeared, the French and American forces were seen advancing in three columns, D'Estaing leading the right in person. By taking too large a circuit, the left column got entangled in a swamp, and being exposed to the guns of the garrison, fell into confusion, and was unable to advance. The heads of the right and centre columns suffered greatly, from a well-directed fire from the batteries; but they still persevered in advancing; the men in the rear supplying the place of those who fell in front. When the enemy reached the first redoubt, the contest became furious; many of them entered the ditch, and some of them even ascended and planted the colours on the parapet, where they were killed. The first man who mounted was stabbed by Captain Tawse of the 71st, who commanded the redoubt, and the Captain himself was shot dead by the man who followed. The grenadiers of the 60th came up to the support of Captain Archibald Campbell, who had assumed the command of the redoubt, and the enemy's column, being attacked on both sides, was broken and driven back with precipitation.

In this enterprise the enemy are supposed to have lost fifteen hundred men killed, wounded, and prisoners. The British had only three officers and thirty-six soldiers killed, and two officers and sixty men wounded. The Americans retired to South Carolina, and the French to their ships. The garrison before the siege was sickly, but during active operations, the disease was in a manner suspended, an effect which has been often observed in the army. After the cause of excitement was over, by the raising of the siege, the men relapsed, and one-fourth of them was sent to the hospital.\*

The grenadiers of the 71st were not employed in Georgia, but were posted at Stony Point and Verplanks, in the state of New York, which places had been recently taken from the enemy. Wishing to make amends for allowing his post to be surprised by Major-general Sir Charles Grey, the American general Wayne was sent to retake the posts of Stony Point and Verplanks. Accordingly, with a body of troops, he proceeded at eight o'clock in the evening of the fifteenth of

\* One of the first who died was the Honourable Lieutenant-colonel Maitland, son of the earl of Lauderdale. He was an able and an enterprising officer, and attracted the particular notice of General Washington, with whom he was personally acquainted. During some of the operations, which brought them into occasional collision, Colonel Maitland jocularly notified to the American general, that, to enable him to distinguish the Highlanders, so that he might do justice to their exploits, in annoying his posts, and obstructing his convoys and detachments, they would in future wear a red feather in their bonnets. Fraser's Highlanders accordingly put the red feather in their bonnets, which they wore till the conclusion of the war. Such was the real origin of the red feather, which was assumed by the 42d in the year 1795.

July, seventeen hundred and seventy-nine, and taking post in a hollow, within two miles of the fort, advanced unperceived, about midnight, in two columns. One of these gained the summit, on which the fort stood, without being observed, and the garrison being surprised, surrendered after a short resistance, with the loss of seventeen soldiers killed, and three officers and seventy-two privates wounded. The piquet, which was commanded by Lieutenant Cumming of the 71st, resisted one of the columns till almost all the men composing it were killed or wounded. Lieutenant Cumming was among the latter.

After the surrender of Charlestown on the twelfth of May, seventeen hundred and eighty, to the forces under Sir Henry Clinton, Lord Cornwallis was appointed to the command of the southern provinces. Having projected an excursion into the interior, he was joined by the 71st, which had remained at Savannah in quarters during the winter. In the beginning of June, the army, amounting to two thousand five hundred men, reached Cambden, and encamped in the neighbourhood, the general making that place his head quarters. The American general, Gates, having, in July, assembled a force of seven thousand men, took up a position at Rugley's Mill, nearly twelve miles from Cambden. Determined to surprise and attack the enemy, the British general moved forward on the night of the fifteenth of August; whilst, by a singular coincidence, the American commander left his position at the very same hour, with the same intention. It was full moon, and the sky was unclouded. Before three o'clock in the morning, the advanced guards met half-way, and exchanged some shots; but both generals, ignorant of each other's strength, declined a general action, and lay on their arms till morning. The ground on which the armies lay was a sandy plain, with straggling trees, but a part on the left of the British was soft and boggy. Each army prepared for battle, by forming line. The British right consisted of the light infantry, and the Welsh fusileers; the 33d regiment and the volunteers of Ireland formed the centre; and the provincials composed the left, having the marshy ground in their front. Whilst this formation was going on, Captain Charles Campbell, who commanded the Highland light companies on the right, mounted the stump of an old tree to reconnoitre, and perceiving the enemy in motion, as if they intended to turn his flank, he leaped down, muttering to himself, "I'll see you damned first," and calling to his men, said, "Remember you are light infantry; remember you are Highlanders:—charge!" The Highlanders instantly rushed forward, and such was the impetuosity of the attack, that the division of the enemy which was to have surrounded the right of the British, was completely broken and driven from the field before the battle commenced in the other parts of the line. In the contest which took place between these, the centre of the enemy gained ground; but neither party seeming disposed to advance, a pause of a few minutes took place, as if by mutual consent, during which both parties remained stationary without firing a shot. Whilst

matters were in this state, Lord Cornwallis ordered the corps in the centre to open their right and left; and when a considerable space intervened, he directed the Highlanders, who were getting impatient at being left in the rear, whilst their friends were fighting in front, to advance and occupy the vacant space. When the Highlanders had taken their ground, his lordship cried out, "My brave Highlanders, now is your time!" The words were scarcely uttered, when they rushed forward, accompanied by the 33d, and the volunteers of Ireland. The charge was irresistible, and the centre of the enemy was completely overthrown. Meanwhile the right of the enemy, which was enveloped in the smoke of the fire, advanced unperceived, and gained the ground on which the Highlanders had been formerly posted as a reserve. Unaware of the fate of their companions, they gave three cheers for victory; but their joy was of short duration, for, the smoke immediately clearing up, they saw their mistake; and a party of Highlanders turning on them, the greater part threw down their arms, whilst the remainder flew in all directions. The loss of the British in this decisive action was three officers and sixty-six men killed, and seventeen officers and two hundred and twenty-six rank and file wounded. Lieutenant Archibald Campbell and three soldiers of the 71st were killed, and Captain Hugh Campbell, Lieutenant John Grant, two sergeants and thirty privates wounded.\*

Though the battle of the sixteenth of August was decisive; yet, as General Sumpter with a strong corps occupied positions on the Catawba river, which commanded the road to Charlestown, it was necessary to dislodge him. For this purpose Colonel Tarleton was directed to proceed with the cavalry, and a corps of light infantry, under Captain Charles Campbell of the 71st. On the morning of the eighteenth they came in sight of Fishing-Creek, and observing some smoke at a short distance on their right, the sergeant of the advanced guard halted his party, and went forward to reconnoitre. He observed an encampment with arms piled, and, with the exception of a few sentinels, and some persons employed in cooking, the soldiers were reposing in groups apparently asleep. The sergeant reporting what he had seen to Captain Campbell, the latter, who commanded in front, fearing a discovery, formed such of the cavalry as had come up, and with forty of the Highland light infantry rushed quickly forward, secured the piled arms, and surprised the camp. The success was complete; a few men were killed, nearly five hundred surrendered prisoners, and the rest fled in all directions. The loss was trifling, but the Highlanders had in an especial

\* In a letter communicated to General Stewart by Dr Chisholm of Bristol, an eyewitness, the writer says that there were many acts of individual prowess. One will suffice. "A tough stump of a Sutherland Highlander, of the name of Mackay, afterwards my own bat-man, entered the battle with his bayonet perfectly straight, and brought it out twisted like a cork-screw, and with his own hand had put to death seven of the enemy."

manner to regret the death of Captain Campbell, who was killed by a random shot.

The American general, Morgan, having entered South Carolina, in December, seventeen hundred and eighty, with about eleven hundred men, Colonel Tarleton was detached with some infantry, of which the first battalion of the 71st formed a part, and a small body of cavalry. On the morning of the seventeenth of January, seventeen hundred and eighty-one, intelligence was received that General Morgan was posted on a rising ground in front, which was thinly covered with pine trees. The front line was drawn up on the top of the rising ground, and the second, four hundred paces in rear of the first. Colonel Tarleton instantly formed in order of battle. In front he placed the 7th, or fusiliers, the infantry of the British legion, and the light infantry: the Highlanders and cavalry formed the reserve. The line, exhausted by running at a rapid pace, received the fire of the enemy, at the distance of thirty or forty yards, which did considerable execution. The fire was returned, but without spirit and with little effect; and it was kept up on both sides for ten or twelve minutes, neither party advancing. The light infantry then made two attempts to charge, but were repulsed with loss. In this state of matters the Highlanders were ordered up, and advancing rapidly to the charge, the enemy's front line instantly gave way; and this retrograde motion being observed by the second line, which had not yet been engaged, it immediately faced to the right and inclined backwards, and by this skilful manœuvre, opened a space by which the front line retreated. Eager to pursue, the Highlanders followed the front line, when Colonel Howard, who commanded the enemy's reserve, threw in a destructive fire upon the 71st, when within forty yards of the hostile force. So disastrous was the effect of this fire, that nearly one half of the Highlanders fell; and the rest were so scattered over the ground, on which they pursued, that they could not be united to form a charge with the bayonet. Though checked, the Highlanders did not fall back, probably expecting that the first line and the cavalry would come up to their support; but they were mistaken: and after some irregular firing between them and Colonel Howard's reserve, the front line of the Americans rallied, returned to the field, and pushed forward to the right flank of the Highlanders. Alone, and unsupported, and almost overpowered by the increasing numbers of the enemy, the Highlanders began to retire, and at length to run, the first instance (may it be the only one!) of a Highland regiment running *from* an enemy!!!\* A general route ensued; few of the infantry escaped, but the cavalry saved themselves by the speed of their horses. The loss of the British, in this disastrous affair, exceeded four hundred men. The Highland officers were perfectly satisfied with the conduct of their men, and imputing the disaster altogether to the bad dispositions of Colonel

\* Stewart.

Tarleton, made a representation to Lord Cornwallis, not to be employed again under the same officer, a request with which his lordship complied.

The main body of the American army under General Green retreated northward after this action, and Lord Cornwallis made every exertion to follow them. Previous to the march the two battalions of the 71st, being greatly reduced, were consolidated into one, and formed in brigade with the Welsh fusileers and 33d regiment. General Green retreated to Guildford Court-house, where, on the sixteenth of March, he prepared for battle. He drew up his army in three lines:—the first occupied the edge of a wood with a fence in front of Hogstie farm; the second a wood of stunted oaks at some distance in the rear; and the third line was drawn up in the more open parts of the woods and upon cleared ground. The front line of the British was formed of the German regiment of De Bos, the Highlanders and guards under the Honourable General Leslie on the right; and the Welsh fusileers, 33d regiment, and 2d battalion of guards under Brigadier-general Charles O'Hara, on the left. The cavalry were in the rear, supported by the light infantry of the guards and the German Yagers.

The order of battle being completed, the attack began at one o'clock. The Americans, covered by the fence in their front, reserved their fire till the British were within thirty or forty paces, at which distance they opened a most destructive fire, which annihilated nearly one-third of Colonel Webster's brigade. The fire was returned by the brigade, who rushed forward on the enemy. These abandoned their fence, and retreated on the second line. The contest was maintained with greater pertinacity on the more open ground, where the regiment of De Bos and the 33d retreated and advanced repeatedly before they succeeded in driving the enemy from the field. A party of the guards pressing forward without observing a body of cavalry placed in the right flank as a reserve, were charged in flank, had their line broken, and lost several men. The enemy, who had retreated, emboldened by the effect of this charge, halted, turned their face to the field, and recommenced firing. Whilst matters were in this state, and the Hessians warmly engaged, the Highlanders, who had rapidly pushed round the flank, appeared on a rising ground in rear of the enemy's left, and rushing forward with shouts, made such an impression on the Americans that they immediately fled, leaving their guns and ammunition behind. In this well-contested action, every corps fought separately, each depending on its own firmness; and having to sustain the weight of so greatly superior numbers, the issue was for some time doubtful. The British had seven officers and one hundred and two non-commissioned officers and rank and file killed, among whom were Ensign Grant and eleven soldiers of the 71st; and twenty officers and four hundred and nineteen non-commissioned officers and rank and file wounded, including four sergeants and forty-six soldiers of the same regiment.



No solid advantage was gained by this battle, as Lord Cornwallis found it necessary to retreat, and was even obliged to leave his wounded behind in a house in the neighbourhood. The British took the direction of Cross Creek, followed close in the rear by the Americans. The settlement of Cross Creek was possessed by emigrant Highlanders, who had evinced great loyalty during the war; and they now offered to bring fifteen hundred men into the field, and to furnish every necessary except arms and ammunition; but stipulated that they should be commanded by officers from the line. This reasonable offer was declined; but it was proposed to form them into what was called a provincial corps of the line. This proposition was rejected by the emigrant Highlanders, who retired to their settlements, after a negotiation of twelve days. The army then marched for Wilmington, where it arrived on the seventeenth of April. Here Lord Cornwallis halted till the twenty-sixth, when he proceeded on the route to Petersburg. After traversing several hundred miles of a country chiefly hostile, he arrived at Petersburg on the twentieth of May, where he formed a junction with Major-general Philips, who had recently arrived from New York with three thousand men. With the united forces, which amounted to six thousand men, Lord Cornwallis proceeded to Portsmouth, and whilst he was preparing to cross the river at St James's island, the Marquis de la Fayette, ignorant of the strength of the British army, gallantly attacked Colonel Thomas Dundas's brigade, with two thousand men. The Marquis was repulsed, but not without a warm contest.

Arriving at Portsmouth, Lord Cornwallis continued his march to Yorktown, and took up a position on the York river, on the twenty-second of August. The place selected was an elevated platform, on the banks of the river, nearly level. On the right of the position extending from the river, was a ravine about forty feet in depth, and upwards of one hundred yards in breadth; a line of entrenchments, with a horn-work, formed the centre. Beyond the ravine, on the right of the position, was an extensive redoubt, and two smaller ones on the left, also advanced beyond the entrenchments. These defences, which constituted the chief strength of the camp, were not completed when General Washington, who had been lately joined by the Count de Rochambeau, took up a position at the distance of two miles from the British lines. His force consisted of seven thousand French and twelve thousand Americans, being thrice as numerous as that of the British, which did not exceed five thousand nine hundred and fifty men.

General Washington immediately proceeded to erect batteries, and to make his approaches. He first directed his fire against the redoubt on the right, which after four days' bombardment was reduced to a heap of sand. He did not, however, attempt an assault on this point of the position, but turned his whole force against the redoubts on the left, which he carried by storm, and turned the guns of the redoubts on the other parts of the entrenchments. Some soldiers of the 71st, who



had manned one of these redoubts, conceiving that the honour of the regiment was compromised by their expulsion from the redoubt, sent a petition through the commanding officer to Lord Cornwallis, for permission to retake it; but as his lordship did not think that the acquisition would be of much importance, under existing circumstances, he declined the proposition.

Finding his position quite untenable, and his situation becoming every hour more critical, the British commander determined to decamp at midnight with the *elite* of his army, to cross the river, and leave a small force in the works to capitulate for the sick and wounded, the former being very numerous. The plan would have succeeded had not the passage of the river been rendered dangerous, if not impracticable, by a squall of wind. The first division was embarked, and some of the boats had reached Gloucester Point on the opposite shore, when the General countermanded the enterprise in consequence of a storm which arose. Judging farther resistance hopeless, Lord Cornwallis made proposals of capitulation, and the terms being adjusted, the British troops marched out with their arms and baggage on the eighth of October seventeen hundred and eighty-one, and were afterwards sent to different parts of the country. The garrison had six officers, and one hundred and fifty non-commissioned officers and rank and file killed, and six officers and three hundred and nineteen non-commissioned officers and rank and file wounded. Lieutenant Fraser and nine soldiers of the 71st were killed, and three drummers and nineteen soldiers wounded.

The military services of this army, which were now closed, had been most arduous. In less than twelve months they had marched and counter-marched nearly two thousand miles, had been subjected to many severe hardships, and besides numerous skirmishes, had fought two pitched battles, in all of which they had been victorious; yet all their exertions were unavailable in the general contest.

With this misfortune also ended the military career of the Fraser Highlanders, who remained prisoners till the conclusion of the war. True to their allegiance, they resisted to a man the solicitations of the Americans to join their standard and settle among them, thus exhibiting a striking moral contrast with many soldiers of other corps, who, in violation of their oath, entered the American ranks. In other respects the conduct of the Highlanders was in perfect keeping with this high state of moral feeling and daring, not one instance of disgraceful conduct ever having occurred in the 71st. The only case of military insubordination was that which happened at Leith in April seventeen hundred and seventy-nine, of which an account has been given in the history of the 42d regiment; but it is clear that no fault was attributable to the men of the detachment in question, who merely insisted on the fulfilment of the engagement which had been entered into with them.

The regiment returned to Scotland on the termination of hostilities, and was discharged at Perth in seventeen hundred and eighty-three.

## KEITH'S AND CAMPBELL'S HIGHLANDERS,

OR

EIGHTY-SEVENTH AND EIGHTY-EIGHTH REGIMENTS.—1759

THE first of these regiments consisted of three companies of one hundred and five men each. Major Robert Murray Keith, who had served in the Scotch Brigade in Holland, and a relation of the celebrated Field Marshal Keith, was appointed to the command. About the end of the year seventeen hundred and fifty-nine this regiment joined the allied army in Germany under Prince Frederick of Brunswick.

The Highlanders were not long in the allied camp when they were brought into action. On the third of January seventeen hundred and sixty the Marquis de Vogue attacked and carried the town of Herborn, and made a small detachment of the allies who were posted there prisoners. At the same time the Marquis Dauvet made himself master of Dillemburg, the garrison of the allied troops retiring into the castle, where they were closely besieged. Prince Ferdinand no sooner understood their situation than he began his march with a strong detachment for their relief on the seventh of January, when he attacked and defeated the besiegers. On the same day "the Highlanders under Major Keith, supported by the hussars of Luckner, who commanded the whole detachment, attacked the village of Eybach, where Beau Fremont's regiment of dragoons was posted, and routed them with great slaughter. The greater part of the regiment was killed, and many prisoners were taken, together with two hundred horses and all their baggage. The Highlanders distinguished themselves on this occasion by their intrepidity, which was the more remarkable, as they were no other than raw recruits, just arrived from their own country, and altogether unacquainted with discipline."\* The Highlanders on this occasion had four men killed and seven wounded.

Prince Ferdinand was so well satisfied with the conduct of this body, that he recommended to the governor not only to increase it to eight hundred men, but to raise another regiment of equal strength, to be placed under his serene highness. This recommendation was instantly attended to, and, in a few weeks, the requisite number of men was raised in the counties of Argyle, Perth, Inverness, Ross, and Sutherland. The command of the new regiment was conferred on John Campbell of Dunoon, but power was reserved to the earls of Sutherland and Breadalbane, the lairds of Macleod and Innes, and other gentlemen in the north, to appoint captains and subalterns to companies raised on their respective estates. Major Macnab, son of the laird of Macnab: Cap-

tain Archibald Campbell, brother of Achallader; John Campbell of Auch and other officers, were recommended by Lord Breadalbane; and Macleod, who raised a company in Sky, appointed his nephew, Captain Fotheringham of Powrie, to it. Sir James Innes, chief of that name, who succeeded to the estates and dukedom of Roxburgh in the year eighteen hundred and ten, was also appointed to a company.

Keith's regiment was embodied at Perth and Campbell's at Stirling, and, being embodied at the same time and ordered on the same service, an interchange of officers took place. Embarking for Germany they joined the allied army, under Prince Ferdinand, in seventeen hundred and sixty, and were distinguished by being placed in the grenadier brigade.

The allied army moved from Kalle on the thirtieth of July seventeen hundred and sixty, in consequence of the advance of the French, who took up a position on the river Dymel. The hereditary prince of Brunswick, who had passed that river the preceding day, was directed by Prince Ferdinand to turn the left of the enemy, who were posted between Warburg and Ochsendorff, whilst he himself advanced in front with the main body of the army. The French were attacked almost at the same moment both in flank and rear, and defeated with considerable loss. In an account of the battle written by Prince Ferdinand to George II. he says "that the loss of the allies, which was moderate, fell chiefly upon Maxwell's brave battalion of English grenadiers and the two regiments of Scots Highlanders, which did wonders. Colonel Beckwith, who commanded the whole brigade formed of English grenadiers and Scots Highlanders, distinguished himself greatly." None of the Highlanders were killed but Lieutenant Walter Ogilvie, and two privates were wounded.

Another affair soon occurred in which the Highlanders also distinguished themselves. Prince Ferdinand, having determined to beat up the quarters of a large French detachment stationed at Zeirenberg, pitched upon five battalions, with a detachment of the Highlanders and eight regiments of dragoons, for this service. This body began their march on the night of the fifth of August, and when within two miles of the town the corps proceeded by three different roads, Maxwell's brigade of grenadiers, the regiment of Kingsby, and the Highlanders keeping together. They marched in profound silence, and though their tramp was at last heard by the French the surprise was too sudden for effectual resistance. "The Scots Highlanders mounted the breaches sword in hand, supported by the Chasseurs. The column of English grenadiers advanced in good order and with the greatest silence. In short, the service was complete, and the troops displayed equal courage, soldier-like conduct, and activity."\* The loss of the Highlanders in this affair was three privates killed and six wounded.

The hereditary prince being hard pressed by Marshal de Castries,

\* Military Memoirs.

was reinforced from the camp at Warburg. The Highlanders joined him on the fourteenth of October, shortly after he had been attacked by the Marshal, who had compelled him to retire. The prince now attacked the French commander in his turn, but was unsuccessful, being obliged again to retire after a warm contest, which lasted from five till nine in the morning. The Highlanders, who "were in the first column of attack, were the last to retreat, and kept their ground in the face of every disadvantage, even after the troops on their right and left had retired. The Highlanders were so exasperated with the loss they sustained, that it was with difficulty they could be withdrawn, when Colonel Campbell received orders from an aide-de-camp sent by the prince, desiring him to retreat, as to persist in maintaining his position longer would be an useless waste of human life." In this action Lieutenants William Ogilvie and Alexander Macleod of the Highlanders, four sergeants, and thirty-seven rank and file were killed, and Captain Archibald Campbell of Achallader, Lieutenants Gordon Clunes, Archibald Stewart, Angus Mackintosh of Killachy, and Walter Barland, and ten rank and file wounded.\*

On the preceding night an attempt was made by Major Pollock, with one hundred grenadiers and the same number of Keith's Highlanders, to surprise the convent of Closter Camp, where a detachment of the enemy was posted, and where, it was supposed, the French commander and some of his officers were to pass the night; but this attempt miscarried. On reaching the sentinel of the main-guard Major Pollock rushed upon him and ran him through the body with his sword. The wounded man, before falling, turned round upon his antagonist and shot him with a pistol, upon which they both fell dead.

The next affair in which the Highlanders were engaged was the battle of Fellinghausen, in July seventeen hundred and sixty-one. The commander-in-chief, in a general order, thus expressed his approbation of the conduct of the corps in this action: "His serene highness, Duke Ferdinand of Brunswick, has been graciously pleased to order Colonel Beckwith to signify to the brigade he has the honour to command his entire approbation of their conduct on the 15th and 16th of July. The soldier-like perseverance of the Highland regiments in resisting and repulsing the repeated attacks of the chosen troops of France, has deservedly gained them the highest honour. The ardour and activity with which the grenadiers pushed and pursued the enemy, and the trophies they have taken, justly entitle them to the highest encomiums. The intrepidity of the little band of Highlanders merits the greatest praise." Colonel Beckwith, in making this communication, added, that "the humanity and generosity with which the soldiers treated the great flock of prisoners they took, did them as much honour as their

\* At this time the corps was joined by a reinforcement of 400 men from Johnstone's Highlanders, and soon afterwards by 200 of Maclean's.

subduing the enemy." In this action Major Archibald Campbell of Achallader, who had been promoted only a week before,\* and Lieutenants William Ross and John Grant, and thirty-one rank and file, were killed; and Major Archibald Macnab, Captain James Fraser, Lieutenants Archibald Macarthur, Patrick Campbell, and John Macintosh, brother of Killachy and father of the late Sir James Mackintosh, M.P., two sergeants, and seventy privates, were wounded.

No enterprise of any moment was attempted till the twenty-eighth of June seventeen hundred and sixty-two, when Prince Ferdinand attacked the French army at Graibenstein, and defeated them. The French lost upwards of four thousand men in killed, wounded, and prisoners, including two hundred officers, whilst that sustained by the allies did not exceed seven hundred men. The British troops, who were under the command of the marquis of Granby, "behaved with a bravery not to be paralleled, especially our grenadiers and Highlanders."

The Highlanders, from the distinction they had earned in these different rencounters, now began to attract the especial notice of the Germans. When an entire ignorance prevailed among the people of England respecting the Highlanders, it is not to be wondered at that the Germans should have formed the most extraordinary notions of these mountaineers. In common with the English they looked upon the Highlanders as savages; but their ignorance went farther, for the people of Germany actually believed that the Highlanders were still strangers to Christianity. "The Scotch Highlanders," says an article which appeared in the Vienna Gazette of seventeen hundred and sixty-two, "are a people totally different in their dress, manners, and temper from the other inhabitants of Britain. *They are caught in the mountains when young*, and still run with a surprising degree of swiftness. As they are strangers to fear, they make very good soldiers when disciplined. The men are of low stature, and the most of them old or very young. They discover an extraordinary submission and love for their officers, who are all young and handsome. From the goodness of their dispositions in every thing, for the boors are much better treated by these savages than by the polished French and English; from the goodness of their disposition, which, by the by, shows the rectitude of human nature before it is vitiated by example or prejudice, it is to be hoped that their king's laudable, though late, endeavours to civilize and instruct them in the principles of Christianity will meet with success!" The article adds, that the "French held them at first in great contempt, but they have met with them so often of late, and seen them in the front of so many battles, that they firmly believe that there are twelve battalions of them in the army instead of two. Broglie himself has lately said that he once

\* The cause of his promotion was his having, with a party of Highlanders, rescued General Griffin, afterwards Lord Howard of Walden, from a strong detachment of the enemy. Major Campbell was brother of Achallader, who, by his classical learning and acquirements, attracted the notice of Lord Lyttleton.



wished that he was a man of six feet high, but that now he is reconciled to his size since he has seen the wonders performed by the little mountaineers." An acquaintance with the Highlanders soon dissipated the illusions under which the Germans laboured.

The Highlanders were not engaged in the battle of Johannisberg, in which the allies were worsted; but, on the twenty-first of September, in the subsequent action at Brucher Mühl, they took a part. The French occupied a mill on one side of the road, and the allies a redoubt on the other, and the great object of both parties was to obtain possession of a small post which defended the bridge at Brucher Mühl. At first a slight cannonade was opened from a few guns, but these were speedily augmented to twenty-five heavy pieces on each side. In the post occupied by the allies there was only at first one hundred men, but during the action, which lasted without intermission for fifteen hours, no less than seventeen regiments were successively brought forward, replacing one another after they had spent their ammunition. Both sides remained in their respective positions, and although the contest was long and severe the allies lost only six hundred men in killed and wounded. The Highland corps had Major Alexander Maclean and twenty-one rank and file killed, and Captain Patrick Campbell, and Lieutenant Walter Barland, three sergeants, and fifty-eight rank and file wounded.

On the conclusion of hostilities in November seventeen hundred and sixty-two, the Highlanders were ordered home. In the three campaigns in which they had served they had established a well-earned reputation for bravery, and so great was the estimation in which they were held by the Dutch, that, on their march through Holland, they were welcomed with acclamations, particularly by the women, who presented them with laurel leaves;—a feeling which, it is said, was in some measure owing to the friendly intercourse which had previously existed between the inhabitants and the Scotch brigade.

After landing at Tilbury Fort the regiments marched for Scotland, and were received every where on their route with the most marked attention, particularly at Derby, the inhabitants of which town presented the men with gratuities in money. Among various reasons assigned for the remarkable predilection shown by the people of Derby the most probable is, a feeling of gratitude for the respect shown by the Highlanders to the persons and properties of the inhabitants when visited by them in the year seventeen hundred and forty-five.

Keith's regiment was marched to Perth and Campbell's to Linlithgow, and were reduced in July seventeen hundred and sixty-three.

The total loss of these corps was one hundred and fifteen men, besides seven officers; and one hundred and seventy-six men, and thirteen officers, wounded.



## EIGHTY-NINTH HIGHLAND REGIMENT.—1759.

THE war in which Great Britain was engaged requiring, at this time, increased exertions on the part of the government, government resolved to raise, in addition to Keith's Highlanders, another regiment in those parts of the Highlands where the influence of the Gordon family prevailed. At the solicitation of the Dowager Duchess of Gordon Major Staates Long Morris, to whom she had been lately married, was appointed to raise the regiment; and, to strengthen his interest amongst the youth of the North, the late duke of Gordon, then a youth at college, was appointed a captain; his brother, Lord William, a lieutenant; and his younger brother, Lord George, an ensign. The object of the duchess in obtaining these appointments, was to counteract the political influence of the duke of Argyle during the minority of her son. Major Morris was so successful that, in a few weeks, seven hundred and sixty men were collected at Gordon Castle, who, in December seventeen hundred and fifty-nine, were marched to Aberdeen. The following officers then received their commissions:—

*Lieutenant-colonel commandant.*—Staates Long Morris, died a general in the army.

*First Major.*—George Scott, a general in 1798, died in 1811.

*Second Major.*—Hector Munro, a general in 1798, died in 1806

### *Captains.*

Alexander, duke of Gordon.	Norman Lamont, son of the laird of Lamont.
Alexander Duff of Cubben.	
George Morrison of Bognie.	Duncan Macpherson, afterwards in the 42d and 71st regiments, died 1807.
William Macgillivray of Dumaglass.	
Ludovic Grant of Knockando.	

*Captain-lieutenant.*—Archibald Dunbar, son of Sir Archibald Dunbar of Northfield.

### *Lieutenants.*

Lord William Gordon.	William Baillie, killed in India, 1779, then commanding a detachment of Sir Hector Munro's army.
Charles Gordon of Shellagreen, afterwards lieutenant-colonel of the 77th, or Athole Highlanders.	Alexander Godsmen.
Lawrence Leith.	William Finlayson, died in 1817.
Alexander Stewart of Lismurdie.	Alexander Macpherson.
Ral. Hanson.	William Macpherson.
George Campbell.	R. T. Rd. Maitland.
John Gordon.	James Fordyce.
John Macdonald, lieutenant-colonel of the 81st Highland regiment, 1783.	Robert Munro.
	Alexander Duff of Mayne.

*Ensigns.*

Lord George Gordon.

James Gordon.

Alexander Gordon.

John Edwards.

Patrick Ogilvie, brother to Ogilvie of  
East Milne.

John Macpherson.

Harry Gilchrist.

*Chaplain.*—Alexander Chambers.*Quarter-master.*—James Bennett.*Adjutant.*—Alexander Donald.*Surgeon.*—James Arthur.

The regiment embarked at Portsmouth for the East Indies in December seventeen hundred and sixty, and arrived at Bombay in November following. The duke of Gordon was desirous of accompanying the regiment, but his mother, at the especial request of George II., induced him to remain at home to finish his education.

The 89th had no particular station assigned them, but kept moving from place to place till a strong detachment under Major Hector Munro joined the army under the command of Major Carnac, in the neighbourhood of Patna. Major Munro then assumed the command, and being well supported by his men, quelled a formidable mutiny among the troops. After the ringleaders had been executed and discipline restored, Major Munro attacked the enemy at Buxar, on the twenty-third day of October seventeen hundred and sixty-four, and, though the force opposed to him was five times as numerous as his own, he overthrew and dispersed it. The enemy had six thousand men killed, and left a hundred and thirty pieces of cannon on the field, whilst his majesty's troops had only two officers and four rank and file killed. Major Munro received a letter of thanks on the occasion from the president and council of Calcutta. "The signal victory you gained," they say, "so as at one blow utterly to defeat the designs of the enemy against these provinces, is an event which does so much honour to yourself, Sir, in particular, and to all the officers and men under your command, and which, at the same time, is attended with such particular advantages to the Company, as call upon us to return you our sincere thanks." For this important service Major Munro was immediately promoted to the brevet rank of Lieutenant-colonel.

The services of the regiment being no longer required it was ordered home, and was reduced in the year seventeen hundred and sixty-five. It has been remarked, as a singular circumstance attending their service, that, although five years embodied, four of which were spent in India, or on the passage going and returning, none of the officers died, nor was there any promotion or other change among them, except the change of Lord William Gordon to the 67th regiment, and the promotion of his successor to his lieutenancy. The same good conduct which distinguished the other Highland corps was not less conspicuous in this,—not one man out of eight of the companies, numbering in all seven hundred and eighty men, having been brought to the halberts. Of the whole regiment only six men suffered corporal punishment.

## JOHNSTONE'S HIGHLANDERS,

OR

ONE HUNDRED AND FIRST REGIMENT.—1760.

THIS regiment, which consisted of five companies, of five sergeants and one hundred and five rank and file each, was raised in the year seventeen hundred and sixty by the following gentlemen, viz. Colin Graham of Drainie, James Cuthbert of Milncraigs, Peter Gordon of Knockespie, Ludovick Grant of the family of Rothiemurchus, and Robert Campbell, son of Ballivolin. These all received captain's commissions.

After the companies were completed they assembled at Perth, and thence were marched to Newcastle, where they remained till near the end of the year seventeen hundred and sixty-one, when they were sent to Germany, to reinforce Keith's and Campbell's Highlanders. Their officers did not accompany them, but were ordered back to the Highlands to raise six additional companies of the same strength as the other five. This service was soon performed, six hundred men having assembled at Perth in a few months. Major, afterwards Sir, James Johnstone of Westerhall was appointed to the command of the corps, with the rank of major-commandant. The major, Adjutant Macveah, and Sergeant-major Coxwell, were the only persons in the 101st regiment not Highlanders. Lieutenant-general Lord George Beauclerk reviewed the regiment at Perth in seventeen hundred and sixty-two, and declared that he had never seen a body of men in a more "efficient state, and better fitted to meet the enemy." They had, however, no opportunity of realizing the expectations formed of them, not having been called into active service. The regiment was reduced at Perth in August seventeen hundred and sixty-three.

## SEVENTY-THIRD REGIMENT,

OR

LORD MACLEOD'S HIGHLANDERS,

NOW SEVENTY-FIRST OR GLASGOW LIGHT INFANTRY.—1777.

THIS regiment took its original name from Lord Macleod, eldest son of the earl of Cromarty, both of whom were engaged in the rebellion of seventeen hundred and forty-five. Having, on account of his youth, received an unconditional pardon for his share in that transaction, Lord

Macleod went abroad in quest of employment in foreign service. He sojourned some time at Berlin with Field Marshal Keith, through whose interest, it is believed, he obtained a commission in the Swedish army. At this time his means were so limited that he was unable to equip himself for the service, but the Chevalier de St George, on the recommendation of Lord George Murray, generously sent him a sum of money to defray the expenses of his outfit. He is described by Lord George as "a young man of real merit," who, he was hopeful, would gain the good opinion of those under whom he was to serve. This expectation was fully realized, and after serving the crown of Sweden twenty-seven years with distinguished approbation, he obtained the rank of Lieutenant-general.\*

Though exiled so long from his native country the attachment to the land of his birth was not in the least abated, and, desirous of revisiting it, he returned to England in the year seventeen hundred and seventy-seven, and was presented to George III., who received him very graciously. At the suggestion of Colonel Duff of Muirtown, who had served in Keith's Highlanders, and encouraged by the favourable reception he met with in the north, he offered his services to raise a regiment. The offer was accepted, and although without property or political consequence, yet so great was the influence of his name, that eight hundred and forty Highlanders were raised and marched to Elgin in a very short time. In addition to these, two hundred and thirty-six Lowlanders were raised by captains the Honourable John Lindsay, David Baird, James Fowles, and other officers, besides thirty-four English and Irish, who were enlisted in Glasgow, making in all eleven hundred men. The corps was embodied at Elgin, and inspected there by General Skene in April seventeen hundred and seventy-eight. About this time letters of service were issued for raising a second battalion of the same size as the first,—a service which was speedily performed. The men of both battalions, of whom nearly eighteen hundred were from those parts of the Highlands where the interest of Lord Macleod's family had once predominated, were of a robust constitution and of exemplary behaviour.

The first battalion, under Lord Macleod, embarked for the East Indies in January seventeen hundred and seventy-nine, and arrived in Madras Roads on the twentieth of January following. The second battalion, under the command of the Honourable Lieut.-colonel George Mackenzie, brother of Lord Macleod, was sent to Gibraltar, where they landed two days before the arrival of the second battalion at Madras.

The second battalion formed part of the garrison of Gibraltar during the siege, which lasted upwards of three years. In this, the only service in which it was engaged, the battalion had thirty privates killed and seven sergeants, and one hundred and twenty-one rank and file wounded. In

\* See Lord George Murray's and Lord Macleod's letters, amongst the Stuart Papers, in the Appendix.

May seventeen hundred and eighty-three it returned to England and was reduced at Stirling in October following. The officers who were regimentally senior in rank had liberty granted to join the first battalion in India.

The first battalion joined the army under Major-general Sir Hector Munro assembled at St Thomas's Mount, near Madras, in July seventeen hundred and eighty. This force amounted to five thousand two hundred and nine men, and, with the exception of one battalion of the Company's European troops, and the grenadiers of another, and eight hundred Highlanders, consisted of native troops.

General Munro, with the view of joining Colonel Baillie, who had a force of nearly three thousand men under him, marched for Conjeveram, where he arrived on the twenty-ninth of August. Colonel Baillie reached Perambaucum, fifteen miles from General Munro's position, on the sixth of September, where he was attacked by Tippoo Saib, whom, after a contest of several hours, he repulsed. Strange to say, the armies of Munro and Baillie, though within a few hours' march of each other, made no effort to unite, and two days after the battle Colonel Baillie sent notice to General Munro to push forward with the main body, as, from the loss he had lately sustained, he was unable to advance in the face of an enemy who was so superior in numbers. After an unaccountable delay of three days the general sent forward the flank companies of the 73d Highlanders under Captains David Baird and the Honourable John Lindsay, two companies of European grenadiers, and eleven companies of seapoys, all under the command of Colonel Fletcher, and by taking a circuitous route, they were enabled to form a junction with the corps of Colonel Baillie without opposition.

Reinforced by this detachment Colonel Baillie set out to join Munro on the evening of the ninth of September, but he had not proceeded above a mile when he fell in with the picquets of Hyder Ali's army. An irregular fire commenced, which was kept up by both parties for several miles. About midnight Colonel Baillie halted and lay on his arms all night without being disturbed by the enemy. He continued his march next morning without opposition, and, after proceeding two miles, entered a jungle. The sultan had concentrated his army about this spot, and on the preceding day had raised three batteries, one in the centre of the grove, and one on each flank. No sooner had Colonel Baillie advanced into the jungle than a heavy and destructive fire was opened upon him from fifty-seven pieces of cannon from the batteries and field-artillery. The march was in the form of a square, with the sick, and the baggage, and ammunition in the centre, and though the detachment was assailed on all sides by an immense force, the enemy, after a desperate conflict of three hours' duration, were driven back at every point. Thus repulsed, "Hyder determined to retreat; and a rapid movement which Baillie made from the centre appeared to have decided the day. Orders were given to Colonel Lally, a French officer in the service of



the sultan, to draw off his men, and to the cavalry to cover the retreat, when in that instant two explosions were perceived in the English line, which laid open one entire face of their column, destroyed their artillery, and threw the whole into irreparable confusion!" This occurrence revived the hopes of Hyder, whose cavalry charged in separate squadrons, whilst bodies of infantry poured in volleys of musketry; but they were gallantly repelled in every attack. Reduced at last to little more than four hundred men, Colonel Baillie formed these remains of his army into a square on a small eminence. In this situation, after two-thirds of the number had been killed or disabled, the officers with their swords, and the soldiers with their bayonets, repulsed thirteen charges; but being borne down by fresh bodies of horse, Colonel Baillie, to save the lives of the few brave men who survived, displayed a flag of truce. Quarter was promised, but no sooner had the troops laid down their arms than they were attacked with a savage fury by the enemy; but, by the humane interference of the French officers, many lives were saved. One of these officers in a description of the battle says, "Too great encomiums cannot be bestowed on the English commander and his troops, for in the whole of this trying conflict they preserved a coolness of manœuvre which would have done honour to any troops in the world. Raked by the fire of an immense artillery, the greatest part of the action within grape-shot distance, attacked on all sides by not less than 25,000 horse and thirty battalions of seapoys, besides Hyder's European troops, the English column stood firm, and repulsed every charge with great slaughter; the horse driven back on the infantry, the right of our line began to give way, though composed of the best troops in the Mysore army."\*

In this destructive action the flank companies of the Highlanders had Lieutenants Geddes Mackenzie, and William Gun, Volunteer Forbes, three sergeants, and eighty-two rank and file killed; and Captain David Baird, Lieutenants the Honourable John Lindsay, Philip Melville, Hugh Cuthbert, four sergeants, four drummers, and ninety-two rank and file wounded. All these, with twenty-three who escaped without wounds, were thrown into a dungeon by Hyder Ali, and were treated with such barbarity that only thirty of the soldiers survived, and of these few were afterwards fit for service.†

\* Journal of a French officer.

† Mrs Grant, in her 'Superstitions of the Highlanders,' alluding to the inflexible integrity of the Highlanders under the most trying privations, observes:—"A Highland regiment, commanded by Lord Macleod, was, during the war with Hyder Ali, engaged in an unfortunate rencounter, when more than 100 men fell into the hands of that remorseless tyrant. They were treated with the most cruel indignity, and fed upon very sparing proportions of unwholesome rice, which operated as slow poison, assisted by the burning heat of the sun by day, and the unwholesome dews of night, to which they were purposely exposed to shake their constancy. Daily some of their companions dropped before their eyes, and daily they were offered liberty and riches in exchange for this lingering torture, on condition of relinquishing their religion and taking the turban. Yet not one could be prevailed upon to purchase life on these terms. These Highlanders



Some time after the battle of Conjeveram, Lord Macleod took ship-ping for England, having, it is said, differed in opinion with General Munro on the subject of his movements, particularly those preceding Colonel Baillie's disaster. He was succeeded in the command of the 73d by Colonel James Crawford, who, with the regiment now reduced to five hundred men, joined the army under Sir Eyre Coote on the morning of the first of July seventeen hundred and eighty-one, when about to attack the enemy at Porto Novo.

General Coote's army did not exceed eight thousand men, of which the 73d was the only British regiment. The force under Hyder Ali consisted of twenty-five battalions of infantry, four hundred Europeans, between forty and fifty thousand horse, and above one hundred thousand matchlock men, peons, and polygars, with forty-seven pieces of cannon. Notwithstanding this immense disparity of force Sir Eyre Coote determined to attack Hyder, and, accordingly, drew up his army in two lines, the first commanded by Major-general H. Munro, and the second by Major-general James Stuart. A plain divided the two armies, beyond which the enemy were drawn up on a ground strengthened by front and flanking redoubts and batteries. General Coote advanced to the attack at nine o'clock, and, after a contest of eight hours, the enemy were forced from all their entrenchments, and compelled to retire.\*

After a variety of movements, both armies again met near Perambaucum, the spot so fatal to Colonel Baillie's detachment. Hyder Ali, in anticipation of an attack, had taken up a strong position on ground

were entirely illiterate; scarce one of them could have told the name of any particular sect of Christians, and all the idea they had of the Mahomedan religion was that it was adverse to their own, and to what they had been taught by their fathers; and that adopting it they would renounce Him who had died that they might live, and who loved them, and could support them in all their sufferings. The great outlines of their religion, the peculiar tenets which distinguish it from any other, were early and deeply impressed on their minds, and proved sufficient in the hour of trial.

'Rise, muse, rise, add all your tuneful breath,  
These must not sleep in darkness and in death.'

It was not theirs to meet death in the field of honour, while the mind, wrought up with fervid eagerness, went forth in search of him. They saw his slow approach, and though sunk into languid debility, such as quenches the fire of mere temperament, they never once hesitated at the alternative set before them. Their fortitude should at least be applauded, though their faith, and the hopes that supported them, were not taken into the account. This well-known, though neglected, instance of what may be expected from being accustomed from the cradle to self-command and self-denial, affords an additional proof of the importance of preserving, unmingled and undebased, a race so fit to encounter those perils and labours worse than death, which the defence of our wide-extended empire requires."

\* "The 73d was on the right of the first line, and led all the attacks, to the full approbation of General Coote, whose notice was particularly attracted by one of the pipers, who always blew up his most warlike sounds whenever the fire became hotter than ordinary. This so pleased the general that he cried aloud, 'Well done, my brave fellow, you shall have a pair of silver pipes for this!' The promise was not forgotten, and a handsome pair of pipes was presented to the regiment, with an inscription in testimony of the general's esteem for their conduct and character."—*Stewart*.

intersected by deep water courses and ravines. The British commander formed his line of battle under a heavy fire, which the troops bore with firmness. An obstinate contest took place, which lasted from nine in the morning till sun-set. Hyder then abandoned his position, leaving General Coote master of the field of battle. The loss of the British was upwards of four hundred killed and wounded; almost all native troops.

Colonel Crawford having become second in command, in consequence of the departure of General Munro for England, and the disabling of General Stuart in the last-mentioned action, Captain Shaw assumed the command of the 73d regiment. It continued attached to General Coote's army, and was present at the battles of Sholungar on the twenty-seventh of September, seventeen hundred and eighty-one, and of Arnee on the second of June, seventeen hundred and eighty-two.\*

Having obtained reinforcements from England, General Stuart, who had recovered from his wounds, and succeeded to the command of the army on the death of General Coote, who died in April, seventeen hundred and eighty-three, resolved to attack Cuddalore, the garrison of which had also obtained considerable additions from the isle of France. General Stuart accordingly appeared before the place on the sixth of June, seventeen hundred and eighty-three, and as M. Bussy, who commanded the garrison, was active in increasing his means of defence, he determined to make a speedy attack, and fixed the morning of the thirteenth for that purpose. The firing of three guns from a hill was to be the signal for a simultaneous assault at three different points; but in consequence of the noise of the cannonade which was immediately opened, the signals were not distinguished, and the attacks were not made at the same time. The enemy were thus enabled to direct their whole forces against each successive attack, and the result was, that one of the divisions was driven back. In the ardour of the pursuit, the besieged evacuated their redoubts, which were instantly taken possession of by Lieutenant-colonel Cathcart with the grenadiers, and Lieutenant-colonel Stuart "with the precious remains of the 73d regiment." Though Colonel Stuart's party were forced to retire from the more advanced posts, yet as they retained possession of the principal redoubts, the advantage already was on the side of the British. In the belief that the French would retire from all their advanced posts during the night, General Stuart did not attempt to carry them. This expectation was realized. In this affair the 73d had Captains Alexander Mackenzie, and

\* In these encounters the regiment suffered little loss. Munro in his narrative mentions the following case: "I take this opportunity of commemorating the fall of John Doune Mackay, corporal in Macleod's Highlanders, son to Robert Doune, the bard, whose singular talent for the beautiful and extemporaneous composition of Gaelic poetry, was held in such esteem. This son of the bard had frequently revived the spirits of his countrymen, when drooping in a long march, by singing the humorous and lively productions of his father. He was killed by a cannon-shot, and buried with military honours by his comrades the same evening."

the Honourable James Lindsay, Lieutenants Simon Mackenzie and James Trail, four sergeants and eighty rank of file killed; and Captain John Hamilton, Lieutenants Charles Gorrie, David Rannie, John Sinclair, James Duncan, and George Sutherland, five sergeants, and one hundred and seven rank and file wounded. The casualties of the enemy exceeded a thousand men.

With the aid of two thousand four hundred men from the fleet, under Admiral Suffrein, Bussy made a spirited sortie on the twenty-fifth of June, but was driven back with great loss. Hostilities terminated on the first of July, in consequence of accounts of the signature of preliminaries of peace between Great Britain and France having been received. The army returned to St Thomas's Mount at the conclusion of the definitive treaty of peace, in March, seventeen hundred and eighty-four.

In consequence of the arrangements made when the second battalion was reduced, the Honourable Lieutenant-colonel George Mackenzie, and some other officers of that corps, joined the regiment in seventeen hundred and eighty-five. Next year the number of the regiment was changed to the 71st, on which occasion it received new colours. The same year the corps sustained a heavy loss by the death of Colonel Mackenzie, when Captain (afterwards General Sir David) Baird was appointed major. Lord Macleod died in seventeen hundred and eighty-nine, and was succeeded in the colonelcy by the Honourable Major-general William Gordon. The strength of the regiment was at this time about eight hundred men, which had been kept up to that number by occasional detachments from Scotland.

The war between Tippoo Saib and the East India Company, which broke out in seventeen hundred and ninety, brought the regiment again into active service. In May of that year, the 71st and Seaforth's Highlanders, (the 72d,) joined a large army assembled at Trinchinopoly, the command of which was assumed by Major-general Meadows. The right wing was commanded by Lieutenant-colonel James Stuart, and the left by Lieutenant-colonel Bridges; the two Highland regiments forming the second brigade. In the campaign against Tippoo, the 71st followed all the movements of the army. The flank companies were employed in the attack on Dundegul, and the regiment was, after the capture of that place, engaged in the siege of Palacatcherry.

Lord Cornwallis joined the army early in seventeen hundred and ninety-one as commander-in-chief, and, after various movements, encamped close to Bangalore on the fifth of March. He made an assault on the twenty-first, and carried the place with little loss. The attack was led by the flank companies, including those of the 71st, all under the command of the Honourable John Lindsay and Captain (now Lieutenant-general) James Robertson, son of the late Principal Robertson the historian.

Having obtained a reinforcement of ten thousand well-mounted native cavalry, and some European troops from the Carnatic, Lord Corn-

wallis advanced upon Seringapatam, and on the thirteenth of May came within sight of the enemy, drawn up a few miles from the town, having the river on their right, and the heights of Carrighaut on their left. On the fifteenth the enemy were forced from a strong position, and driven across the river into the island on which the capital stands. In this affair the 71st had Lieutenant Roderick Mackenzie, and seven rank and file killed; and Ensign (afterwards Lieutenant-colonel\*) Charles Stewart, and seventy-four rank and file wounded.

The advanced state of the season, and other unfavourable circumstances operating against a siege, Lord Cornwallis retired to Bangalore. From this place he detached Major Gowdie to attack Nundydroog, a strong fortified granite rock of great height. Except on one side this strength was inaccessible, and care had been taken to strengthen that part by a double line of ramparts, and an outwork covered the gate by a flanking fire. Notwithstanding its great elevation and very steep ascent, Nundydroog could still be approached, but it required immense labour to render the approaches available. After fourteen days' intense application, the besiegers succeeded in dragging up some guns, and erecting batteries on the face of a craggy precipice, from which they made two breaches, one on the re-entering angle of the outwork, and the other in the curtain of the outer wall.

Moving with his whole army towards Nundydroog, on the eighteenth of October, Lord Cornwallis made preparations for storming the place. An assault by night having been determined upon, Lieutenant Hugh Mackenzie, (afterwards paymaster of the 71st,) with twenty grenadiers of the 36th and 71st regiments, was to lead the attack on the right; and Lieutenant Moore, with twenty light infantry, and the two flank companies of the same regiment, under Lieutenants Duncan and Kenneth Mackenzie, was to lead the left. The whole was under the command of Captain (now Lieutenant-general) James Robertson, supported by Captain (afterwards Major-general) Burns, with the grenadiers, and Captain Hartley with the light infantry of the 36th regiment. Whilst waiting the signal to advance, one of the soldiers whispered something about a *mine*. General Meadows overhearing the observation, took advantage of the circumstance, by intimating that there *was* a mine, but it was "a mine of gold." This remark was not thrown away upon the troops.

Apprehensive of an assault, the enemy had provided themselves with huge masses of granite, to hurl down upon the besiegers when they should attempt to ascend the rock. The assault was made on the morning of the nineteenth of October, in a clear moonlight, and in spite of every obstacle the assailants effected a lodgement within one hundred yards of the breach. Driven from the outward rocks, the enemy attempted to barricade the gate of the inner rampart; but it was

\* Of the 50th regiment. He died in Spain in 1810.

soon forced, and the place carried with the loss of thirty men amongst the native troops killed and wounded, principally from the stones which were rolled down the rock.

Encouraged by this success, Lord Cornwallis next laid siege to Savendroog, the strongest rock in the Mysore, and hitherto deemed impregnable. This strength was considerably higher than Nundydroog, and was separated by a chasm into two parts at the top, on each of which parts was a fort, independent of each other. The arduous duty of reducing this stronghold was intrusted to Lieutenant-colonel Stuart, who had already distinguished himself in other enterprises. Some of the outworks were battered preparatory to an assault which was fixed for the twenty-first of December. Accordingly, in the morning of that day, the flank companies of the 52d, the two Highland regiments and the 76th, were assembled under the command of Lieutenant-colonel Nisbet of the 52d, and at eleven o'clock in the forenoon, the party advanced to the assault to the air of "*Britons Strike Home*," performed by the band of the 52d regiment. The assailants then ascended the rock, clambering up a precipice which was so perpendicular, that after the capture of the place the men were afraid to descend. The citadel on the eastern top was soon carried, and eventually the whole of the rock, the assailants losing only two men. This success was soon followed by the capture of all the other strongholds in the Mysore.

Bent upon the capture of the Sultan's capital, the possession of which would, it was supposed, finish the war, Lord Cornwallis put his army in motion for Seringapatam, in the month of January, seventeen hundred and ninety-two, of which place he came in sight on the fourth of February. On the evening of the sixth he formed his army into three columns; the right column consisting of the 36th and 76th regiments, being under the command of General Meadows, the centre one, consisting of the 52d, and 71st, and 74th Highland regiments, under Lord Cornwallis, with Lieutenant-colonels James Stuart, and the Honourable John Knox, and the left column, being the 72d Highland regiment, under Lieutenant-colonel Maxwell. The native troops were divided in proportion to each column. General Meadows was to penetrate the enemy's left, after which he was to attempt to open and preserve the communication with Lord Cornwallis's division, by directing all his efforts towards the centre. Part of the centre division, under Colonel Stuart, was to pierce through the centre of the enemy's camp, and attack the works on the island, whilst Colonel Maxwell with the left wing was directed to force the works on Carrighaut Hill, and descending thence to turn the right of the main division, and unite with Colonel Stuart. The three columns began to move at eight o'clock in the evening. The head of the centre column led by the flank companies of each regiment, after twice crossing the Lockary, which covered the right wing of the enemy, came in contact with their first line, which was instantly driven across the north branch of the Cavery, at the foot of the glacis of the fort of Seringapatam.



Captain Lindsay, with the grenadiers of the 71st, attempted to push into the body of the place, but was prevented by the raising of the draw-bridge a few minutes before he advanced. He was here joined by some grenadiers and light infantry of the 52d and 76th regiments. With this united force he pushed down to the Loll Bang, where he was fiercely attacked by a body of the enemy, whom he quickly drove back with the bayonet. His numbers were soon afterwards increased by the grenadier company of the 74th, when he attempted to force his way into the Pettah (or town), but was opposed by such overwhelming numbers that he did not succeed. He then took post in a small redoubt, where he maintained himself till morning, when he moved to the north bank of the river, and joined Lieutenant-colonels Knox and Baird, and the troops who formed the left of the attack. During these operations the battalion companies of the 52d, 71st, and 72d regiments forced their way across the river to the island, overpowering all that opposed them. At this moment, Captain Archdeacon, commanding a battalion of Bengal seapoys, was killed. This threw the corps into some confusion, and caused it to fall back on the 71st, at the moment that Major Dalrymple was preparing to attack the Sultan's redoubt, and thus impeded his movements. However, the redoubt was attacked, and instantly carried. The command was given to Captain Sibbald, who had led the attack with his company of the 71st. The animating example and courage of this officer made the men equally irresistible in attack, and firm in the defence of the post they had gained. The enemy made several vain attempts to retake it. In one of these the brave Captain Sibbald was killed. Out of compliment to this officer, the commander-in-chief changed the name from Sultan's to Sibbald's redoubt. In this obstinate defence the men had consumed their ammunition, when, by a fortunate circumstance, two loaded oxen of the enemy, frightened by the firing, broke loose from their drivers, and taking shelter in the ditch of this redoubt, afforded an ample and seasonable supply. The command of this post was assumed by Major Kelly of the 74th regiment, who had gone up with orders from the commander-in-chief, and remained there after the death of Captain Sibbald. The Sultan seemed determined to recover this redoubt distinguished by his own name, and directed the French European troops to attack it. But they met with no better success than the former, notwithstanding their superior discipline."\*

The loss of the enemy in this affair was estimated at four thousand men and eighty pieces of cannon. That on the side of the assailants was five hundred and thirty-five men killed and wounded. Of the 71st, Captain Sibbald and Lieutenant Baine, two sergeants, and thirty-four rank and file were killed; and Ensigns Duncan Mackenzie, and William Baillie, three sergeants, and sixty-seven rank and file wounded.

On the ninth of February Major-general Robert Abercromby, with



the army from Bombay, consisting of the 73d and 75th Highland, and 77th, besides some native regiments joined the besieging army. Operations for the siege were begun the same day ; but nothing particular occurred till the eighteenth, when Major Dalrymple, to cover the opening of the trenches, crossed the Caverry at nine o'clock at night, and surprised and routed a camp of Tippoo's horse. During the three following days traverses were finished ; and on the twenty-second, the enemy, after a warm contest, were defeated by a part of the Bombay army under General Abercromby. This was the last effort of the Sultan, who sued for peace, and obtained it at the expense of nearly one-half of his dominions, which he ceded to the East India Company.

On the termination of the war, the 71st, now under the command of Lieutenant-colonel David Baird, was marched to the neighbourhood of Trinchinopoly, where they remained till the breaking out of the war with France, in seventeen hundred and ninety-three. The flank companies were employed on the expedition against Ceylon, in the month of August that year, in which enterprise Captain Gordon was severely wounded, and eleven men were killed and wounded. In October, seventeen hundred and ninety-seven, in consequence of orders, all the soldiers fit for service, amounting to five hundred and sixty men, were drafted into the 73d and 74th regiments ; those unfit for service, along with the officers and non-commissioned officers, sailed from Madras for England on the seventeenth of October, and arrived in the Thames in August, seventeen hundred and ninety-eight. The regiment was then removed to Leith, and thence to Stirling, after an absence of nearly eighteen years from Scotland.

The regiment remained in Scotland till June, eighteen hundred, when it was removed to Ireland, having previously received an accession of six hundred volunteers from the Scotch fencible regiments. This augmented the corps to eight hundred men, of whom six hundred were Highlanders. A second battalion was ordered to be embodied at Dumbarton, in the year eighteen hundred and four. From the success with which the recruiting for this battalion was carried on in Glasgow, and the favour shown to the men by the inhabitants, the corps acquired the name of the "Glasgow Highland Light Infantry."

The first battalion sailed from Cork on the fifth of August, eighteen hundred and five, on the expedition against the Cape of Good Hope, of which an account will be found under the head of the Sutherland regiment, and reached its destination on the fourth of January, eighteen hundred and six. On this service the regiment had six rank and file killed, and Brevet lieutenant-colonel Robert Campbell, two sergeants, and sixty-seven rank and file wounded.

This enterprise was followed by that against Buenos Ayres, of which the 71st formed the chief force. The expedition reached the Rio de la Plata on the eighth of June, and passing Monte Video, anchored opposite to the city of Buenos Ayres, on the twenty-fourth. The troops

and the marines of the fleet, amounting together to about fourteen hundred men, landed the following evening without opposition. Next forenoon the troops moved forward to the village of Reduction in full view of the enemy, who were posted on the brow of an adjoining eminence. The enemy, after firing a few shots, retired into the city. On the twenty-seventh the passage of the Rio Chuelo was forced, and the result was, that the city surrendered. The Spaniards, however, soon attempted to regain what they had lost, and in the beginning of August, collected a force of fifteen hundred men in the neighbourhood; but these were attacked and dispersed by General Beresford, with a detachment of the 71st, and the corps of St Helena. Notwithstanding their dispersion, however, these troops collected again, and on the tenth of August, surprised and cut off a sergeant's guard. Next day the town was abandoned by the British, who retired to the fort, and seeing no prospect of relief, capitulated the same evening. The 71st lost in this expedition Lieutenant Mitchell and Ensign Lucas, and ninety-one non-commissioned officers and privates were killed and wounded.

After the capitulation of General Whitelock's army, the regiment was restored to liberty, and embarked with the troops for England. The regiment landed in Ireland, and marched to Middleton, and afterwards to Cork, where it received a reinforcement of two hundred men from the second battalion, by which the effective force was increased to nine hundred and twenty men. On the twenty-first of April, eighteen hundred and eight, the regiment received new colours instead of those they had surrendered at Buenos Ayres. The colours were presented by General Floyd, a veteran officer, who had frequently witnessed the gallantry of the 71st in India. He made an eloquent speech on the occasion, the conclusion of which was as follows: "You now stand on this parade in defiance of the allurements held out to base desertion.\* You are endeared to the army and to your country. You insure the esteem of all true soldiers and good men. It has been my good fortune to have witnessed, in a remote part of the world, the early glories of the 71st regiment in the field, and it is with great satisfaction I now meet you again with replenished ranks, arms in your hands, and stout hearts in your bosoms. Look forward, officers and soldiers, to the achievement of new honours, and the acquirement of fresh fame. Officers, be the friends and guardians of these brave men committed to your charge. Soldiers, give your confidence to your officers,—they have shared with you the chances of war,—they have bled along with you. Preserve

\* The regiment was not, however, altogether proof against the allurements held out by the Spaniards, thirty-five of the men having deserted in South America. The Spaniards were very fond of the Highlanders, particularly of those who were Catholics. One of these, named Donald Macdonald, overcome by solicitations, had almost agreed to remain at Buenos Ayres, but whilst wavering, one of his companions sung to him, "Lochaber no more:" the effect was irresistible; the tears started into poor Donald's eyes, and wiping them away he exclaimed, "Na, na! I canna stay, I'd maybe return to *Lochaber nae mair*."—*Journal of a Soldier of the 71st Regiment.*

your regiment's reputation in the field, early and gloriously gained, and be like them regular in quarters. I present the royal colours. This is the king's standard. I now present your regimental colours. May honour and victory ever attend you!"

The expectations which General Floyd had formed of the regiment were soon to be realized. In the month of June the regiment embarked at Cork for Portugal, in the expedition under Sir Arthur Wellesley, which sailed on the thirteenth of July. The fleet arrived in Mondego Bay on the twenty-ninth, and the forces, amounting to ten thousand men, landed early in August. In a few days a body of five thousand troops from Gibraltar joined the army. General Wellesley made a forward movement towards Lisbon, on the ninth of August, and was joined on the eleventh by six thousand Portuguese, but being unprovided with provisions and military stores he could not proceed. The British army reached Caldas on the fourteenth—four companies of the 60th and Rifle corps pushing forward to the village of Brilos, then in possession of the enemy. An affair of advanced posts now took place, which ended in the occupation of the village by the British. This was the commencement of a series of battles and operations which raised the military fame of Great Britain to the highest pitch, overtopping all the glories of Marlborough's campaigns. Lieutenant Bunbury and a few privates of the Rifle corps were killed on this occasion.

The French, under General Laborde, amounting to upwards of five thousand men, took up a position on the heights of Roleia, whither they were followed by the British on the seventeenth. These heights were steep and very difficult of access, with only a narrow path leading to the summit; but notwithstanding the almost insuperable obstacles which presented themselves, the position was carried by the British, after a gallant resistance by the French, who were forced to retreat at all points. The 71st was not engaged, having been sent round the hill to turn the enemy's flank.

The regiment acted a conspicuous part in the battle of Vimiera which took place on the twenty-first of August. Along with the 36th and 40th regiments the 71st formed, on that occasion, Major-general R. Ferguson's brigade, which, in the advance, took six pieces of cannon, and a considerable number of prisoners. The 71st regiment served in all the Peninsular campaigns with great honour; but now its history as a Highland regiment necessarily closes, as about this time it ceased to receive any more recruits from the Highlands, and the regiment exchanged its old designation for that of the Glasgow Light Infantry, and adopted a new uniform.

## ARGYLE HIGHLANDERS,

OR

## SEVENTY-FOURTH REGIMENT.—1778.

THIS regiment was raised by Colonel John Campbell of Barbreck, who had served as captain and major of Fraser's Highlanders in the Seven Years' war, to whom letters of service were granted in December, seventeen hundred and seventy-seven. The regiment was completed in May, seventeen hundred and seventy-eight, when it was inspected at Glasgow by General Skene. The lower orders in Argyleshire, from their proximity to the sea, being more addicted to the naval than to the land service, did not embrace the military profession with the same alacrity as the other Highlanders; and the result was, that only five hundred and ninety Highlanders entered this regiment. The remainder were Lowlanders recruited in Glasgow and the western districts of Scotland. With the exception of four, all the officers were Highlanders, of whom three field-officers, six captains, and fourteen subalterns, were of the name of Campbell.

The 74th embarked at Greenock in August, seventeen hundred and seventy-eight, for Halifax, in Nova Scotia, where they were garrisoned along with the Edinburgh regiment (the 80th) and the duke of Hamilton's, (the 82d,) all under the command of Brigadier-general Francis Maclean. In spring, seventeen hundred and seventy-nine, the Grenadier company, commanded by Captain Ludovick Colquhoun of Luss, and the Light company by Captain Campbell of Balnabie, were sent to New York, and joined the army immediately before the siege of Charlestown.

The battalion companies, with a detachment of the 82d regiment, under the command of Brigadier-general Maclean, embarked at Halifax in June of the same year, and took possession of Penobscot. With the view of establishing himself there, the brigadier proceeded to erect defences; but before these were completed, a hostile fleet from Boston, with two thousand troops on board, under Brigadier-general Lovel, appeared in the bay, and on the twenty-eighth of July effected a landing on a peninsula, where the British were erecting a fort. The enemy immediately began to erect batteries for a siege; but their operations met with frequent interruption from parties who sallied from the fort. Meanwhile General Maclean proceeded with his works, and not only kept the enemy in complete check, but preserved the communication with the shipping, which they endeavoured to cut off. Both parties kept skirmishing till the thirteenth of August, on the morning of which day Commodore Sir George Collier entered the bay with a fleet to relieve the brigadier. The enemy immediately raised the siege, and retired to their ships, but a part only were able to escape. The remain-

der, along with the sailors of some of their ships which had grounded, formed themselves into a body, and attempted to penetrate through the woods; but running short of provisions, they afterwards quarrelled amongst themselves, and fired on each other till all their ammunition was spent. After upwards of sixty had been killed and wounded in this affray, the rest dispersed in the woods, where numbers perished. In this expedition, the 74th had two sergeants and fourteen privates killed, and seventeen rank and file wounded.

General Maclean returned to Halifax with the detachment of the 82d, leaving Lieutenant-colonel Alexander Campbell of Monzie with the 74th at Penobscot, where they remained till the termination of hostilities, when they embarked for England. They landed at Portsmouth, whence they marched for Stirling, and after being joined by the flank companies, were reduced in the autumn of seventeen hundred and eighty-three.

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## MACDONALD'S HIGHLANDERS,

OR

### SEVENTY-SIXTH REGIMENT.—1778.

LETTERS of service were granted in December, seventeen hundred and seventy-seven, to Lord Macdonald, to raise a regiment in the Highlands and isles, of which corps his lordship was offered the command; but he declined the commission, and at his recommendation, Major John Macdonell of Lochgarry was appointed lieutenant-colonel commandant of the regiment. Lord Macdonald, however, exerted his influence in the formation of the corps, and as a good selection of officers was made from the families of the Macdonalds of Glenco, Morer, Boisdale, and others of his own clan, and likewise from those of other clans, as Mackinnon, Fraser of Culduthel, Cameron of Callart, &c. a body of seven hundred and fifty Highlanders was soon raised. Nearly two hundred men were raised in the Lowlands by Captains Cunningham of Craigends, and Montgomery Cunningham, and Lieutenant Samuel Graham. These were kept together in two companies, and another body of men, principally raised in Ireland by Captain Bruce, formed a third company, all of which were kept perfectly distinct from the Highlanders. The regiment was inspected at Inverness in March, seventeen hundred and eighty-eight, by General Skene, and amounted to one thousand and eighty-six men, including non-commissioned officers and drummers.

The regiment was then quartered in Fort George, where it remained twelve months under the command of Major Donaldson, who, from his long experience, was well calculated to train them properly.

Being removed to Perth in March, seventeen hundred and seventy-



nine, the regiment was again reviewed by General Skene, on the tenth, and being reported complete, was ordered to march to Burntisland for the purpose of embarking for America. Shortly after their arrival at Burntisland, numbers of the Highlanders were observed in parties in earnest conversation together. The cause of this consultation was soon known. Each company, on the evening of the third day, gave in a written statement, complaining of non-performance of promises, of their bounty-money being withheld, &c. and accompanied by a declaration, that till their grievances were redressed, they would not embark. They demanded that Lord Macdonald should be sent for to see justice done to them. No satisfactory answer having been returned within the time expected, the Highlanders marched off in a body, and took possession of a hill above Burntisland. To show that these men had no other end in view but justice, they refused to allow some young soldiers, who had joined them in a frolic, to remain with them, telling them that as they had no ground of complaint, they ought not to disobey orders.

The Highlanders remained for several days on the hill without offering the least violence, and sent in parties regularly to the town for provisions, for which they paid punctually. During this interval, Major Donaldson, assisted by Lieutenant David Barclay the paymaster, investigated the claims of the men, and ascertained that they were well-founded, and Lord Macdonald having arrived, his lordship and the major advanced the money, and paid off every demand at their own risk. On a subsequent investigation of the individual claims, when sent to the isle of Skye, it was ascertained that all, without exception, were found to be just,\* a circumstance as honourable to the claimants as it was disgraceful to those who had attempted to overreach them.

This disagreeable affair being fortunately settled, the regiment embarked on the seventeenth of March; but before their departure, all the men of Skye and Uist sent the money they had received home to their families and friends.† Major Donaldson being unable to accompany the regiment on account of the delicate state of his health; and Lieutenant-colonel Macdonell having been taken prisoner on his passage from America, where he had been serving with Fraser's Highlanders, the command of the regiment devolved on Major lord Berridale.

The transports, with the 76th on board, touched at Portsmouth, and whilst lying at Spithead, the regiment was ordered to the relief of Jersey, which the enemy had attacked; but before reaching the island the French had been repulsed. They then proceeded on the voyage, and landed at New York in August. The flank companies were then attached to the battalion, composed of the flank companies of the other regiments, and the battalion companies were quartered between New York and Staten island. In February, seventeen hundred and eighty-one, these companies embarked for Virginia with a detachment of the army, com-

\* Stewart.

† Ibid.



manded by Major-general Phillips. The Light company, being in the second battalion of light infantry, also formed a part of the expedition.

Lord Berridale, who had, by the death of his father this year, become earl of Caithness, having been severely wounded at the siege of Charles-town, returned to Scotland, and was succeeded in the command of the regiment by the Hon. Major Needham, the late earl of Kilmorey, who had purchased Major Donaldson's commission.

General Phillips landed at Portsmouth, in Virginia, in March, and having joined the detachment under General Arnold, the united detachments formed a junction with the army of Lord Cornwallis in May. The Macdonald Highlanders, on meeting with men who had braved the dangers of the field, considered themselves as an inferior race, and sighed for an opportunity of putting themselves on an equality with their companions in arms, and they did not wait long.

The late celebrated Marquis de la Fayette, anxious to distinguish himself in the cause which he had espoused, determined to attack Lord Cornwallis's army, and in pursuance of this intention, pushed forward a strong corps, which forced the British picquets. He then formed his line, and a warm contest immediately began, the weight of which, on the side of the British, was sustained by the brigade of Colonel Thomas Dundas, consisting of the 76th and 80th regiments. These corps, which were on the left, were drawn up on an open field, whilst the right of the line was covered with woods. Coming up in the rear of the 76th, Lord Cornwallis gave the word to charge, which being responded to by the Highlanders, they rushed forward with great impetuosity upon the enemy, who, unable to stand the shock, turned their backs and fled, leaving their cannon and three hundred men, killed and wounded, behind them.\*

After the surrender of Lord Cornwallis' army, the 76th was marched in detachments as prisoners to different parts of Virginia. During their confinement, many attempts were made by their emigrant countrymen, as well as by the Americans, to induce them to join the cause of American independence; but not one of them could be induced by any consideration to renounce his allegiance.

The regiment, on its return to Scotland, was disbanded in March, seventeen hundred and eighty-four, at Stirling castle.

\* "At the moment Lord Cornwallis was giving the orders to charge, a Highland soldier rushed forward, and placed himself in front of his officer, Lieutenant Simon Macdonald of Morer, afterwards major of the 92d regiment. Lieutenant Macdonald having asked what brought him there, the soldier answered, 'You know that when I engaged to be a soldier, I promised to be faithful to the king and to you. The French are coming, and while I stand here, neither bullet nor bayonet shall touch you, except through my body!'

"Major Macdonald had no particular claim to the generous devotion of this trusty fellow, further than that which never failed to be binding on the true Highlander,—he was born on his officer's estate, where he and his forefathers had been treated with kindness,—he was descended of the same family, (Clanranald,) and when he enlisted he promised to be a faithful soldier. He was of the branch of the Clanranald family, whose patronymic is Maceachan, or the sons of Hector; the same branch of which Marshal Macdonald, duke of Tarentum, is descended."—*Stewart*.

## ATHOLE HIGHLANDERS,

OR

SEVENTY-SEVENTH REGIMENT, 1778.

ON the application of the then young duke of Athole, government granted him authority to raise a regiment of a thousand men for the service of the state, with power to appoint officers. The command of this corps was given to Colonel James Murray, son of Lord George Murray.

The Athole Highlanders were embodied at Perth, and in June, seventeen hundred and seventy-eight, were marched to Port-Patrick, and embarked for Ireland, where they remained during the war. They were thus deprived of an opportunity of distinguishing themselves in the field; but their presence in Ireland was attended with this advantage, that they supplied the place of other troops, who would probably have been less exemplary in their conduct amongst a people whose passions were excited by misgovernment.

The terms on which the men had enlisted were to serve for three years, or during the war. On the conclusion of hostilities, they, of course, expected to be disbanded; but instead of this they were transported to England, and marched to Portsmouth for embarkation to the East Indies. On the march they were made acquainted with the intentions of government; and so far from objecting to a continuance of their service, they showed no disinclination to embark, and when they first saw the fleet at Spithead, as they crossed Portsdown-hill, they pulled off their bonnets, and gave three cheers for a brush with Hyder Ali. They had scarcely, however, taken up their quarters at Portsmouth, when the face of matters changed. The minds of the men, it is said, were wrought upon by emissaries from London, who represented the unfaithfulness of government in sending them abroad after the term of their service had expired. It was even insinuated that they had been sold to the East India company at a certain sum per man, and that the officers were to divide the money amongst themselves. These base misrepresentations had their intended effect, and the result was that the soldiers resolved not to embark. The authority of the officers was despised; and after a scene of uproar and confusion, which lasted several days, during which the Highlanders attempted to obtain possession of the main-guard and garrison parade, the order to embark was countermanded by government.

One account of this affair, dated at Portsmouth, and published in February, seventeen hundred and eighty-three, contains the following details:—"The duke of Athole, his uncle, Major-general Murray, and Lord George Lennox, have been down here, but the Athole Highlanders are still determined not to go to the East Indies. They have put up

their arms and ammunition into one of the magazines, and placed a very strong guard over them, whilst the rest of the regiment sleep and refresh themselves. They come regularly and quietly to the grand parade, very cleanly dressed, twice a-day, their adjutant and other officers parading with them. One day it was proposed to turn the great guns on the rampart of the Highlanders; but this scheme was soon overruled. Another time it was suggested to send for some marching regiments quartered near the place, upon which the Highlanders drew up the draw-bridges, and placed sentinels at them."

"You may be assured," says another account, "I have had my perplexities since the mutiny commenced in the 77th regiment; but I must do the men the justice to confess, that excepting three or four drunken fellows, whose impudence to their officers could only be equalled by their brutality, the whole regiment have conducted themselves with a regularity that is surprising; for what might not have been expected from upwards of one thousand men let loose from all restraint? Matters would never have been carried to the point they have, but for the interference of some busy people, who love to be fishing in troubled waters. The men have opened a subscription for the relief of the widow of the poor invalid,\* for whose death they express the greatest regret. On their being informed that two or three regiments were coming to force them to embark, they flew to their arms, and followed their comrade leaders through the town, with a fixed determination to give them battle; but on finding the report to be false, they returned in the same order to their quarters. The regiment is not to go to the East Indies contrary to their instructions, which has satisfied them, but will be attended with disagreeable consequences to the service; and since the debates in the house of commons on the subject, I should not wonder if every man intended for foreign service refused going, for the reasons then given, which you may depend on it, they are now well acquainted with."

Mr Eden, afterwards Lord Auckland, secretary for Ireland, in the parliamentary debates on the mutiny, bore honourable testimony to the exemplary conduct of the regiment in Ireland:—"He had happened," he said, "to have the 77th regiment immediately under his observation during sixteen months of their garrison duty in Dublin, and though it was not the most agreeable duty in the service, he must say that their conduct was most exemplary. Their officers were not only men of gentlemanly character, but peculiarly attentive to regimental discipline. He having once, upon the sudden alarm of invasion, sent an order for the immediate march of this regiment to Cork, they showed their alacrity by marching at an hour's notice, and completed their march with a despatch beyond any instance in modern times, and this too without leaving a single soldier behind."

\* He was killed when the Highlanders made the attempt to take possession of the main-guard and garrison parade.

This unfair and unworthy attempt on the part of government created a just distrust of its integrity, and had a most pernicious effect on its subsequent endeavours to raise men in the Highlands. Alluding to this unfortunate affair, General Stewart observes, that, "if government had offered a small bounty when the Athole Highlanders were required to embark, there can be little doubt they would have obeyed their orders, and embarked as cheerfully as they marched into Portsmouth."

The fault resting entirely with government, it wisely abstained from pushing matters farther by bringing any of the men to trial. The regiment was immediately marched to Berwick, where it was disbanded in April, seventeen hundred and eighty-three, in terms of the original agreement.

## SEAFORTH'S HIGHLANDERS,

FORMERLY

THE SEVENTY-EIGHTH,

NOW

THE SEVENTY-SECOND REGIMENT.—1778.

KENNETH MACKENZIE, grandson of the earl of Seaforth, whose estate and title were forfeited in consequence of his concern in the rebellion of seventeen hundred and fifteen, having purchased the family property from the crown, was created an Irish peer, by the title of Lord Viscount Fortrose. In the year seventeen hundred and seventy-one, government restored to him the family title of Earl of Seaforth. To evince his gratitude for this magnanimous act, the earl, in the year seventeen hundred and seventy-eight, offered to raise a regiment on his estate for general service. This offer being accepted of by his majesty, a corps of eleven hundred and thirty men was speedily raised principally by gentlemen of the name of Mackenzie, his lordship's clan.

Of these, about nine hundred were Highlanders, five hundred of whom were raised upon Lord Seaforth's own estate, and the remainder upon the estates of the Mackenzies of Scatwell, Kilcoy, Applecross, and Redcastle, all of whom had sons or brothers in the regiment. The remainder were raised in the Lowlands, of whom forty-three were English and Irish.

The regiment was embodied at Elgin in May, seventeen hundred and seventy-eight, and was inspected by General Skene, when it was found so effective, that not one man was rejected. In the month of August the regiment marched to Leith for embarkation to the East Indies; but they had not been quartered long in that town when symptoms of dis-

affection began to appear among them. They complained of an infringement of their engagements, and that part of their pay and bounty was in arrear. Being wrought upon by some emissaries, the men refused to embark, and, marching out of Leith with pipes playing, and two plaids fixed on poles instead of colours, took up a position on Arthur's seat, in the immediate vicinity of Edinburgh, on which they remained several days, during which time they were amply supplied with provisions and ammunition by the inhabitants of the capital, who had espoused their quarrel. The causes of complaint having been inquired into, after much negotiation, in which the earls of Dunmore and Seaforth, Sir James Grant of Grant, and other gentlemen connected with the Highlands, took an active and prominent part, these were removed, and the soldiers being satisfied, marched down the hill with pipes playing, with the earls of Seaforth and Dunmore, and General Skene at their head, and returned to their quarters at Leith. From the great number of the clan Maccrea that were in the regiment, the mutiny was called "The affair of the Macreas."

At Leith the regiment embarked with the greatest cheerfulness, accompanied by their colonel, the earl of Seaforth. The intention of sending them to India being for the present abandoned, one half of the regiment was sent to Guernsey, and the other to Jersey. At the end of March, seventeen hundred and eighty-one, both divisions assembled at Portsmouth, where, on the first of May, they embarked for the East Indies, being then eleven hundred and ten strong, rank and file. Though the men were all in excellent health, they suffered so severely from the effects of the voyage and the change of food, that before reaching Madras on the second of April, seventeen hundred and eighty-two, two hundred and thirty men had died of the scurvy, and out of the eight hundred and eighty that landed, only three hundred and ninety were fit to carry arms. The death of Seaforth their chief, who expired before the regiment reached St Helena, threw a damp over the spirits of the men, and is said to have materially contributed to that prostration of mind which made them more readily the victims of disease.

As the service was pressing, such of the men as were able to march were immediately sent up the country under Major James Stuart; but many of them being still weak from the effects of the scurvy, suffered greatly on the march. The men were sinewy and robust, and such as had escaped the scurvy were greatly injured by the violence of the sun's beams, the effects of which were not so hurtful to men of more slender habits.\* They joined the army of Sir Eyre Coote at Chingleput in the beginning of May; but he found them so unfit for service, that he ordered the corps into quarters, and put the few who remained healthy into the 73d or Macleod's Highlanders, the only European corps then with the army.

\* Colonel Munro's India.



The health of the men gradually recovered, and in the month of October upwards of six hundred were fit for duty. The colours of the regiment were again unfolded, and in April, seventeen hundred and eighty-three, they joined the army under Major-general James Stuart (of the family of Torrance,\*) destined to attack Cuddalore, of which enterprise an account has been given in the article on Lord Macleod's Highlanders. In that enterprise the 78th had Captain George Mackenzie, and twenty-three rank and file killed, and three sergeants, and forty-four rank and file wounded.

Notwithstanding the termination of hostilities with France, the war with Tippoo Saib was continued. Colonel Fullarton, who had marched on Cuddalore, finding he was no longer needed in that quarter, retraced his steps southward, reinforced by Seaforth's Highlanders and other troops, thus augmenting his force to upwards of thirteen thousand men. This army was employed some months in keeping down some turbulent chiefs, and in October Colonel Fullarton marched on Palacatcherry after securing some intermediate forts. Lieutenant-colonel Humberstone Mackenzie of the 100th regiment, who succeeded about this time to the command of the 78th, in consequence of the death of his cousin, the earl of Seaforth, as well as to his title and estates, had intended to attack this place the preceding year; but he abandoned the attempt. For an account of this enterprise see the notice of the second battalion of the 42d. After a fatiguing march through thick woods and a broken country, Colonel Fullarton reached the place early in November, and immediately laid siege to it. The garrison might have made a long and vigorous defence; but an event occurred which hastened the fall of Palacatcherry. The enemy having taken shelter from a shower of rain, the Hon. Captain (now General Sir Thomas) Maitland, advanced unperceived with his flank corps, and drove the enemy through the first gateway, which he entered; but his progress was checked at the second, which was shut. Being immediately reinforced, he prepared to force an entrance; but the enemy, afraid of an assault, immediately surrendered.

The regiment did not long enjoy their new colonel, who died of his wounds received on board the Ranger sloop of war on the seventh of April, seventeen hundred and eighty-three, in an action with a Mahratta fleet while on his return from Bombay. He was succeeded in the command of the regiment by Major-general James Murray from the half pay of the 77th regiment.

In terms of the agreement with the 78th, which was the same with that made with the Athole Highlanders, the services of the regiment were now at an end in consequence of the peace. Such of the men as were disposed to take advantage of the agreement were allowed to return to England, and such of them as were inclined to continue

\* Thus distinguished from Colonel James Stuart of the family of Blairhall, who died a lieutenant-general, and colonel of the corps he had so long commanded.



received the same bounty as other volunteers. Only three hundred of the men remained abroad; but the regiment was immediately increased to eight hundred by volunteers from the 100th and other regiments ordered home; and a detachment of two hundred from the north having joined the regiment in seventeen hundred and eighty-five, its complement was almost complete.

In consequence of the reduction of the senior regiments, the number of the corps was changed to the 72d the following year. In seventeen hundred and ninety, when the war with Tippoo commenced, the regiment having received another detachment of recruits, was upwards of a thousand men strong, inured to the climate, and highly disciplined. They were still under the command of Colonel Stuart, and formed part of the army under Major-general Meadows. The regiment, with some other troops under Colonel Stuart, was detached against Palacatcherry; but their progress was stopped by heavy rains, and they were obliged to return to head-quarters. Their next service, in company with the same troops, was against Dindegul, before which they arrived on the sixteenth of August. On the summit of this rock there was a fort mounted with fourteen guns; the precipice admitted only of one point of ascent. Colonel Stuart was badly provided with means of attack; but he succeeded in making a small breach on the twentieth, and as he was short of ammunition, he resolved to attempt an assault without delay. He accordingly attacked the enemy's defences the following evening, and met with a formidable resistance. Several of the men reached the top of the breach, but were forced down in succession as they mounted by triple rows of pikes behind the rampart. The assailants, after a vigorous effort, were repulsed with considerable loss. The enemy, afraid of another assault, surrendered next morning.

Colonel Stuart again proceeded against Palacatcherry, and on the twenty-first of September opened two batteries within five hundred yards of the place, and though the fortification had been greatly strengthened since the time when the place was taken by Colonel Fullarton, he succeeded in making a practicable breach the same day. Preparations were made for an assault the following morning; but before day-light the enemy offered to surrender on terms which were acceded to. Leaving a garrison in the place, Colonel Stuart joined the army in the neighbourhood of Coimbatore on the fifteenth of October, after which the regiment followed all the movements of the army till the twenty-ninth of January, seventeen hundred and ninety-one, when Lord Cornwallis arrived and assumed the command.

The 72d was engaged along with the 71st in the second attack of Bangalore, the first attack of Seringapatam, and the attack on Sundidroog and Ootradroog. A small reconnoitring party of the 72d under Captain M-Innes, carried the last mentioned place, its commander having turned the duty assigned him into an assault. The regiment was also engaged in the second attack on Seringapatam along with the

71st and 75th regiments, and continued to act along with them down to the conclusion of the war with the sultan. By the judicious arrangements of General Murray, who had established a recruiting party at Perth, the strength of the regiment was kept up by regular supplies of recruits from Scotland from time to time.

In the year seventeen hundred and ninety-three, the regiment went on the expedition against Pondicherry; and formed part of the force employed in the capture of Ceylon in seventeen hundred and ninety-five, under Major-general James Stuart, their old commander-colonel. The regiment remained in Ceylon till seventeen hundred and ninety-seven, when it was removed to Pondicherry. In consequence of orders received in December, the regiment, then eight hundred men strong, was drafted into the corps on that station, and the officers, non-commissioned officers and invalids, were ordered home. This was one of the last instances in the East Indies of enforcing the system of drafting and transferring soldiers without their consent; "a system," says General Stewart, "which deprived men of nearly all hopes of ever revisiting their native land, and every good soldier of the great incitement to regular conduct."

In January, seventeen hundred and ninety-eight, the skeleton of the regiment embarked at Madras. On arriving in England they were ordered to Perth, which they reached in August under the command of Lieutenant-colonel Hugh Fraser, who had gone out to India as the third eldest captain. General Williamson had succeeded General Murray in seventeen hundred and ninety-four, and Major-general James Stuart was now appointed colonel in room of General Williamson.

Whilst the regiment lay at Perth, recourse was had to recruiting to supply deficiencies, but from various causes the corps did not recruit two hundred men in three years. The reduction of the Scotch Fencible regiments, however, enabled the officers to augment the ranks to nine hundred men, the number in the regiment when removed to Ireland in the year eighteen hundred and two. The regiment now consisted of a very efficient body of young men, possessing, it is said, "as pure and true a spirit as any corps. One-fourth of the men and officers were English and Irish, and three-fourths Scotch Highlanders; and singular as it may seem, the former were as fond of the kilt and pipes as the latter, and many of them entered completely into the spirit of the national feeling."

The regiment was employed on the expedition under Sir David Baird against the Cape of Good Hope. In this service they had only two privates killed and Lieutenant-colonel Colquhoun Grant, Lieutenant Alexander Chisholm, two sergeants and thirty-four privates wounded.

In terms of general orders issued in eighteen hundred and nine, the designation of Highland and the ancient garb were altered. The uniform was the same as that of the line till eighteen hundred and twenty-three, when the designation of "The Duke of Albany's Highlanders"

was conferred on the regiment, which again reassumed the plaid and bonnet, but with tartan trews instead of the kilt or belted plaid.

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## ABERDEENSHIRE HIGHLAND REGIMENT,

OR

EIGHTY-FIRST.—1778.

THIS regiment was raised by the Honourable Colonel William Gordon, brother of the Earl of Aberdeen, to whom letters of service were granted for that purpose in December, seventeen hundred and seventy-seven. Of nine hundred and eighty men composing the regiment, six hundred and fifty were from the Highlands of Aberdeenshire. The clan Ross mustered strongly under Major Ross,—when embodied it was found that there were nine men of the name of John Ross in the regiment.

The corps was marched to Stirling, whence it was removed to Ireland where the regiment continued three years. In the end of seventeen hundred and eighty-two, they were transported to England, and in March of the following year, were embarked at Portsmouth for the East Indies immediately after the preliminaries of peace were signed, notwithstanding the terms of their agreement, which were the same as those made with the Athole Highlanders. They however seemed satisfied with their destination, and it was not until they became acquainted with the conduct of the Athole men, that they refused to proceed. Government yielded to their demand to be discharged, and they were accordingly marched to Scotland, and disbanded at Edinburgh in April, seventeen hundred and eighty-three. Their conduct during their existence was equally exemplary as that of the other Highland regiments.

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## ROYAL HIGHLAND EMIGRANT REGIMENT,

OR

EIGHTY-FOURTH.

*Two Battalions.—Embodied in 1775, Regimented in 1778.*

### FIRST BATTALION.

THIS battalion was to be raised from the Highland emigrants in Canada, and the discharged men of the 42d, of Fraser's and Montgome-

ry's Highlanders, who had settled in North America after the peace of seventeen hundred and sixty-three. Lieutenant-colonel Alan Maclean, (son of Torloish,) of the late 104th Highland regiment, was appointed lieutenant-colonel commandant of the first battalion. Captain John Small, formerly of the 42d, and then of the 21st regiment, was appointed major-commandant of the second battalion, which was to be raised from emigrants and discharged Highland soldiers who had settled in Nova Scotia. Each battalion was to consist of seven hundred and fifty men, with officers in proportion. The commissions were dated the fourteenth of June, seventeen hundred and seventy-five.

Great difficulty was experienced in conveying the recruits who had been raised in the back settlements to their respective destinations. A detachment from Carolina was obliged to relinquish an attempt to cross a bridge defended by cannon, in which Captain Macleod, its commander, and a number of the men were killed. Those who escaped reached their destination by different routes.

When assembled, the first battalion, consisting of three hundred and fifty men, was detached up the river St Lawrence, but hearing that the American General Arnold, intended to enter Canada with three thousand men, Colonel Maclean returned with his battalion by forced marches, and entered Quebec on the thirteenth of November, seventeen hundred and seventy-six. The garrison of Quebec, previous to the arrival of Colonel Maclean, consisted only of fifty men of the fusileers, and seven hundred militia and seamen. General Arnold, who had previously crossed the river, made a spirited attempt on the night of the fourteenth, to get possession of the out-works of the city, but was repulsed with loss, and forced to retire to Point au Tremble.

Having obtained a reinforcement of troops under General Montgomery, Arnold resolved upon an assault. Accordingly, on the thirty-first of December, he advanced towards the city, and attacked it in two places, but was completely repulsed at both points. In this affair General Montgomery, who led one of the points of attack, was killed, and Arnold wounded.

Foiled in this attempt, General Arnold took up a position on the heights of Abraham, and by intercepting all supplies, reduced the garrison to great straits. He next turned the blockade into a siege, and having erected batteries, made several attempts to get possession of the lower town; but Colonel Macleod, to whom the defence of the place had been intrusted by General Guy Carleton, the commander-in-chief, defeated him at every point.\* After these failures General Arnold raised the siege and evacuated Canada.

The battalion after this service was employed in various small enterprises during the war, in which they were generally successful. They

\* Colonel Maclean, when a subaltern in the Scotch brigade in Holland, was particularly noticed by Count Lowendahl, for his bravery at Bergen-op-Zoom in 1774. See the notice of London's Highlanders.

remained so faithful to their trust, that notwithstanding every inducement was held out to them to join the revolutionary standard, not one native Highlander deserted. Only one man was brought to the halberts during the time they were embodied.

#### SECOND BATTALION.

Major Small being extremely popular with the Highlanders, was very successful in Nova Scotia, and his corps contained a greater proportion of them than the first battalion. Of ten companies which composed the second battalion, five remained in Nova Scotia and the neighbouring settlements during the war, and the other five, including the flank companies, joined the armies of General Clinton and Lord Cornwallis. The grenadier company was in the battalion, which at Eataw Springs "drove all before them," as stated in his despatches, by Colonel Alexander Stuart of the 3d regiment.

In the year seventeen hundred and seventy-eight, the regiment, which had hitherto been known only as the Royal Highland Emigrants, was numbered the 84th, and orders were issued to augment the battalions to a thousand men each. Sir Henry Clinton was appointed colonel-in-chief. The uniform was the full Highland garb, with purse of racoon's skin. The officers wore the broad sword and dirk, and the men a half-basket sword. At the peace the officers and men received grants of land, in the proportion of five thousand acres to a field officer, three thousand to a captain, five hundred to a subaltern, two hundred to a sergeant, and one hundred to a private soldier. The men of the first battalion settled in Canada, and those of the second in Nova Scotia, forming a settlement which they named Douglas. Many of the officers however returned home.

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### FORTY-SECOND OR ROYAL HIGHLAND REGIMENT.

#### SECOND BATTALION.

#### NOW THE SEVENTY-THIRD REGIMENT.—1780.

ABOUT this time the situation of Great Britain was extremely critical, as she had not only to sustain a war in Europe, but also to defend her vast possessions in North America and the East Indies. In this emergency government looked towards the north for aid, and although nearly thirteen thousand warriors had been drawn from the country north of the Tay, within the last eighteen months, it determined again to draw upon the Highland population, by adding a second battalion to the 42d regiment.



The following officers were appointed to the battalion :

*Colonel*.—Lord John Murray, died in 1787, the oldest General in the army.

*Lieutenant-colonel*.—Norman Macleod of Macleod, died in 1801, a Lieutenant-general.

*Major*.—Patrick Graham, son of Inchbraco, died in 1781.

#### *Captains.*

Hay Macdowall, son of Garthland, a Lieutenant-general, who was lost on his passage from India in 1809.

James Murray, died in 1781.

John Gregor.

James Drummond, afterwards Lord Perth, died in 1800.

John Macgregor, retired.

Colin Campbell, son of Glenure, retired.

Thomas Dalyell, killed at Mangalore in 1783.

David Lindsay, retired.

John Grant, son of Glenmoriston, retired. Died in 1801.

#### *Lieutenants.*

John Grant.

Alexander Macgregor of Ballhaldy, died

Major of the 65th regiment in 1795.

Dougald Campbell, retired in 1787.

James Spens, retired Lieutenant-colonel of the 73d regiment in 1798.

John Wemyss, died in 1781.

Alexander Dunbar, died in 1783.

John Oswald.\*

Æneas Fraser, died Captain, 1784.

Alexander Maitland.

Alexander Ross, retired in 1784.

#### *Ensigns.*

Charles Sutherland.

John Murray Robertson.

Alexander Macdonald.

Robert Robertson.

John Macdonald.

William White.

Charles Maclean.

John Macpherson, killed at Mangalore.

*Chaplain*.—John Stuart, died in 1781.

*Adjutant*.—Robert Leslie.

*Quarter-master*.—Ken. Mackenzie, killed at Mangalore.

*Surgeon*.—Thomas Farquharson.

*Mate*.—Duncan Campbell.

The name of the 42d regiment was a sufficient inducement to the Highlanders to enter the service, and on the twenty-first of March, seventeen hundred and eighty, only about three months after the appointment of the officers, the battalion was raised and soon afterwards embodied at Perth.

In December the regiment embarked at Queensferry, to join an expedition then fitting out at Portsmouth, against the Cape of Good Hope, under the command of Major-general William Meadows and Commodore Johnstone. The expedition sailed on the twelfth of March, seven-

\* This officer, the son of a goldsmith in Edinburgh, was very eccentric in his habits. He became a furious republican, and going to France on the breaking out of the revolution, was killed in 1793 in La Vendee, at the head of a regiment of which he had obtained the command.



teen hundred and eighty-one, and falling in with the French squadron under Admiral Suffrein at St Jago, was there attacked by the enemy, who were repulsed. Suffrein, however, got the start of the expedition, and the commanders finding that he had reached the Cape before them proceeded to India; having previously captured a valuable convoy of Dutch East Indiamen, which had taken shelter in Saldanha Bay. As the troops had not landed, the right of the troops to a share of the prize-money was disputed by the commodore, but after a lapse of many years the objection was overruled.

The expedition, with the exception of the Myrtle transport, which separated from the fleet in a gale of wind off the Cape, arrived at Bombay on the fifth of March, seventeen hundred and eighty-two, after a twelvemonths' voyage, and on the thirtieth of April, sailed for Madras. The regiment suffered considerably on the passage from the scurvy, and from a fever caught in the island of Joanna; and on reaching Calcutta, five officers, including Major Patrick Græme,\* and one hundred and sixteen non-commissioned officers and privates had died.

Some time after the arrival of the expedition, a part of the troops, with some native corps, were detached against Palacatcherry, under Lieutenant-colonel Mackenzie Humberstone of the 100th regiment, in absence of Lieutenant-colonel Macleod, who being on board the Myrtle, had not yet arrived. The troops in this expedition, of which seven companies of the Highlanders formed a part, took the field on the second of September, seventeen hundred and eighty-two, and after taking several small forts on their march, arrived before Palacatcherry on the nineteenth of October. Finding the place much stronger than he expected, and ascertaining that Tippoo Saib was advancing with a large force to its relief, Colonel Humberstone retired towards Paniané, closely pursued by the enemy, and blew up the forts of Mangaracotah and Ramguree in the retreat.

At Paniané the command was assumed by Lieutenant-colonel Macleod. The effective force was reduced by sickness to three hundred and eighty Europeans, and two thousand two hundred English and Travancore seapoys, and, in this situation, the British commander found himself surrounded by ten thousand cavalry, and fourteen thousand infantry, including two corps of Europeans, under the French General Lally. Colonel Macleod attempted to improve by art the defences of a position strong by nature, but before his works were completed, General Lally made a spirited attack on the post on the morning of the twenty-ninth of November, at the head of the European troops; after a warm contest he was repulsed.

The conduct of the Highlanders, against whom Lally directed his chief attack, is thus noticed in the general orders issued on the occasion. "The intrepidity with which Major Campbell and the Highlanders re-

\* This officer sunk under extreme exhaustion from sea-sickness.

peatedly charged the enemy, was most honourable to their character." In this affair the 42d had three sergeants and nineteen rank and file killed, and Major John Campbell, Captains Colin Campbell and Thomas Dalyell, Lieutenant Charles Sutherland, two sergeants, and thirty-one rank and file wounded.

After this service, Colonel Macleod with his battalion embarked for Bombay, and joined the army under Brigadier-general Matthews at Cundapore, on the ninth of January, seventeen hundred and ninety-three. On the twenty-third General Matthews moved forward to attack Beddinore, from which the Sultan drew most of his supplies for his army. General Matthews was greatly harassed on his march by flying parties of the enemy, and in crossing the mountains was much impeded by the nature of the country, and by a succession of field-works erected on the face of these mountains. On the twenty-sixth of February, the 42d, led by Colonel Macleod, and followed by a corps of seapoys, attacked these positions with the bayonet, and were in the breast-work before the enemy were aware of it. Four hundred of the enemy were bayoneted, and the rest were pursued to the walls of the fort.\* Seven forts were attacked and taken in this manner in succession. The principal redoubt, distinguished by the appellation of Hyder Gurr, situated on the summit of the highest ghaut or precipice, presented a more formidable appearance. It had a dry ditch in front, mounted with twenty pieces of cannon, and might have offered considerable resistance to the advance of the army, if well-defended; but the loss of their seven batteries had so terrified the enemy, that they abandoned their last and strongest position in the course of the night, leaving behind them eight thousand stand of new arms, and a considerable quantity of powder, shot, and military stores. The army took possession of Beddinore the following day, but this triumph was of short duration, as the enemy soon recaptured the place, and took General Matthews and the greater part of his army prisoners.

Meanwhile the other companies were employed with a detachment under Major Campbell, in an enterprise against the fort of Annanpore, which was attacked and carried on the fifteenth of February with little loss. Major Campbell returned his thanks to the troops for their spirited behaviour on this occasion, "and his particular acknowledgments to Captain Dalyell, and the officers and men of the flank companies of the 42d regiment, who headed the storm." As the Highlanders on this occasion had trusted more to their fire than to the bayonet, the major strongly recommended to them in future never to fire a shot when the bayonet could be used.

The Highlanders remained at Annanpore till the end of February, when they were sent under Major Campbell to occupy Carrical and Morebedery. They remained in these two small forts till the twelfth of April, when they were marched first to Gourspoore, and thence to

\* Colonel Mark Wilk's History.

Mangalore. Here the command of the troops, in consequence of the absence of Lieutenant-colonels Macleod and Humberstone, devolved upon Major Campbell, now promoted to the brevet rank of lieutenant-colonel. General Matthews having been suspended, Colonel Macleod, now promoted to the rank of brigadier-general, was appointed to succeed him.

Encouraged by the recapture of Beddinore, Tippoo detached a considerable force towards Mangalore, but they were attacked and defeated by Colonel Campbell, on the sixth of May. Little loss was sustained on either side, but the enemy left all their guns. The Highlanders had seven privates killed, and Captain William Stewart and sixteen rank and file wounded.

Tippoo having now no force in the field to oppose him, advanced upon Mangalore with his whole army, consisting of ninety thousand men, besides a corps of European infantry from the isle of France, a troop of dismounted French cavalry from the Mauritius, and Lally's corps of Europeans and natives. This immense force was supported by eighty pieces of cannon. The garrison of Mangalore was in a very sickly state, there being only twenty-one sergeants, twelve drummers, and two hundred and ten rank and file of king's troops, and fifteen hundred natives fit for duty.

With the exception of a strong outpost about a mile from Mangalore, the place was completely invested by the Sultan's army about the middle of May. The defence of the outpost was intrusted to some seapoys, but they were obliged to abandon it on the twenty-third. The siege was now prosecuted with vigour, and many attacks were made, but the garrison, though suffering the severest privations, repulsed every attempt. Having succeeded at length in making large breaches in the walls, and reducing some parts of them to a mass of ruins, the enemy repeatedly attempted to enter the breaches and storm the place; but they were uniformly forced to retire, sustaining a greater loss by every successive attack. On the twentieth of July, a cessation of hostilities was agreed to, but on the twenty-third the enemy violated the truce, by springing a mine. Hostilities were then resumed and continued till the twenty-ninth, when a regular armistice was entered into. Brigadier-general Macleod anchored in the bay on the seventeenth of August, with a small convoy of provisions and a reinforcement of troops; but on learning the terms of the armistice, the general, from a feeling of honour, ordered the ships back to Tillycherry, to the great disappointment of the half famished garrison. Two reinforcements which arrived off the coast successively on the twenty-second of November, and the last day of December, also returned to the places whence they had come.

About this time, in consequence of the peace with France, Colonel Cossigny, the French commander, withdrew his troops to the great displeasure of the sultan, who encouraged the French soldiers to desert and join his standard. Some of them accordingly deserted, but Colonel

Cossigny having recovered part of them, indicated his dissatisfaction with Tippoo's conduct, by ordering them to be shot in presence of two persons sent by the sultan to intercede for their lives.

The misery of the garrison was now extreme. Nearly one-half of the troops had been carried off, and one-half of the survivors was in the hospital. The seapoys in particular were so exhausted, that many of them dropped down in the act of shouldering their firelocks, whilst others became totally blind. Despairing of aid, and obliged to eat horses, frogs, dogs, crows, cat-fish, black grain, &c. the officers resolved, in a council of war, to surrender the place. The terms, which were highly honourable to the garrison, were acceded to by the sultan, and the capitulation was signed on the thirtieth of January, seventeen hundred and eighty-four, after a siege of nearly nine months. In the defence of Mangalore, the Highlanders had Captain Dalyell,\* Lieutenants Macpherson, Mackenzie, and Macintyre, one piper and eighteen soldiers killed; and Captains William Stewart,† Robert John Napier, and Lieutenants Murray, Robertson, and Welsh, three sergeants, one piper, and forty-seven rank and file wounded. The corps also lost Mr Dennis the acting chaplain, who was shot in the forehead by a match-lock ball, whilst standing behind a breast-work of sand bags, and looking at the enemy through a small aperture.‡

Alluding to the siege of Mangalore, in his views of the British interests in India, Colonel Fullarton says, that the garrison under its estimable commander, Colonel Campbell, "made a defence that has seldom been equalled, and never surpassed." And Colonel Lindsay observes, in his *Military Miscellany*, that "the defence of Colberg in Pomerania, by Major Heiden and his small garrison, and that of Mangalore in the East Indies, by Colonel Campbell and the second battalion of the Royal Highlanders, now the 73d regiment, are as noble examples as any in history." The East India company showed a due sense of the services of the garrison, by ordering a monument to be erected to the memory of Colonel Campbell,§ Captains Stewart and Dalyell, and those who fell at the siege, and giving a handsome gratuity to the survivors.

\* This accomplished soldier was the son of Mr Dalyell of Lingo, in the county of Fife.

† He was a son of Mr William Stewart of Garth. This brave officer was twice wounded. The second wound proved mortal.

‡ Besides these officers and Colonel Campbell, the following were present at the siege, viz., Captains John Grant, James Spens, Lieutenants Alexander Dunbar, Alexander Macdonald, Ensigns Robert Leslie, and surgeon's mate Robert Baxter. Not one of the officers and the survivors mentioned in the text were alive in eighteen hundred and twenty-five.

§ Colonel Campbell died at Bombay. His father Lord Stonefield, a lord of session, had seven sons, and the colonel was the eldest. After the surrender of Mangalore, the sultan showed him great courtesy, and after deservedly complimenting him upon his gallant defence, presented him with an Arabian charger and sabre. He had, however, little true generosity of disposition, and the cruelties which he inflicted on General Matthews and his army, show that he was as cruel as his father Hyder.

The battalion embarked for Tillycherry on the fourth of February, seventeen hundred and eighty-four, where it remained till April, when it departed for Bombay. It was afterwards stationed at Dinapore in Bengal, when on the eighteenth of April, seventeen hundred and eighty-six, the battalion was formed into a separate corps, with green facings, under the denomination of the 73d regiment, the command of which was given to Sir George Osborne. It was at first intended to reduce the junior officers of both battalions, instead of putting all the officers of the second on half pay, but on mutual representations being made by the officers of both battalions, the arrangement alluded to was made to save the necessity of putting any of the officers on half pay.

In December, seventeen hundred and eighty seven, the 73d removed to Cawnpore, where it remained till March, seventeen hundred and ninety, when it was sent to Fort William in Bengal. Next year the regiment joined the army in Malabar, under the command of Major general Robert Abercromby. Major Macdowall being about this time promoted to the 57th, was succeeded by Captain James Spens.

With the view of attacking Seringapatam, Lord Cornwallis directed General Abercromby to join him with all his disposable force, consisting of the 73d, 75th, and 77th British, and seven native regiments. He accordingly began his march on the fifth of December, seventeen hundred and ninety-one, but owing to different causes he did not join the main army till the sixteenth of February following. The enemy having been repulsed before Seringapatam, on the twenty-second, entered into preliminaries of peace on the twenty-fourth, when the war ended.

The regiment was employed in the expedition against Pondicherry, in seventeen hundred and ninety-three, when they formed part of Colonel David Baird's brigade. The regiment, though much reduced by sickness, had received from time to time several detachments of recruits from Scotland, and at this period it was eight hundred strong. In the enterprise against Pondicherry, Captain Galpine, Lieutenant Donald Macgregor, and Ensign Tod were killed.

The 73d formed part of the force sent against Ceylon, in the year seventeen hundred and ninety-three, under Major-general James Stuart. It remained in the island till seventeen hundred and ninety-seven, when it returned to Madras, and was quartered in different parts of that presidency till seventeen hundred and ninety-nine, when it joined the army under General Harris.

This army encamped at Malrilly on the twenty-seventh of March, on which day a battle took place with the sultan, whose army was totally routed, with the loss of a thousand men, whilst that of the British was only sixty-nine men killed and wounded. Advancing slowly, the British army arrived in the neighbourhood of the Mysore capital, on the fifth of April, and took up a position preparatory to a siege, the third within the space of a few years. The enemy's advanced troops and



rocket-men gave some annoyance to the picquets the same evening, but they were driven back next morning by two columns under the Honourable Colonel Arthur Wellesley and Colonel Shaw, an attempt made by the same officers the previous evening having miscarried, in consequence of the darkness of the night and some unexpected obstructions. The Bombay army joined on the thirtieth, and took up a position in the line, the advanced posts being within a thousand yards of the garrison. A party of the 75th, under Colonel Hart, having dislodged the enemy on the seventeenth, established themselves under cover within a thousand yards of the fort; whilst at the same time Major Macdonald (son of Clanranald) of the 73d, with a detachment of his own and other regiments, took possession of a post at the same distance from the fort on the south. On the evening of the twentieth, another detachment under Colonels Sherbrooke, St John and Monypenny, drove two thousand of the enemy from an intrenched position within eight hundred yards of the place, with the loss of only five killed and wounded, whilst that of the enemy was two hundred and fifty men. On the twenty-second the enemy made a vigorous though unsuccessful sortie on all the advanced posts. They renewed the attempt several times, but were as often repulsed with great loss. Next day the batteries opened with such effect that all the guns opposed to them were silenced in the course of a few hours. The siege was continued with unabated vigour till the morning of the fourth of May, when it was resolved to attempt an assault. Major-general Baird, who, twenty years before, had been kept a prisoner in chains in the city he was now to storm, was appointed to command the assailants, who were to advance in two columns under Colonels Dunlop and Sherbrooke; the Honourable Colonel Arthur Wellesley commanding the reserve. The whole force amounted to four thousand three hundred and seventy-six firelocks. Every thing being in readiness, at one o'clock in the afternoon the troops waited the signal, and on its being given they rushed impetuously forward, and in less than two hours Seringapatam was in possession of the British. The sultan and a number of his chief officers fell whilst defending the capital. In this gallant assault Lieutenant Lalor of the 73d was killed, and Captain William Macleod, Lieutenant Thomas, and Ensigns Antill and Guthrie of the same regiment, were wounded.

Nothing now remained to complete the subjugation of the Mysore but to subdue a warlike chief who had taken up arms in support of the sultan. Colonel Wellesley was detached against him with the 73d and some other troops, when his army was dispersed and the chief himself killed in a charge of cavalry.

In eighteen hundred and five the regiment was ordered home, but such of the men as were inclined to remain in India were offered a bounty. The result was that most of them volunteered, and the few that remained embarked at Madras for England and arrived at Graves-



end in July eighteen hundred and six. The remains of the regiment arrived at Perth in eighteen hundred and seven, and in eighteen hundred and nine the ranks were filled up to eight hundred men, and a second battalion was added. The uniform and designation of the corps was then changed, and it ceased to be a Highland regiment.

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## SEVENTY-FOURTH REGIMENT.

1787.

IN the year seventeen hundred and eighty-seven four new regiments were ordered to be raised for the service of the state, to be numbered the 74th, 75th, 76th, and 77th. The two first were directed to be raised in the north of Scotland, and were to be Highland regiments. The regimental establishment of each was to consist of ten companies of seventy-five men each, with the customary number of commissioned and non-commissioned officers. Major-general Sir Archibald Campbell, K. B., from the half-pay of Fraser's Highlanders, was appointed colonel of the 74th regiment.

As the state of affairs in India required that reinforcements should be immediately despatched to that country, all the men who had been embodied previously to January seventeen hundred and eighty-eight were ordered for embarkation without waiting for the full complement. In consequence of these orders four hundred men, about one-half Highlanders, embarked at Grangemouth, and sailed from Chatham for the East Indies, under the command of Captain William Wallace. The regiment having been completed in autumn, the recruits followed in February seventeen hundred and eighty-nine, and arrived at Madras in June in the most perfect health. They joined the first detachment at the cantonments of Poonamalee, and thus united the corps amounted to seven hundred and fifty men. These were now disciplined by Lieutenant-colonel Maxwell, who had succeeded Lieutenant-colonel Forbes in the command, a duty of which he had acquired some experience as Captain in Fraser's Highlanders.

In connexion with the main army under Lord Cornwallis the Madras army under General Meadows, of which the 74th formed a part, began a series of movements in the spring of seventeen hundred and ninety. The defence of the passes leading into the Carnatic from Mysore was intrusted to Colonel Kelly, who, besides his own corps, had under him the 74th; but dying in September, Colonel Maxwell\* succeeded to the command. In consequence of orders to attack Baramahl, he entered

\* This able officer was son of Sir William Maxwell of Monreith, and brother of the late Duchess of Gordon. He died at Cuddalore in 1784.

that country and was about to invest Kistnaggery, a rock of great strength; but before his arrangements were completed Tippoo Saib, who had received notice of his advance, advanced towards Kistnaggery with three-fourths of his army, and made his appearance in the neighbourhood on the twelfth. On that and the two following days the sultan made different attempts to draw Colonel Maxwell from his position, and Tippoo being frustrated in his designs to attack him, unless at great disadvantage, drew off his troops on the evening of the fourteenth, on the approach of General Meadows.

The 74th was now put in brigade with the 71st and 72d Highland regiments. The regiment suffered no loss in the different movements which took place till the storming of Bangalore, on the twenty-first of March seventeen hundred and ninety-one. The whole loss of the British, however, was only five men.

In the second attempt on Seringapatam, on the sixth of February seventeen hundred and ninety-two, the 74th, with the 52d regiment and 71st Highlanders, formed the centre under the immediate orders of the commander-in-chief.

On the termination of hostilities this regiment returned to the coast. In July seventeen hundred and nine-three the flank companies were embodied with those of the 71st in the expedition against Pondicherry.

Besides reinforcements of recruits from Scotland fully sufficient to compensate all casualties, the regiment received, on the occasion of the 71st being ordered home to Europe, upwards of two hundred men from that regiment. By these additions the strength of the regiment was kept up, and the regiment, as well in the previous campaign as in the subsequent one under General Harris, was one of the most effective in the field. The 74th was concerned in all operations of this campaign, and had its full share in the storming of Seringapatam, on the fourth of May seventeen hundred and ninety-nine.

The 74th had not an opportunity again of distinguishing itself till the year eighteen hundred and three, when three occasions occurred. The first was on the eighth of August, when the fortress of Ahmadnagur, then in possession of Scindia, the Mahratta chief, was attacked, and carried by assault by the army, detached under the Honourable Major-general Sir Arthur Wellesley, in which affair the 74th, which formed a part of the brigade commanded by Colonel Wallace, bore a distinguished part. The next was the battle of Assaye, fought on the twenty-third of September. In this action, the keenest ever fought in India, the brunt of the attack fell on the 74th, which had Captains D. Aytone, Andrew Dyce, Roderick Macleod, John Maxwell, Lieutenants John Campbell, John Morshead Campbell, Lorn Campbell, (son of Colonel Campbell of Melford,) James Grant, J. Morris, Robt. Neilson, Volunteer Moore, nine sergeants, seven drummers, and one hundred and twenty-seven rank and file killed; and Major Samuel Swinton, Captains Norman Moore, Matthew Shaw, John Alex. Main, Robert

Macmurdo, J. Longland, Ensign Kierman, eleven sergeants, seven drummers, and two hundred and seventy rank and file wounded. The last was the battle of Argaum, which was gained with little loss, and which fell chiefly on the 74th regiment. An account of these different affairs will be found in the article on the service of the 78th regiment.

In September, eighteen hundred and five, the regiment embarked for England; but all the men fit for duty remained in India. In eighteen hundred and nine, the Highland garb, which had been laid aside in the East, being considered too warm for the climate of India, was finally abandoned, and the uniform of the line adopted as the national designation of the corps was to be given up in future.

The regiment, upwards of seven hundred strong, embarked for Spain in the autumn of eighteen hundred and eleven, and maintained, throughout the whole of the peninsular campaigns, the high reputation it had acquired in India. To appreciate the important services of this excellent corps, it is only necessary to state that they were engaged in ten battles and sieges in France and Spain, viz. those of Busaco, Fuentes d'Honore, Ciudad Rodrigo, Badajos, Salamanca, Vittoria, Pyrenees, Nivelle, Orthés, and Thoulouse.

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## SEVENTY-FIFTH REGIMENT.

1787.

WHILST Major-general Sir Archibald Campbell was appointed Colonel of the 74th, the colonelcy of its coeval regiment, the 75th, was conferred on Colonel Robert Abercromby of Tullybody. He had commanded a light infantry brigade during six campaigns in the American war; and as several companies of this brigade had been composed of the light infantry of the Highland regiments, then in America, the colonel was well known to the Highlanders, and thus acquired an influence among them rarely enjoyed by officers born south of the Grampians. There are instances, no doubt, such as those of the marquis of Montrose and Lord Viscount Dundee, and others of modern date, "where Highland corps have formed attachments to officers not natives of their country, and not less ardent than to the chiefs of old;"\* and if the instances have been few, the circumstance has been entirely owing to the officers themselves, who, from ignorance of the Highland character, or from some other cause, have failed to attach the Highlanders to them.

From personal respect to Colonel Abercromby, many of the Highlanders, who had served under him in America, and had been discharged

\* Jackson's Characteristics.

at the peace of seventeen hundred and eighty-three, enlisted anew, and with about three hundred men who were recruited at Perth, and in the northern counties, constituted the Highland part of the regiment. According to a practice which then prevailed, of fixing the head-quarters of a regiment, about to be raised, in the neighbourhood of the colonel's residence, if a man of family, the town of Stirling was appointed for the embodying of the 75th, where it was accordingly regimented in June, seventeen hundred and eighty-eight, and being immediately ordered for England, embarked for India, where it disembarked about the end of that year.

For eighteen months after its arrival in India, the regiment was subjected to a severity of discipline by one of the captains, who appears to have adopted the old Prussian model for his rule. A more unfortunate plan for destroying the *morale* of a Highland regiment could not have been devised, and the result was, that there were more punishments in the 75th than in any other corps of the same description during the existence of this discipline. But as soon as the system was relaxed by the appointment of an officer who knew the dispositions and feelings of the Highlanders the conduct of the men improved.

The regiment took the field in seventeen hundred and ninety, under the command of Colonel Hartley, and in the two subsequent years formed part of the force under Major-general Robert Abercromby, on his two marches to Seringapatam. The regiment was also employed in the assault of that capital in seventeen hundred and ninety-nine, the flank companies having led the left columns. From that period down to eighteen hundred and four, the regiment was employed in the provinces of Malabar, Goa, the Guzzerat, &c., and in eighteen hundred and five was with General Lake's army in the disastrous attacks on Bhurtpore.

The regiment was ordered home in eighteen hundred and six; but such of the men as were desirous of remaining in India, were left behind. In eighteen hundred and nine there were not one hundred men in the regiment who had been born north of the Tay; on which account, it is believed the designation of the regiment was at that time changed.

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## ROSS-SHIRE HIGHLANDERS,

OR

### SEVENTY-EIGHTH REGIMENT,

FIRST BATTALION.—1793.

GREAT BRITAIN having joined the league against revolutionary France, found it necessary not only to place the old establishment of

the army, consisting of seventy-seven regiments, on the war footing, but to raise several new regiments. In the important and arduous contest in which she had now engaged, she again appealed to the hardy sons of the north to join the standard of their country. Among other warrants issued about this time for raising regiments, letters of service were granted to the late Lord Seaforth; and although the affections of the Highlanders, particularly in Ross-shire, where it was intended to raise recruits for the new regiment, had been greatly alienated by recent proceedings on the part of the landed proprietors, by dispossessing their tenantry of their farms; yet so great was the attachment for an ancient family, that within a few months after the warrant was issued, the first establishment of the regiment was completed and embodied by Lieutenant-general Sir Hector Munro at Fort George, on the tenth of February, seventeen hundred and ninety-three. Being the first regiment embodied in the late war, it was numbered the 78th, being the same number as that of the regiment raised by the former earl of Seaforth in the year seventeen hundred and seventy-nine.

The following is a list of the original officers whose commissions were dated the eighth of March, seventeen hundred and ninety-three:—

*Lieutenant-colonel, commandant*,—F. H. Mackenzie, afterwards Lord Seaforth, died a Lieutenant-general in 1816.

*Lieutenant-colonel*,—Alexander Mackenzie Fraser, died a Lieutenant-general in 1809.

#### *Majors.*

George, Earl of Errol, died in 1799.

Sir Alexander Mackenzie of Fairburn, Baronet, Lieutenant-general in 1809.

#### *Captains.*

Alexander Macleod, died in 1798.

Thomas Fraser of Leadclune, retired, died in 1820.

John Mackenzie, son of Gairloch, Lieutenant-general in 1814.

Gabriel Mackay, killed in 1794.

Alexander Grant, retired, died in 1807.

J. Randoll Mackenzie of Suddie, Major-general, 1804, killed at Talavera in 1809.

Alexander Adams, Major-general, 1814.

Hon. George Cochrane, son of the late Earl of Dundonald, retired.

*Captain and Lieutenant*,—Dun. Munro of Culcairn, retired, died in 1820.

#### *Lieutenants.*

Colin Mackenzie.

James Fraser, retired 1795.

Charles Rose.

Hugh Munro, Captain of Invalids.

George Bayley, promoted to a company in the 44th.

Thomas, Lord Cochrane, now Earl of Dundonald.

Charles Adamson, retired.

William Douglas, son of Brighton, died Lieutenant-general, 91st regiment.

Sir Archibald Christie, late commandant-general of hospitals.

*Esquiss.*

Duncan Macrea.

John Reid.

John Macleod, Major-general, 1849.

David Forbes, Lieutenant-colonel, half pay.

J. Mackenzie Scott, Captain 57th,  
killed at Albuhera.

Alexander Ross, Major of Veterans.

Charles Mackenzie.

John Fraser.

*Chaplain*,—Alexander Downie, D. D.*Adjutant*,—James Fraser.*Surgeon*,—Thomas Baillie, died in India.*Quarter-master*,—Archd. Macdougall.

Immediately on being embodied, five companies were sent to Guernsey, where they were brigaded with other troops under the command of the earl of Moira. The other five companies joined the corps in the same island, in September of the same year. The newly raised regiment was composed of the best materials, being “an excellent body of men, healthy, vigorous, and efficient; in short, possessing those principles of integrity and moral conduct, which constitute a valuable soldier.” \*

In September, seventeen hundred and ninety-four, the 78th joined an expedition under Major-general Lord Mulgrave, the object of which was to occupy Zealand. On reaching Flushing, the 78th, with other regiments, was ordered to join the duke of York’s army on the Waal. They reached Tuil in the middle of October, and marched to the village of Roscum on the Bommill Wart on the Maese. The enemy were posted in considerable force on the opposite bank; but, with the exception of a few passing shots, nothing occurred.

The 78th next marched to reinforce the garrison of Nimeguen, to which place the enemy had laid siege. Along with the 8th, 27th, 28th, 53d, and some cavalry and Dutch troops, the Highlanders made a sortie on the fourth of November, in which they acquitted themselves with the characteristic bravery of their countrymen. They advanced against the enemy’s batteries under a heavy fire, and finding a French battalion drawn up in the trenches, leaped into the midst of them, and, attacking them with the bayonet, put them to flight. The British had only twelve rank and file killed, among whom there were seven Highlanders; and twelve officers, ten sergeants, and one hundred and forty-nine rank and file, wounded. Among these were five officers, four sergeants, and fifty-six rank and file of the 78th. The Highland officers wounded were Major Malcom, Captains Hugh Munro,† and Colin

\* Stewart.

† “A musket-ball entered the outward edge of Captain Munro’s left eye, and passing under the bridge of the nose through the right, carried away both eyes, without leaving the least mark or disfiguration farther than the blank in the eyes shot away. He was quite well in a few weeks, and has since taught himself to write a short letter with much correctness, and to play on several musical instruments. . . . As the sergeant-major leapt into the trenches, a ball struck him high up on the middle of the right thigh, passed down to the knee, and entering the left leg in the calf, came out at the ankle; but as it touched no bone, it did not disable him above ten days, notwithstanding the circuitous direction it followed, running round so many bones.”—Stewart.



Mackenzie, Lieutenant Bayley and Ensign Martin Cameron who died of their wounds. The greater part of the wounds were received from the enemy's musketry while advancing.

After the evacuation of Nimeguen on the sixth, the 78th entered the third brigade of reserve on the tenth, which brigade consisted of the 12th, 33d, and 42d, all under the command of Lieutenant-colonel Alexander Mackenzie Fraser. No movement took place on the part of the British army till the twenty-ninth of December, when, the enemy having crossed the Waal on the ice at Bommill, the right wing instantly marched and concentrated at Khiel under Major-general David Dundas. On the same night this wing advanced on Tuil where the enemy had taken up a position; but the enemy did not wait, but retired on their approach. In this movement Brevet-major Murray and some men of the 78th light company were killed by a distant cannonade.

After lying on the snow for two nights, the army sought refuge from the inclemency of the weather in some barns. They afterwards removed to Gildermalsen, whither the French advanced, on the fifth of January, seventeen hundred and ninety-five. The 78th was posted in front of the village in two wings, with the road open between them. The light company with two howitzers was drawn up in advance. The 42d occupied the different avenues to the village; the 12th and 19th regiments were at some distance to the right; and the 33d, with a squadron of the 11th dragoons, was posted in advance at Meteren. Having driven in the outposts, the enemy pushed forward a regiment of French Hussars, whose uniform resembled that of the emigrant regiment of Choiseul in the British service, and under cover of this deception, they galloped along the road vociferating "Choiseul, Choiseul!" Before this ruse was discovered they had advanced close to the light company of the 78th, but being instantly discovered they were attacked and checked. Part of them, however, succeeded in pushing through the intervals between the two wings towards the village, but they were met by the light company of the 42d, whose fire drove them back, and dispersed them. Emboldened by the advance of the cavalry, the French infantry marched forward, singing the Carmagnole March. The 78th allowed them to advance close upon them, when they opened their fire with such effect, that the enemy were obliged to retire in great confusion. In this affair Captain Duncan Munro of the 78th was wounded, and a few soldiers of the same regiment killed and wounded.

The regiment was afterwards engaged in all the subsequent movements of the army, and in the retreat to Bremen, where it arrived on the twenty-eighth of April. They shortly after embarked for England, and landed at Harwich on the tenth of May, and in the month of August following marched to the neighbourhood of Southampton, where they were put under the command of the earl of Moira, who was appointed to the command of an expedition to support the French Royalists in La Vendée.

## SECOND BATTALION.—1794.

BEFORE proceeding farther in the history of this regiment, it is necessary to notice the second battalion, which was ordered to be raised in February, seventeen hundred and ninety-four. To this corps the following officers were named :—

*Lieutenant-colonel, commandant*,—F. H. Mackenzie, Lord Seaforth, 10th Feb., 1794.

*Lieutenant-colonel*,—Sir Alexander Mackenzie of Fairburn, Bart., Lieutenant-general.

*Majors.*

J. Randall Mackenzie of Suddie, Major-general, 1804, killed at Talavera.

Michael Monypenny, promoted to the 73d regiment, dead.

*Captains.*

John H. Brown, killed.

Simon Mackenzie.

William Campbell, killed at Java in 1811, a Lieutenant-general.

John Mackenzie, Major-general, 1813.

Patrick Macleod, son of Geanies, killed at El Hamit in 1807, Lieutenant-colonel, 2d battalion.

Hercules Scott of Benholm, killed in Canada, Lieutenant-colonel of the 103d regiment, 1814.

John Scott.

John Macleod, Major-general, 1819.

*Lieutenants.*

James Hanson.

Alexander Macneil.

Æneas Sutherland.

Murdoch Mackenzie.

Archibald C. B. Crawford.

Norman Macleod, afterwards Lieutenant-colonel, Royal Scots.

Thomas Leslie.

Alexander Sutherland, senior.

Alexander Sutherland, junior.

P. Mackintosh.

John Douglas.

George Macgregor.

B. G. Mackay.

Donald Cameron.

James Hay.

Thomas Davidson.

William Gordon.

Robert Johnstone.

The Hon. William Douglas Halyburton, colonel, half pay.

John Macneil.

John Dunbar.

*Ensigns.*

George Macgregor, afterwards Lieutenant-colonel of the 59th regiment.

Donald Cameron.

*Chaplain*,—Charles Proby.

*Adjutant*,—James Hanson.

John Macneil.

William Polson.

Alxeander Wishart.

*Quarter-master*,—Alexander Wishart.

This battalion was equal, in point of numbers, to the first, and five

hundred and sixty of the men were Highlanders. They embarked at Fort George in August, seventeen hundred and ninety-four, for England, where they remained till April following, when six companies formed part of an expedition against the Cape of Good Hope. In this enterprise the battalion lost very few men. Major Monypenny and Captain Hercules Scott, with five men, were wounded. On the capture of the Cape, the battalion remained in garrison under the command of Lieutenant-colonel Alexander Mackenzie of Fairburn.

#### FIRST AND SECOND BATTALIONS CONSOLIDATED.

In conjunction with the 12th, 80th, and 90th regiments the first battalion was detached in August, seventeen hundred and ninety-five, under Major-general W. Ellis Doyle, to make a diversion in favour of the royalist army in La Vendée. When they arrived off Quiberon the British general found that the royalists had been there overpowered, and seeing that he could not effect a landing on the coast he disembarked on Isle Dieu, where the troops remained till January seventeen hundred and ninety-six, when they returned to England. At Portsmouth, whither the regiment had marched, they received orders to embark for the East Indies, instructions having been issued to form both battalions into one, and to place the junior officers of each rank on half-pay till otherwise provided for.

At this time Lord Seaforth resigned the colonelcy of the regiment, but retained his rank in the army. The regiment embarked at Portsmouth on the sixth of March and landed at the Cape of Good Hope on the first of June seventeen hundred and ninety-six. The union of the two battalions now took place, and all the supernumerary officers and men were ordered home. The strength of the corps when consolidated amounted to eleven hundred and thirteen men, of whom nine hundred and seventy were Highlanders, one hundred and twenty-nine Scotch Lowlanders, and fourteen English and Irish. The regiment sailed for Bengal on the tenth of November, and landed at Fort-George on the twelfth of February, seventeen hundred and ninety-seven, whence, after a few days' rest, it marched to Burhampore.

No event occurring for six years to require their services in the field, the regiment kept shifting its cantonments in Bengal. During that period, as indeed was the case before as it has been since, the conduct of this respectable corps was very exemplary. "Among these men desertion was unknown and corporal punishment unnecessary. The detestation and disgrace of such a mode of punishment would have rendered a man infamous in his own estimation, and an outcast from the society of his country and kindred. Fortunately for these men they were placed under the command of an officer well-calculated for the charge. Born among themselves, of a family which they were accustomed to respect, and possessing both judgment and temper, he perfectly understood their

character and insured their esteem and regard. Many brave honest soldiers have been lost from the want of such men at their head. The appointment of a commander to a corps is a subject of deep importance. Colonel Mackenzie knew his men, and the value which they attached to a good name, by tarnishing which they would bring shame on their country and kindred. In case of any misconduct he had only to remonstrate, or threaten to transmit to their parents a report of their misbehaviour. This was, indeed, to them a grievous punishment, acting, like the curse of Kehama, as a perpetual banishment from a country to which they could not return with a bad character."\* This admirable system of discipline attracted great notice in India. To their other good qualities they added that of abstemiousness in drinking, and to such an extent did they carry their sobriety that it was found necessary to restrict them from selling or giving away the usual allowance of liquor to other soldiers.†

Lieutenant-colonel Mackenzie Fraser having left India, in the year eighteen hundred, Colonel J. Randall Mackenzie succeeded to the command, who having also returned to England in eighteen hundred and two, the command devolved upon Lieutenant-colonel John Mackenzie (Gairloch), and afterwards on Lieutenant-colonel Adams. Though the last-mentioned officer was a Celt of Wales, he enjoyed the confidence of the men as much as any of his predecessors. He had joined the regiment on its formation when very young and entered readily into the feelings and peculiarities of the men. These different changes were attended with no alteration in the admirable system of discipline originally adopted by Colonel Mackenzie.

In consequence of the war with Scindia, the Mahratta chief, the 78th regiment embarked in February, eighteen hundred and three, at Fort-William, in Bengal, and landing at Bombay in April, joined the army commanded by Colonel John Murray. It was afterwards detached with the army under the command of Major-general the Honourable Arthur Wellesley, and placed in brigade with the 80th and the 1st European and 3d Native battalions under Lieutenant-colonel Harness. The 74th, with the same number of European and Native regiments, formed another brigade commanded by Lieutenant-colonel Wallace. The cavalry brigade, which was under Lieutenant-colonel Maxwell, consisted of the 19th Light Dragoons and the Native cavalry. Two guns were attached

\* Stewart.

† "There were in this battalion nearly 300 men from Lord Seaforth's estate in the Lewis. Several years elapsed before any of these men were charged with a crime deserving severe punishment. In 1799 a man was tried and punished; this so shocked his comrades that he was put out of their society as a degraded man, who brought shame on his kindred. The unfortunate outcast felt his own degradation so much that he became unhappy and desperate; and Colonel Mackenzie, to save him from destruction, applied and got him sent to England, where his disgrace would be unknown and unnoticed. It happened, as Colonel Mackenzie had expected, for he quite recovered his character. By the humane consideration of his commander a man was thus saved from that ruin which a repetition of severity would have rendered inevitable."—*Stewart's Sketches*.

to each corps of infantry and cavalry. The army was followed by a large body of Mysore and Mahratta horse and a corps of pioneers. In marching the line of baggage, always important in an Indian army, kept close to the columns, the flanks and rear being covered by corps of Native horse. The army encamped early in August within eight miles of Ahmednagar after a tedious march. Resolving to attempt the town by assault, General Wellesley formed his army on the eighth in three columns, the flank companies of the two Highland regiments, the 74th and 78th, being the advanced guard. The battalion companies of the same corps led the other two columns. The place had no ramparts but was surrounded by a high wall, so narrow at the top as to make it impracticable to obtain a footing. The advanced guard rushed forward, but every man who gained the top disdaining to retreat, and unable to advance, was killed on the spot. The enemy, however, were so intimidated by the approach of the columns, that they surrendered the town without further resistance. In this affair the 78th had Captains F. Mackenzie Humberstone, and Duncan Grant, Lieutenant Anderson, and twelve men, killed; and Lieutenant Larkins and five men wounded.

After the capture of Ahmednagar the army proceeded in its march, and, after a series of long and harassing movements, found itself, on the twenty-first of September, within a short march of two numerous bodies of the enemy under the command of Scindia and the rajah of Berar. Having next day met a detachment of the Bombay army under Colonel Stephenson, on the twenty-third General Wellesley concerted with that officer a plan for attacking the enemy. Pursuant to this design both armies advanced by separate lines of march. On the morning of the twenty-third intelligence was brought to General Wellesley that the enemy's cavalry were already on their retreat, and that the infantry were preparing to follow. Colonel Stephenson had not come up, and no time was to be lost. Whilst the general hastened forward with the cavalry to reconnoitre, he ordered the infantry to follow him instantly. Having detached two battalions to Poonah and left a third at Ahmednagar his army was reduced to about four thousand seven hundred men, with twenty-six field-pieces, to oppose which the enemy was supposed to have one hundred pieces of cannon and thirty thousand men. The infantry were well-disciplined by French and other European officers, and the artillery was well-served. Notwithstanding this immense numerical disparity General Wellesley resolved to hazard an engagement single-handed.

On reconnoitering the enemy General Wellesley found that they were drawn up on a rising ground with the cavalry on the right, and their line extended to the village of Assaye on the left. When the leading division of the army arrived within a short distance of the enemy's position the line of battle was formed as follows: The first line consisted of the picquets of the army on the right, the 78th on the left, and the 8th and 10th native regiments in the centre; the second line consisted of



the 74th with the 12th and 4th native battalions; the third line, or reserve, was composed entirely of cavalry. The two armies were divided by the Kaitna, a small stream with high banks and a deep channel, and, except at the fords, impassable to cavalry and guns.

Observing the reconnoitering party the enemy opened a cannonade, the first shot of which killed one of General Wellesley's escorts. In pursuance of a plan to make the first attack on the enemy's left, a column crossed the Kaitna by a ford within reach of the enemy's cannon, which played on it with effect. To meet this movement the enemy's first line changed position to the left, thus opposing a front to the intended attack. By this change the second line of the enemy was at right angles to the first. The first line of the British formed parallel to that of the enemy, at the distance of about five hundred yards, the left being directly opposite to the right of the enemy, and the second and third lines in the rear. Whilst this formation was going on the enemy kept up a well-directed fire from their great guns, which was answered by the guns of the first line, which, from many of the draught oxen having been disabled, were drawn by the soldiers.

When the order of battle was formed General Wellesley ordered the line to advance in a quick pace without firing a shot, but to trust entirely to the bayonet. This order was received with cheers and instantly obeyed. The line, however, had not advanced far when it became necessary to halt, in consequence of the leading battalions, composed of the picquets, diverging from the line of direction. When the order to halt was issued the troops had reached the summit of a swell of the ground which had previously sheltered their advance. The moment was critical. Conceiving that the halt proceeded from timidity, the enemy redoubled their efforts, firing chain-shot and every missile they could bring to bear upon the line. Afraid of the effect of this momentary halt on the minds of the native troops, General Wellesley rode up in front of one of their battalions, and, taking off his hat, cheered them in their own language, and gave the word to advance again. This order was also received with cheers and instantly obeyed. As soon as the 78th came within a hundred and fifty yards of the enemy they advanced in quick time and charged. At this instant some European officers in the enemy's service mounted their horses and fled. Thus deserted by their officers the infantry immediately fled with such speed that few were overtaken by the bayonet, but many of the gunners who stuck to their guns were bayoneted in the act of loading.

The 78th now quickly re-formed line, and, wheeling to the right, presented a front to the enemy's left, preparatory to an advance on the enemy's second line. During these operations on the left the 74th advanced over an open plain to the enemy's front under a destructive fire from thirty pieces of cannon. The obstructions they met with from a prickly pear-hedge retarded their advance, and they were thus longer exposed to this fire. After disentangling themselves from the hedge, in



which many of the men lost their shoes and had their feet lacerated, and with one-half of their number killed and wounded, a large body of horse advanced to charge them; but they were immediately relieved by Lieutenant-colonel Maxwell, who, advancing rapidly with the 19th dragoons, charged the enemy in flank and drove them off the field. By this fortunate occurrence the remains of the 74th were enabled to take up their position in the front line, on the immediate right of the 78th, which was on the left of the army, now formed in one line.

Whilst the enemy kept up a heavy fire from the village in front the British were unexpectedly annoyed in their rear by numbers of the enemy who came up from the banks of the river, and by others, who, having thrown themselves on the ground as dead, were passed over by the troops, and who now commenced a heavy fire from their own guns, which had been abandoned on the charge of the first line. At the same time a body of the enemy's cavalry appeared on the left flank preparing to charge. To meet this attack the left wing of the Highlanders was thrown back a few paces on its right, when they were fortunately joined by Lieutenant D. Cameron, who had been left with a party to protect two guns which could not be brought forward in consequence of their draught oxen having been killed. The crisis was important. The enemy had an unbroken line in front, flanked by batteries of round shot on their right: the British were annoyed by an incessant fire from the cannon in their front, and by grape in their rear, and threatened with cavalry on their left; yet they preserved a steadiness, whilst waiting for orders, which has never been surpassed. At length the moment had arrived when a decisive blow was to be struck. The cavalry, by the general's orders, advanced to charge the enemy's squadrons on the left, but they did not wait the attack. Then directing the line to attack their front he led the 78th, the 19th Light dragoons, and 7th native cavalry to the rear, and attacked the enemy, who had collected there in considerable force. They made a brave resistance, and part of them stood a charge of the 19th dragoons, in which Colonel Maxwell, a brave and meritorious officer, was killed. Great difficulty was experienced by the Highlanders in clearing the part of the field to which they were opposed and in recovering the cannon. The enemy forced the regiment to change its front three times, and whilst moving on one party the others kept up a galling fire which did not cease till the whole were driven off the field. A party of the enemy's light horse, who had gone out to forage in the morning, and were erroneously reported to have marched, now returned; but they were too late to be of any service, and fled on the approach of a party of Mysore horse.\*

The victory of Assaye was one of the most brilliant achievements ever performed by the British arms in India, whether we consider the immense disparity of force, or the obstinacy with which the enemy sus-

\* Stewart.

tained the contest. Ninety-eight pieces of cannon and an immense quantity of military stores fell into the hands of the victors. The enemy had twelve hundred men killed, and about three thousand wounded. Among twenty-one British officers killed, the Highlanders lost Lieutenant Douglas, and of thirty wounded they had four, viz., Captain Alexander Mackenzie, Lieutenants Kinloch and Larkins, and Ensign Bethune. Several other officers, however, received contusions, who were not included in the list of wounded. The regiment had also twenty-seven rank and file killed, and four sergeants and seventy-three rank and file wounded.

The army made a series of movements, attended with occasional partial skirmishes, till the twenty-ninth of November, when the enemy were found drawn up in order of battle, on a plain in front of the village of Argau. The enemy, though nearly as numerous as the army at Assaye, were neither so well-disciplined, nor so well-appointed, and they had, besides, only thirty-eight pieces of cannon. The British army, on the other hand, was more numerous than in the late engagement, having been reinforced by Colonel Stephenson's division. The British moved forward in one column to the edge of the plain. A small village lay between the head of the British columns and the line. The cavalry formed in close column behind this village; and the right brigade formed line in its front, the other corps following and forming in succession. The moment the leading picquet passed the village, the enemy, who were about twelve hundred yards distant, discharged twenty-one pieces of cannon in one volley. The native picquets and two battalions, alarmed by this noisy demonstration, which was attended by no injurious consequences, recoiled and took refuge behind the village, leaving the picquets of the 78th and the artillery alone in the field. By the exertions of the officers these battalions were again brought up into line, not, however, till the 78th had joined and formed into line with the picquets and artillery.

The army was drawn up in one line of fifteen battalions, with the 78th on the right, having the 74th on its immediate left, and the 94th on the left of the line, supported by the Mysore horse. The cavalry formed a reserve or second line. In the advance the 78th directed its march against a battery of nine guns, which supported the enemy's left. In the approach, a body of eight hundred infantry darted from behind the battery, and rushed forward with the apparent intention of passing through the interval between the 74th and 78th. To close the interval, and prevent the intended movement, the regiments obliqued their march, and with ported arms moved forward to meet the enemy. But they were prevented by a deep muddy ditch from coming into collision with the bayonet. The enemy, however, drew up along the ditch, and kept firing till their last man fell. Next morning upwards of five hundred dead bodies were found lying by the ditch. Religious fanaticism had impelled these men to fight.

With the exception of an attack made by Scindia's cavalry on the left of Colonel Stephenson's division, in which he was repulsed by the 6th native infantry, no other attempt of any moment was made by the enemy. After this attack, the whole of the enemy's line instantly gave way, leaving all their artillery on the field. They were pursued by the cavalry by moonlight till nine o'clock. The loss of the British was trifling, and fell chiefly on the 78th, which had nine men killed and twenty-one wounded.\*

At this time the command of the right brigade devolved upon Colonel Adams, in consequence of the resignation of Colonel Harness from bad health. The command of the picquets of the line thus falling upon Major Hercules Scott, as field-officer of the day, the command of the 78th devolved on Captain James Fraser.

The next, and, as it turned out, the last exploit of General Wellesley's army, was against the strong fort of Gawelghur, which was taken by assault on the thirteenth of December. They however continued in the field, marching and counter-marching, till the twentieth of February, eighteen hundred and four, when the 78th reached Bombay.

The regiment remained in quarters till May, eighteen hundred and five, when five companies were ordered to Baroda in the Guzzerat. The strength of the regiment was kept up by recruits, chiefly from the Scotch militia, and latterly by reinforcements from a second battalion of eight hundred men added to the regiment in eighteen hundred and four. In July, eighteen hundred and five, a detachment of one hundred recruits arrived from Scotland. The regiment removed to Goa in eighteen hundred and seven, whence it embarked for Madras in March eighteen hundred and eleven. At Goa the utmost harmony and friendship subsisted between the Highlanders and the inhabitants, and when the regiment was about to depart, the Conde de Surzecla, viceroy of Portuguese India, took occasion "to express his sentiments of praise and admiration of the regular, orderly, and honourable conduct of his Britannic majesty's 78th Highland regiment, during the four years they have been under his authority, equally and highly creditable to the exemplary discipline of the corps, and to the skill of the excellent commander; and his excellency can never forget the inviolable harmony and friendship which has always subsisted between the subjects of the regent of Portugal, and all classes of this honourable corps."

\* "At the battle of Assaye the musicians were ordered to attend to the wounded, and carry them to the surgeons in the rear. One of the pipers, believing himself included in this order, laid aside his instrument, and assisted the wounded. For this he was afterwards reproached by his comrades. Flutes and hautboys they thought could be well spared, but for the piper, who should always be in the heat of the battle, to go to the rear with the *whistlers* was a thing altogether unheard of. The unfortunate piper was quite humbled. However, he soon had an opportunity of playing off this stigma, for in the advance at Argaum, he played up with such animation, and influenced the men to such a degree, that they could hardly be restrained from rushing on to the charge too soon, and breaking the line. Colonel Adams was, indeed, obliged to silence the musician, who now, in some manner, regained his lost fame."—*Stewart's Sketches.*

At this time the corps was one thousand and twenty-seven men strong, of whom only five were left sick at Goa. Of these eight hundred and thirty-five were Highlanders, one hundred and eighty-four Lowlanders, eight English, and nine Irish. A more vigorous and efficient body of men had never before set foot on the soil of India; and in corroboration of this averment, it is only necessary to state, that of the men now in the regiment, upwards of three hundred and thirty-six were volunteers from the Perthshire and other Scotch militia regiments, and four hundred were drafts from the second battalion which had been inured to all the details of a military life, by three years' service in the Mediterranean. The men were in general of such great stature, that after the grenadier company was completed from the tallest, the hundred men next in height were found too tall, being beyond the usual size of the light infantry.

Instead of landing at Madras the regiment embarked for Java, on the thirtieth of April, eighteen hundred and eleven, forming part of the force under the command of Lieutenant-general Sir Samuel Achmuty, destined for the capture of that island. The 78th was put in the second brigade commanded by Lieutenant-colonel Adams.

The fleet reached Batavia in August, and the army landed at Chil-lingching, a few miles east of the city, without opposition. On the eighth of that month the advance of the army under Colonel Rollo Gillespie, moved forward and took possession of the city of Batavia, which had been abandoned by the enemy. The army advanced upon Batavia on the tenth, and Colonel Gillespie at same time pushed forward to Weltevrede, whither the enemy had retired. On his approach they again retreated and took up a strong position, two miles in front of Cornelis. Though defended by three thousand men and strengthened by an abbatis of felled trees, Colonel Gillespie attacked this post immediately, and carried it, after an obstinate resistance, at the point of the bayonet. The enemy lost all their guns. In this smart attack, "the flank companies of the 78th (commanded by Captains David Forbes and Thomas Cameron), and the detachment of the 89th particularly distinguished themselves." Lieutenant John Munro and twelve men of the 78th were killed, and Captain Cameron and twenty-two men wounded.

The chief stronghold of the enemy was Cornelis, a level parallelogram, sixteen hundred yards in length and nine hundred in breadth. A broad and deep river ran on one side and the other three sides were surrounded by ditches. To the old fort, which stood on the bank of the river, General Daendels had added six strong redoubts. Each of these was mounted with cannon, and so placed that the guns of the one commanded and supported the other. The space within was defended by traverses and parapets cut and raised in all directions, intended as a cover for the musketry whilst the great guns fired over them. The whole of these works was defended by three thousand men. Besides

the outward ditches small canals had been cut in different directions within this fortified position.\*

From the tenth to the twentieth the army was occupied in erecting batteries against Cornelis. The attack was fixed for the last-mentioned day. Whilst Colonel Gillespie with the flank battalions, including the Light Company under Captain David Forbes and the Grenadiers of the 78th under Captain Donald Macleod, supported by Colonel Gibbs with the 59th and the Bengal Volunteers, were to attack the main front opposite Cornelis, the battalion of the 78th, under Lieutenant-colonel William Campbell, was to push forward to the attack by the main road. Both attacks succeeded, the enemy being forced from every traverse and defence, though not without considerable resistance. Perceiving that the Dutch, by an unaccountable oversight, had left the ditch, over which the battalion companies of the 78th had to pass, dry, Captain James Macpherson pushed forward with two companies and took possession of the dam-dike which kept back the water from the ditch and prevented the enemy from cutting it. In this service Captain Macpherson† was wounded in a personal rencounter with a French officer. The 78th then crossed the ditch and carried the redoubt and defences in their front in the most gallant style. The enemy, overpowered on all the points of attack, retreated by the side of the camp which had not been attacked, leaving upwards of a thousand men killed and a great number wounded. In this brilliant affair the British had only ninety-one rank and file killed, and five hundred and thirteen wounded. The 78th lost Brevet Lieutenant-colonel Campbell, who was mortally wounded in the advance to the ditch, one drummer and eighteen rank and file killed; and Captains William Mackenzie and James Macpherson, Lieutenant William Mathieson, Ensign John Penny-cuik, three sergeants, and sixty-two rank and file wounded. Shortly after the capture of Cornelis the colony surrendered.

The regiment remained in Java till September eighteen hundred and sixteen, when it embarked for Calcutta, greatly reduced in numbers by the insalubrity of the climate. On their voyage the *Frances Charlotte*, one of the transports, with six companies on board, struck on a rock, on the morning of the fifth of November, about twelve miles from the small island of Prepares. In fifteen minutes the vessel, which stuck fast on the rock, was filled with water to the main-deck. In this emergency the seamen and troops preserved the greatest composure. All hopes of saving the ship being at an end, a few bags of rice and some pieces of pork were thrown into the boats along with the women, children, and sick, and sent to the island, where, from the heavy surf, great difficulty was experienced in landing. The boats did not return

\* Stewart.

† This officer and Lieutenant-colonel Fraser were killed in the summer of eighteen hundred and thirteen, by a party of banditti, whilst returning to the village of Probolinggo, near Sourabaya, from a visit in the neighbourhood.



till the following morning. A part of the rock about a hundred and fifty yards from the ship was dry at low water, and could hold a hundred and forty men. Thither that number were removed on a small raft with ropes to fix themselves to the points of the rock, in order to prevent their being washed into the sea by the waves, which dashed over the rock at full tide. It was not till the third day that all those on board the ship were transported to the island, and during all this time those on the rock remained without sleep and a very scanty supply of food and water which they received the second day.

Fortunately for the men on the rock the weather continued favourable, otherwise they must have perished. The *Po*, a country ship bound for Penang, appeared in sight the evening of the third day, and observing the perilous situation of the men on the rock, her commander sent a large boat which took forty men off the rock. A lesser boat was next sent, but too many men crowding on board the boat upset. The men, however, got back to the rock. From some cause not explained the commander of the *Po* did not wait for his boat, but proceeded on his voyage the same evening. The unfortunate sufferers remained on the rock, enduring the greatest privations, till the morning of the tenth, when their drooping spirits were raised by the appearance of a large ship steering towards the island. She proved to be the *Prince Blucher*, Captain Weatherall. He immediately took all the men on board from the rock, and the following morning sent his boats to the island, which brought back the women and the sick; but the wind blowing fresh he was obliged to keep out to sea to avoid the rocks, and the wind increasing to a gale, Captain Weatherall, after beating about three days, bore away for Calcutta, afraid lest he might run short of provisions. On arriving there on the twenty-third of November the *Marquis of Hastings*, the governor-general, immediately despatched two vessels with provisions and clothes. They made the island of *Prepares* on the sixth of December. Some time before this the people on the island had been reduced to the miserable allowance of a glassful of rice and two ounces of bread, for two days, to each person; but every thing in the shape of provisions having been expended they were trusting entirely to the precarious sustenance of a few shell-fish which they picked up at low water. In this wretched state the greatest subordination prevailed, and, though famine stared every man in the face, every thing which could contribute to sustain life was brought by the finder and put into the general stock over which sentinels were placed. Notwithstanding the extreme suffering they endured, only five men died. Fourteen soldiers and two *Lascars* were drowned in the surf, by falling off the raft, in attempting to get on shore.

The men were immediately embarked, and had an expeditious voyage to Calcutta, where they landed on the twelfth of December. In February eighteen hundred and seventeen they embarked for England on board the *Prince Blucher*, Captain Weatherall, who had saved the lives



of the people on the rock. The regiment sailed from India on the first of March and arrived at Portsmouth in June. It thence proceeded to Aberdeen, and in a few weeks was sent to Ireland.

## SECOND BATTALION OF 1804.

THIS battalion, to which allusion has been made in the preceding narrative, was raised in the year eighteen hundred and four. The officers were to raise men, in certain proportions, according to the rank they were to hold, viz. one hundred men for a lieutenant-colonelcy, ninety for a majority, fifty for a company, twenty-five for a lieutenantcy, and twenty for an ensigncy. The officers were enjoined to recruit their men in Scotland, and, if possible, in the Highlands; but upwards of forty of the men raised were natives of England and Ireland.

The battalion consisting of eight hundred and fifty men, of whom two hundred were raised in the island of Lewis alone, was assembled at Fort-George in December, eighteen hundred and four, and inspected by Major-general the Marquis of Huntly, the late duke of Gordon. The following is a list of the officers who were appointed.

*Colonel*,—Major-general Alexander Mackenzie Fraser, of Castle Fraser, died a lieutenant-general in 1809.

*Lieutenant-colonel*,—Patrick Macleod, (Geanies,) killed in 1807 at El Hamet.

### *Majors.*

David Stewart, (Garth,) author of the 'Sketches,' died a major-general.

James Macdonell, (Glengary,) colonel and lieutenant-colonel Coldstream Guards.

### *Captains.*

Alexander Wishart.

Duncan Macpherson, major 78th regiment.

James Macvean.

Charles William Maclean.

Duncan Macgregor, lieutenant-colonel on half-pay.

William Anderson.

Robert Henry Dick, lieutenant-colonel 42d regiment.

Colin Campbell Mackay, (Bighouse,) major on half-pay.

George Mackay, ditto.

### *Lieutenants.*

William Balvaird, major rifle guard.

Patrick Strachan.

James Macpherson, killed in Java in 1813.

William Mackenzie Dick, killed in 1807 at El Hamet.

John Matheson, captain on half-pay.

Cornwallis Bowen.

James Mackay, captain on half-pay.

Thomas Hamilton.

Robert Nicholson.

Charles Grant, captain on half-pay.

Horace St Paul, lieutenant-colonel on half-pay.

George William Bowes.

William Matheson.

William Mackenzie, captain on half-pay.	William Cameron, captain on half-pay.
Malcolm Macgregor, captain 78th regiment.	

*Ensigns.*

John Mackenzie Stewart, retired.	Neil Campbell, captain on half-pay.
John Munro, killed in 1811 in Java.	John L. Strachan.
Christopher Macrae, killed in 1807 at El Hamet.	Alexander Cameron.
Roderick Macqueen.	Alexander Gallie.
	Robert Burnet, captain 14th foot.

*Paymaster*,—James Ferguson.

*Adjutant*,—William Mackenzie, captain.

*Quarter-master*,—John Macpherson, retired.

*Surgeon*,—Thomas Draper, deputy-inspector.

*Assistant-surgeon*,—William Munro, surgeon on half-pay.

The battalion embarked at Fort-George in February eighteen hundred and five, and joined the brigade stationed at Hythe under General Moore, consisting of the 43d and 52d regiments; two of the best disciplined in the service at that time. During their stay at Hythe the men were instructed in military discipline under the immediate direction of Sir John Moore, assisted by the non-commissioned officers of his brigade; but before their discipline was completely confirmed they were ordered to Gibraltar, where a change of garrison was required by General Fox, the lieutenant-governor.\*

\* General Stewart relates the following instance of that mutual attachment between officers and men usual in Highland corps, and of which he himself was, on that occasion, the chief object. "In the month of June orders were issued for the senior major and four subalterns to join the first battalion in India. The day before the field-officer fixed on for this purpose left the regiment the soldiers held conferences with each other in the barracks, and in the evening several deputations were sent to him, entreating him, in the most earnest manner, to make application either to be allowed to remain with them, or obtain permission for them to accompany him. He returned his acknowledgments for their attachment and for their spirited offer, but stated, that, as duty required his presence in India, while their services were at present confined to this country, they must therefore separate for some time. The next evening, when he went from the barracks to the town of Hythe to take his seat in the coach for London, two-thirds of the soldiers, and officers in the same proportion, accompanied him, all of them complaining of being left behind. They so crowded round the coach as to impede its progress for a considerable length of time, till at last the guard was obliged to desire the coachman to force his way through them. Upon this the soldiers, who hung by the wheels, horses, harness, and coach-doors gave way and allowed a passage. There was not a dry eye amongst the younger part of them. Such a scene as this exhibited by 600 men, and in the streets of a town, could not pass unnoticed, and was quickly reported to General Moore, whose mind was always alive to the advantages of mutual confidence and esteem between officers and soldiers. The circumstance was quite suited to his chivalrous mind. He laid the case before the commander-in-chief, and his royal highness, with that high feeling which he has always shown when a case has been properly represented, ordered that at present there should be no separation, and that the field-officer should return to the battalion in which he had so many friends ready to follow him to the cannon's mouth, and when brought in front of an enemy either to compel them to fly or perish in the field."

The regiment accordingly embarked at Portsmouth, along with the 42d, in September eighteen hundred and five, both being under the command of the Honourable Major-general John Hope. In consequence of the bad weather, which occasioned such destruction after the battle of Trafalgar, the fleet took refuge in the Tagus, whence it sailed in the beginning of November and reached Gibraltar in a few days. The regiment remained at Gibraltar till May, when it was ordered for Sicily. When it arrived at Messina, Sir John Stuart, who, at the earnest solicitation of the queen of Naples, had determined on an expedition to Calabria, felt disappointed, as, instead of the veteran 42d which he expected, he found a corps of boys; but, though his disappointment was great, it was not lasting.\*

The troops destined for the expedition embarked at Messina in the end of June eighteen hundred and six. They consisted of the Grenadier and Light Infantry battalions, formed of all the Grenadier and Light Infantry companies of the army in Sicily, (except those of the 78th, which remained with the regiment,) together with the 27th, 58th, 78th, 81st, and Watteville's regiments, two companies of the Corsican Rangers, and a detachment of the Royal Artillery under Major Lemoine. The whole force embarked amounted to four thousand two hundred men, which was afterwards increased to four thousand seven hundred and ninety, by the junction of the 20th regiment. In the absence of the Admiral, Sir Sidney Smith, who was employed to the northward on the Neapolitan coast, the armament sailed from Melazzo, under convoy of Captain Brenton. It anchored on the first of July in the bay of St Euphemia.

The army landed without opposition, but the Grenadiers, Light Infantry, and Highlanders, who were the first on shore, pushing forward in advance, met with some resistance from a body of the enemy, whom they drove back. These troops were soon followed by the army, which took up a good position near the village of St Euphemia. They remained in this position till the evening of the third, when, in consequence of information received, that General Regnier had advanced to the neighbourhood of the village of Maida with the intention of attacking the British the following morning; General Stuart, with the view of anticipating Regnier in his object, marched his troops along the edge of the bay till eleven o'clock at night, when he halted. Resuming his march next morning at day-break, he crossed the mouth of the Amato, and halted on a large plain, where he drew up his little army in order of battle.

The army was brigaded as follows:—The Light brigade, commanded by Lieutenant-colonel James Kempt, consisted of the Light Infantry companies of the 20th, 27th, 35th, 58th, and 81st regiments, of two companies of Corsican Rangers, under Lieutenant-colonel Hudson Lowe,

\* Stewart.

and of one hundred and fifty picked men of the 35th regiment, under Major George Robertson. The first brigade, under Brigadier-general Auckland, was formed of the 78th and 81st regiments. The second, commanded by Brigadier-general Lowrie Cole, consisted of the Grenadier companies of the 20th, 27th, 35th, and 81st regiments, and of the 27th regiment, under the command of the Honourable Lieutenant-colonel O'Calloghan. The reserve was formed of the 58th and Watteville's regiment, under Colonel John Oswald.

In its formation for battle the army had the head of the bay of St Euphemia in its rear, and in front a broad and extensive valley which runs across the Calabrian peninsula, from St Euphemia to Cotrona on the Adriatic. This valley, which is level in the centre, is of unequal breadth, being in some places four and in others not more than two miles broad, and is intersected at intervals, to nearly one-half its breadth, by high ridges, which run out at right angles from the hills which form the lateral boundaries of the plain. These mountains are precipitous in some places, with woods covering their sides in many parts, and in others with corn-fields, up to a considerable height. Harvest had begun, part of the corn having been cut down, and in different fields parties of the inhabitants were reaping. On the summit of one of the nearest of the collateral ridges, which was steep on the sides and covered with wood, but clear and level on the top, was the army of General Regnier, drawn up in columns at rather more than four miles' distance from the British line. It had been represented to General Stuart that the Calabrese, who had preserved unshaken their loyalty to the royal family of Naples, and had opposed the French invasion, would flock to his standard on landing in the peninsula; but he was mortified to find that these anticipations were unfounded, not more than a thousand having joined him, and these badly armed and worse disciplined. Notwithstanding this disappointment the general felt greatly disinclined to abandon the enterprise without giving the inhabitants a full opportunity for the display of their loyalty, and he therefore resolved to maintain his ground, and even to hazard a battle. His resolution to engage the enemy was hastened by intelligence which reached him that Regnier was about to receive a reinforcement of three thousand men. The French commander had in fact received this addition to his force, but the British general, unaware of the circumstance, made preparations for attacking him the following day.

General Regnier, from the elevated position on which he stood, could observe all the motions of the British, and count every file below, and seemed ready either to descend to the plains, or to await the attack. Relying on his great superiority of numbers, the French general is said to have harangued his troops, expressing the confidence he reposed in their invincible courage, and his contempt for the English, whose temerity in landing with such a small force, he was determined to punish by driving them into the sea. Full of this vain boasting, he gave

orders to his army to march, which accordingly descended the hill in three columns, through narrow paths in the woods. In the plains below he formed his army, consisting of seven thousand men, with three hundred cavalry, and a large train of field artillery. He drew up his troops in two parallel lines of equal numbers, having artillery and cavalry on both flanks, and field-pieces placed in different parts of the line. To oppose this force, General Stuart placed in the front line the light brigade on the right, the 78th regiment in the centre, and the 81st on the left.\*

At eight o'clock in the morning the first line of the British advanced, and almost at the same moment the enemy moved forward, presenting a parallel front. The ground between the two armies was a perfect level intersected by small drains which had been made to carry off the water in the rainy season, and which obstructed the conveyance of the field-pieces. When the armies began to move forward they were distant nearly three miles from each other; but this distance was decreased in a double ratio by the forward movement of the opposing lines. Some reapers who were at work eagerly pointed out, as the first brigade passed over several corn-fields, the advance of the enemy, who were then scarcely a mile distant. On a nearer approach the French opened their field-pieces, but with little effect, as the greater part of the shot passed over the first line, and did not reach the second, which was a good way behind.

"This," says Major-general David Stewart, who was present, "was an interesting spectacle. Two armies in parallel lines, in march towards each other, on a smooth and clear plain, and in dead silence, only interrupted by the report of the enemy's guns; it was more like a chosen field fixed upon by a general officer for exercise, or to exhibit a sham-fight, than, as it proved, an accidental encounter, and a real battle. No two rival commanders could ever wish for a finer field for a trial of the courage and firmness of their respective combatants; and as there were some persons who recollected the contempt with which General Regnier, in his account of the Egyptian expedition, had chosen to treat the British, there was as much feeling mixed up with the usual incitements, as perhaps, in any modern engagement, excepting that most important of all modern battles, when Buonaparte, for the first and last time, met a British army in the field. To the young Highlanders, of whom nearly six hundred were under age, the officers, with very few exceptions, being equally young and inexperienced, it was a critical moment. If we consider a formidable line which, from numbers, greatly outflanked our first line, supported by an equally strong second line, the glancing of whose bayonets was seen over the heads of the first; the advance of so preponderating a force on the three regiments of the first brigade, (the second being considerably in the rear,) was suffi-

\* Stewart.



ciently trying, particularly for the young Highlanders. Much depended on the event of the first onset; if that were successful, their native courage would be animated, and would afterwards stand a more severe trial. In this mutual advance the opposing troops were in full view of each other, which enabled our men to make their remarks on the marching, and on the manner in which the enemy advanced. They did not always preserve a correct steady line, but sometimes allowed openings and intervals by careless marching; showing, as the soldiers observed, that they did not march so steadily as they themselves did. Additional circumstances inspired still greater confidence. I have already noticed that the enemy's guns were not well served, and pointed too high: not so the British. When our artillery opened, under the direction of Major Lemoine, and Captain Dugal Campbell, no practice could be more perfect. Every shot told and carried off a file of the enemy's line. When the shot struck the line, two or three files, on the right and left of the men thrown down, gave way, leaving a momentary opening before they recovered and closed up the vacancy. The inexperienced young Highlanders, believing that all in the vacant spaces had been carried off, shouted with exultation at the evident superiority. This belief I endeavoured to strengthen by observation, tending to render the comparison more favourable and more strikingly conspicuous. It is not often that, in this manner, two hostile lines in a reciprocally forward movement, at a slow but firm pace, can make their observations while advancing with a seeming determination to conquer or perish on the spot. Those criticisms were, however, to be soon checked by the mutual forward movement on which they were founded. The lines were fast closing, but with perfect regularity and firmness. They were now within three hundred yards' distance; and a fire having commenced between the sharp-shooters on the right, it was time to prepare for an immediate shock."

The enemy now seemed to hesitate, and halting at once, fired a volley. The British line also halted, and instantly returned the salute. Both sides reloaded, and exchanged a second volley.\* When the smoke had cleared away, and the enemy became visible, the British line advanced at full charge. The enemy stood still as if determined to stand the shock; but appalled at length by the bold, steady, and firm advance of our line, they faced to the right about, and ran with rapidity, though without confusion, towards their second line. When near this line they halted, fronted, and opened a fire of musketry on the British line which had halted that the men might draw breath, and that any small breaks

\* "The precision with which these two volleys were fired, and their effect, were quite remarkable. When the clearing off of the smoke (there was hardly a breath of wind to dispel it) enabled us to see the French line, the breaks and vacancies caused by the men who had fallen by the fire appeared like a paling, of which parts had been thrown down or broken. On our side it was so different, that glancing along the rear of my regiment, I counted only fourteen men who had fallen from the enemy's fire."—*Stewart's Sketches.*



in the line might be closed up. The British line now again advanced, when a constant running fire took place on the march, the enemy retreating slowly as they fired. The enemy's first line being now thrown on the second, they appeared at last resolved to make a firm stand; but their hearts again failed them, and they fled a third time, but in greater confusion than before.

The enemy's cavalry now attempted to charge, but with all their exertions the dragoons could not bring their horses up. This was owing, it is believed, to a sharp running fire which was kept up in their faces. Finding all their endeavours ineffectual, the dragoons galloped round the flanks of the line to their rear, and dismounting from their horses, fought on foot.

The enemy continued to retire in the utmost confusion, their two lines being completely intermixed. After they had been driven back upwards of a mile, Regnier, who kept riding about during the retreat, evincing, by his violent gesticulations, the troubled workings of his mind, determined to make an effort to change the fortune of the day by an attempt to turn the left flank. With this intention he made an oblique movement to the British left with some battalions, and gained so much on that flank as to prevent the second line which had come up from forming the line in continuation. Brigadier-general Cole was therefore obliged to throw back the left of his line, and to form in an angle of about sixty degrees to the front line, in which position he opened an excellently well-directed and destructive fire which quickly drove back the enemy with great loss. A circumstance however occurred whilst this angular formation lasted, which gave the enemy a momentary advantage. This was owing to a mistake on the part of the young Highlanders, who, deceived by the dress of a Swiss regiment in the French service, commanded by an officer of the name of Watteville, which resembled, in some respects, the band of Watteville's regiment in the British service, slackened their fire, thinking that the Anglo-Swiss regiment, which was no other than the other Watteville regiment advancing from the French second line, had got to the front. As soon, however, as the mistake was pointed out, the Highlanders recommenced firing with such admirable effect, that in ten minutes the enemy were driven back with great precipitation. This fire was the more destructive, as the enemy, emboldened by the relaxation of the British fire, had come close to the line.

The movements of the light brigade remain to be noticed. When the opposing lines came within reach of each other's musketry, the two companies of the Corsican Rangers, who were on the right of the brigade, were sent out on the flank and in front to skirmish; but on the first fire from the enemy's sharp-shooters, they retreated in great haste. Fortunately this repulse was confined to the Rangers, and the light company of the 20th regiment, who had the right of the line, moved forward, and instantly drove off the party which had advanced on the

Corsicans. They had, however, the misfortune to lose Captain Mac-laine, the only officer killed on that day. Shortly after this collision the two lines came within charge-distance, and the left of the enemy pushing forward, both lines had nearly met, when, "at this momentous crisis, the enemy became appalled, broke, and endeavoured to fly, but it was too late; they were overtaken with the most dreadful slaughter."\*

The enemy had now been repulsed in every attempt, and had lost a great number of men; but General Regnier, still hoping to retrieve the disgrace of a total defeat, determined to make a desperate effort by assailing the left flank of the British. Before, however, he could carry his design into execution, the 20th regiment, which had disembarked in the bay from Sicily that morning, marched up and formed on the left nearly at right angles to General Cole's brigade. Lieutenant-colonel Ross—afterwards killed in America—being attracted by the firing, had moved forward with such celerity, that he reached the left of the line as the enemy were pushing round to turn the flank. He formed his regiment with his right, supported by the left of the 27th. The enemy, intimidated by the formidable appearance which the left flank now presented, did not venture to make their intended attempt, and were afraid even to encounter eighty men, whom Colonel Ross had ordered out in front to act as sharp-shooters.

The enemy, now in utter despair, gave way at all points; they fled in the greatest confusion, and many of them, to accelerate their speed, threw away their arms, accoutrements, and every thing which could impede their flight. The enemy fled with such rapidity, that few prisoners were taken, although pursued by the light infantry and the Highlanders. "Few things," as General Stewart observes, "increase a man's speed more effectually than the terror of a bayonet or bullet in his rear," and as the pursuers, who were greatly exhausted by the labours of the day, had not an equal incitement to follow, the escape of the enemy is not to be wondered at. Had the cavalry, who arrived the day after the battle, been in the field, scarcely a man would have escaped. Nevertheless, the victory was one of the most complete ever gained. The loss of the French, compared with that of the British, was in the extraordinary disproportion of ninety to one, the French having had thirteen hundred killed, and the British only forty-one. The French left eleven hundred men wounded on the field, besides some hundreds who retired to their rear. The British had eleven officers, eight sergeants, and two hundred and sixty-one rank and file wounded. Several of the wounded French were burnt to death by the stubble, which was long and rank, catching fire from the burning of the fusees of the guns and musket-cartridges. The loss of the Highlanders was seven rank and file killed; and Lieutenant-colonel Patrick Macleod, Major David Stewart, Captains Duncan M'Pherson, and Duncan M'Gregor, Lieutenant James

Mackay, Ensigns Colin Mackenzie and Peter Mc'Gregor, four sergeants, one drummer, and sixty-nine rank and file wounded.

The defeat of the French is the more remarkable, as, whilst their whole force, amounting to seven thousand six hundred men, was brought into action, the whole of the British force engaged amounted only to three thousand seven hundred and sixty-nine firelocks, besides fifty artillery men, and the victory may be said to have been won before the 20th came up.\*

Had the Calabrese justified the expectations which had been formed of them by a general or even partial rising, the French might have been for ever expelled from their country; but no effort of any moment was made by them to second the British commander, who, for want of sufficient support, was obliged to abandon his design. After traversing the southern peninsula of Calabria, he embarked in August at Reggio for Sicily. The malaria, so fatal at that season of the year, had by this time attacked some of the troops; but most of them fortunately escaped the contagion. In a few months, however, the army in Sicily suffered greatly from the ophthalmia, which was imported into the island by a reinforcement of troops from England under Lieutenant-general Sir John Moore. This disease, which had been carried into Great Britain by the troops which had been in Egypt in eighteen hundred and one, had now almost disappeared in the Mediterranean, and thus by some singular and mysterious process in nature, a malady, which had been considered peculiar to Egypt, and arising from the strong refraction of light from its burning sands, was brought back to the sunny regions of the Mediterranean, from the cold and cloudy climate of England and Scotland.

Early in eighteen hundred and seven, an armament was fitted out in Sicily for the purpose of occupying Alexandria, Rosetta, and the adjoining coast of Egypt. The force on this occasion consisted of a detachment of artillery, the 20th light dragoons, the 31st, 35th, 78th, and De Rolle's regiment, and the corps of Chasseurs Britanniques, all under the command of Major-general Mackenzie Fraser. The expedition sailed on the sixth of March; but encountering bad weather, the Apollo frigate and nineteen transports were separated from the fleet. The remainder, with the commodore, anchored on the sixteenth off the Arabs' Tower to the west of Alexandria. General Fraser, in consequence of the absence of so large a proportion of his force, hesitated about landing; but being pressed by Major Misset, the British Resident, who informed him that the inhabitants were favourably disposed, and that there

* The first line, consisting of Colonel Kempt's brigade, the Highlanders and 81st	
regiment amounted to about, . . . . .	2060
The second line, to . . . . .	1145
The 20th, which formed into line at the close of the action, to . . . . .	564
	<hr/>
Number of firelocks, . . . . .	3769
The reserve was not brought into line.	

were not more than five hundred men in garrison, he disembarked his troops on the seventeenth and eighteenth.

On the evening of the last mentioned day, the general moved forward for the purpose either of attacking the city, or of placing himself in nearer communication with the fleet, by going round to the eastward beyond Pompey's pillar. In this advance the troops forced an intrenchment with a deep ditch, having Fort de Bains on its right flank, mounted with thirteen guns, which played with little effect. On reaching Pompey's pillar, the general found the walls lined with troops, and as the garrison seemed fully prepared to receive him, he considered it more prudent, with the small force he had, to postpone his intended attack. He therefore proceeded farther to the eastward, and on the morning of the nineteenth took up a position on the same ground which the British army occupied in March, eighteen hundred and one. The town, on being summoned, surrendered the next day, and in the evening the other transports anchored in Aboukir bay. Vice-admiral Duckworth, with a fleet from the Dardanelles, arrived in the bay on the twenty-second.

On the twenty-seventh of March a detachment, under Major-general Wauchope and Brigadier-general Meade, took possession, without opposition, of the forts and heights of Aboumondour a little above Rosetta. The capture of this place was the next object. This seemed an easy affair, as Rosetta had no available exterior defence; but from the narrowness of its streets, its flat-roofed houses, and small windows, it afforded facilities for internal defence, which were not perceived by General Wauchope. That officer, unconscious of danger, marched into the town at the head of the 31st regiment. Not a human being was to be seen in the streets, nor was a sound to be heard. The troops wended their way through the narrow and deserted streets towards an open space or market-place in the centre of the town; but they had not proceeded more than half-way when the portentous silence was broken by showers of musketry from every house, from the first floor to the roof. Cooped up in these narrow lanes, the troops were unable to return the fire with any effect, nor, amidst the smoke in which they were enveloped, could they see their assailants, and could only guess their position from the flashes of their guns. They had, therefore, no alternative but to retire as speedily as possible; but before they had extricated themselves, General Wauchope was killed, and nearly three hundred soldiers and officers were killed and wounded. General Meade was among the wounded.

After this repulse the troops returned to Alexandria; but General Fraser, resolved upon the capture of Rosetta, sent back a second detachment, consisting of the 35th, 78th, and De Rolle's regiment, under the command of Brigadier-general, the Hon. William Stewart and Colonel Oswald. This detachment, after some skirmishing, took possession of Aboumondour on the seventh of April, and on the following day

Rosetta was summoned to surrender, but without effect. Batteries were therefore speedily erected, and a position was taken up between the Nile and the gate of Alexandria; but, from the paucity of the troops, it was found impossible to invest the town on all sides, or prevent a free communication across the Nile to the Delta. The batteries opened their fire; but with no other effect than damaging some of the houses,—a result which was regarded by the Turks and Albanians with extreme indifference.

The enemy having erected some batteries on the Delta for the purpose of taking the British batteries in flank, Major James Macdonell of the 78th, with two hundred and fifty men, under Lieutenant John Robertson, and forty seamen from the *Tigre*, were detached on the sixteenth across the river, opposite to Aboumondour, to destroy these batteries. To conceal his movements, Major Macdonell made a considerable circuit, and coming upon the rear of the batteries at sun-rise, attacked the enemy, and driving them from the batteries, turned the guns upon the town. But as the enemy soon collected in considerable force, he destroyed the batteries, and embarking the guns, recrossed the river with only four men wounded.

General Stewart had been daily looking for a reinforcement of Mamelukes from Upper Egypt; but he was disappointed in this expectation. In the mean time the enemy were increasing in numbers, and made several spirited attacks on the picquets and advanced posts between Lake Etko and El Hamet, a village on the Nile, nearly six miles above Rosetta. One of these picquets, commanded by Captain Rheinach of De Rolle's, was cut off, and the whole either killed or wounded. Whilst a detachment of De Rolle's, under Major Vogelsang of that regiment, occupied El Hamet, another detachment, consisting of five companies of the Highlanders, two of the 35th regiment, and a few cavalry and artillery under Lieutenant-colonel Macleod, was sent on the twentieth to occupy a broad dike or embankment, which, with a dry canal, runs between the Nile and the lake Etko, a distance of about two miles. On reaching his destination, Colonel Macleod stationed his men, amounting to seven hundred and twenty, in three divisions, with an equal number of dragoons and artillery between each. One of these he disposed on the banks of the Nile, another in the centre, and the third upon the dry canal.

Meanwhile the enemy were meditating an attack on the position, and on the morning of the twenty-first, whilst numerous detached bodies of their cavalry began to assemble round the British posts, a flotilla of about seventy gherms or large boats full of troops was observed slowly descending the Nile. With the intention of concentrating his force, and of retreating if necessary to the camp at Rosetta, Colonel Macleod proceeded to the post on the right, occupied by a company of the 35th and the Highland grenadiers. He had not, however, sufficient time to accomplish this object, as the enemy left their boats with great rapidity; and whilst they



advanced on the left and centre posts, their cavalry, with a body of Albanian infantry, surrounded the right of the position, and attacked it furiously on all points. Colonel Macleod formed his men into a square, which, for a long time, resisted every effort of the enemy. Had this handful of men been attacked in one or two points only, they might have charged the enemy; but they were so completely surrounded that they could not venture to charge to any front of the square, as they would have been assailed in the rear the moment they faced round. At every successive charge made by the cavalry, who attempted, at the point of the bayonets, to cut down the troops, the square was lessened, the soldiers closing in upon the vacancies as their comrades fell. These attacks, though irregular, were bold, and the dexterity with which the assailants handled their swords proved fatal to the British.

This unequal contest continued till Colonel Macleod and all the officers and men were killed, with the exception of Captain Colin Mackay of the 78th and eleven Highlanders, and as many more of the 35th.\* With this small band, Captain Mackay, who was severely wounded, determined to make a desperate push to join the centre, and several succeeded in the attempt; but the rest were either killed or wounded. Captain Mackay received two wounds, and was about reaching the post when an Arab horseman cut at his neck with such force, that his head would have been severed from his body, had not the blow been in some measure neutralized by the cape of his coat and a stuffed neckcloth. The sabre, however, cut to the bone, and the Captain fell flat on the ground, when he was taken up by Sergeant (afterwards Lieutenant) Waters, who alone escaped unhurt, and carried by him to the post.

During their contest with the right, the enemy made little exertions against the other posts; but when, by the destruction of the first, they had gained an accession of disposable force, they made a warm onset on the centre. An attempt was at first made to oppose them; but the commanding officer soon saw that resistance was hopeless, and desirous of

\* "Sergeant John Macrae, a young man, about twenty-two years of age, but of good size and strength of arm, showed that the broad sword, in a firm hand, is as good a weapon in close fighting as the bayonet. If the first push of the bayonet misses its aim, or happens to be parried, it is not easy to recover the weapon and repeat the thrust, when the enemy is bold enough to stand firm; but it is not so with the sword, which may be readily withdrawn from its blow, wielded with celerity, and directed to any part of the body, particularly to the head and arms, whilst its motions defend the person using it. Macrae killed six men, cutting them down with his broadsword (of the kind usually worn by sergeants of Highland corps) when at last he made a dash out of the ranks on a Turk, whom he cut down; but as he was returning to the square he was killed by a blow from behind, his head being nearly split in two by the stroke of a sabre. Lieutenant Christopher Macrae, whom I have already mentioned as having brought eighteen men of his own name to the regiment as part of his quota of recruits, for an ensigncy, was killed in this affair, with six of his followers and namesakes, besides the sergeant. On the passage to Lisbon in October, 1805, the same sergeant came to me one evening crying like a child, and complaining that the ship's cook had called him English names, which he did not understand, and thrown some fat in his face. Thus a lad, who, in 1805, was so soft and so childish, displayed in 1807 a courage and vigour worthy a hero of Ossian."—*Stewart's Sketches.*



saving the lives of his men, he hung out a white handkerchief as a signal of surrender. The firing accordingly ceased, and the left following the example of the right, also surrendered. A general scramble of a most extraordinary kind now ensued amongst the Turks for prisoners, who, according to their custom, became the private property of the captors. In this *melée* the British soldiers were pulled about with little ceremony, till the more active amongst the Turkish soldiery had secured their prey, after which they were marched a little distance up the river, where the captors were paid seven dollars for every prisoner they had taken. Some of the horsemen, less intent upon prize-money than their companions, amused themselves by galloping about, each with the head of a British soldier stuck upon the point of his lance.

In this disastrous affair the Highlanders had, besides Colonel Macleod, Lieutenant William Mackenzie Dick, Christopher Macrae, and Archibald Christie, four sergeants, two drummers, and sixty-one rank and file, killed; and Captain Colin Campbell Mackay, Ensign John Gregory, two sergeants, one drummer, and eighteen rank and file, wounded.

When General Stewart was informed of the critical situation of Colonel Macleod's detachment, he marched towards Etoko, expecting that it would retreat in that direction; but not falling in with it he proceeded to El Hamet, where on his arrival he learned its unfortunate fall. With a force so much reduced by the recent disaster, and in the face of an enemy emboldened by success and daily increasing in numbers, it was vain to think of reducing Rosetta, and therefore General Stewart determined to return to Alexandria. He accordingly commenced his retreat, followed by the enemy, who sallied out from Rosetta; but although the sandy plain over which he marched was peculiarly favourable to their cavalry, they were kept in effectual check by the 35th and the 78th. No further hostile operations were attempted; and the prisoners who had been sent to Cairo having been released by capitulation, the whole army embarked for Sicily on the twenty-second of September.

After returning to Sicily, the 78th joined an expedition under Sir John Moore, intended for Lisbon; but the regiment was withdrawn, and ordered to England, where they landed, and were marched to Canterbury in the spring of eighteen hundred and eight. About this time several changes took place amongst the field-officers of the regiment. Lieutenant-colonel Hercules Scott of the 1st battalion was removed to the 103d regiment, and was succeeded by Major John Macleod from the 56th. Major David Stewart was promoted to the lieutenant-colonelcy of the Royal West India Rangers, and was succeeded by Major Robert Hamilton from the 79th Highlanders.\*

Shortly after the return of the regiment to England, it obtained a considerable accession of recruits raised from several Scotch militia regiments, chiefly from that of Perthshire by Major David Stewart, who,

\* Stewart,

in consequence of a wound received at Maida, had been obliged to return to Scotland. A detachment of four hundred men, including three hundred and fifty of the newly raised men (of whom two hundred and eighty were six feet and upwards, and of a proportionate strength of limb and person) was drafted to reinforce the second battalion in India, and embarked accordingly. The remainder of the second battalion was then removed from Little Hampton in Sussex, where they had been for a short time quartered, to the isle of Wight, where they remained till August, eighteen hundred and nine, when a detachment of three hundred and seventy men, with officers and non-commissioned officers, was sent on the unfortunate expedition to Walcheren, being incorporated with a battalion commanded by the Honourable Lieutenant-colonel Cochrane. The men suffered greatly from the fever and ague, which affected the rest of the troops, and were so emaciated that they did not recover their usual strength till the following year. Another draft of all the men fit for service in India was made in eighteen hundred and ten, and joined the first battalion at Goa on the eve of the departure of the expedition against Batavia, in eighteen hundred and eleven.

The remains of the second battalion were now ordered to Aberdeen, where they remained nearly four years, during which time the officers endeavoured to fill up their ranks by recruiting. Their success, however, was by no means great, but their recruits were of the best quality, and Highlanders by birth. In December, eighteen hundred and thirteen, the regiment embarked for Holland to join the army under Lieutenant-general Sir Thomas Graham, at which time it was four hundred strong.

In order to support the operations of the Prussian General Bulow in the neighbourhood of Antwerp, General Graham moved forward part of his army; and an engagement took place between the Prussians and the French on the evening of the thirteenth of January, eighteen hundred and fourteen, to the left of Merxem. This village could only be approached by the high road, which entered at its centre, and the enemy had taken the precaution of posting a considerable force at this point. As the possession of Merxem was of great importance, Major-general Kenneth Mackenzie, with a detachment of the Rifle corps and the 78th regiment supported by the second battalion of the 25th, and the 33d regiment, was ordered to attack this post. The party advanced in column, the Highlanders leading, and both flanks were exposed to the fire of the enemy, who occupied the houses both to the right and left of the entrance into the village. The Highlanders moved forward with great intrepidity, and an "immediate charge with the bayonet by the 78th, ordered by Lieutenant-colonel Lindsay, decided the contest."\* The enemy gave way at all points, and took refuge in Antwerp after sustaining a loss in killed, wounded, and drowned in the ditches, of about eleven hundred men. "No veterans," adds the British general,

\* Dispatch of General Graham.

"ever behaved better than those men who then met the enemy for the first time. The discipline and intrepidity of the Highland battalion, which had the good fortune to lead the attack into the village, reflect equal credit on the officers and the men. The same spirit was manifested by the other troops employed."

In this affair the Highlanders had Lieutenant William Mackenzie, Ensign James Ormsby, and nine rank and file, killed; and Lieutenant-colonel John Macleod, who commanded a brigade, and Lieutenants William Bath and John Chisholm, and twenty-six rank and file, wounded.

This was the only enterprise in which the Highlanders were engaged in the Netherlands. Their duties, until the return of the battalion to Scotland in eighteen hundred and sixteen, were confined to the ordinary details of garrison duty at Brussels, Nieupoort, and other places, where they acquired the esteem and confidence of the inhabitants. So popular were they with the population of Brussels, that when the 78th received orders to quit that town, the mayor\* was requested by the inhabitants to endeavour to detain the regiment. But this predilection was not confined to the 78th, for the 42d and the other Highland regiments who had served in the Netherlands were equally well esteemed by the natives. "They," the Highlanders, "were kind as well as brave;" "enfants de la famille;" "lions in the field and lambs in the house." Such were the kindly expressions which the Belgians employed when speaking of the heroes of the North.

Shortly after the return of the regiment to Scotland, the officers were put upon half pay, and all the men who were unable to serve any longer were discharged. The rest were stationed in Scotland till the return of the first battalion from India in summer, eighteen hundred and seventeen.

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## CAMERON HIGHLANDERS,

OR

### SEVENTY-NINTH REGIMENT.—1793.

THIS corps was raised by Allan Cameron of Errach, to whom letters of service were granted on the seventeenth of August, seventeen hundred and ninety-three. No bounty was allowed by government, as was the case with other regiments raised in this manner, the men being recruited at the sole expense of the officers. The regiment was inspected

\* This functionary, on the departure of the 78th, issued the following document:—"As mayor of Brussels, I have pleasure in declaring, that the Scotch Highlanders, who were garrisoned in this city during the years 1814 and 1815, called forth the attachment and esteem of all by the mildness and suavity of their manners and excellent conduct, inasmuch that a representation was made to me by the inhabitants, requesting me to endeavour to detain the 78th regiment of Scotchmen in the town, and to prevent their being replaced by other troops."

at Stirling in February, seventeen hundred and ninety-four, and Mr Cameron was appointed Lieutenant-colonel commandant. Some time after the regiment was embodied, it was completed to a thousand men.

This regiment shared in the unfortunate campaign in Flanders, in seventeen hundred and ninety-four and ninety-five, and in the summer of the last mentioned year it was ordered to the West Indies. The regiment having suffered considerably by a residence of two years in Martinique, an offer was made to the men in July, seventeen hundred and ninety-seven, to volunteer into other corps, and such of them as were inclined to return to Europe were allowed to enter the 42d regiment, then under orders to embark for England. The officers and non-commissioned officers were to return to Scotland to recruit for another battalion. Two hundred and ten men volunteered into the 42d, and came home with that regiment in seventeen hundred and ninety-seven; the rest entered other regiments, and remained in the West Indies.

By the exertions of Colonel Cameron and his officers who returned home with the fleet which brought the 42d to England, a fresh body of seven hundred and eighty men was raised. This newly-raised corps assembled at Inverness in seventeen hundred and ninety-eight, and in the following year formed part of the expedition to the Helder. In this enterprise Captain James Campbell and thirteen rank and file were killed; and Colonel Cameron, Lieutenants Colin Macdonald, D. Macneil, Staer Rose, four sergeants, and fifty-four rank and file, wounded.

In eighteen hundred the regiment embarked for Ferrol, whence it proceeded for Cadiz, and joined the expedition under Sir Ralph Abercromby, destined for Egypt. The corps sustained little loss on this occasion, having had only one sergeant killed; Lieutenant-colonel Patrick Macdowall, Captain Samuel Macdowall, Lieutenants George Sutherland, John Stewart, Patrick Ross,\* Volunteer Alexander Cameron, two sergeants, and nineteen rank and file, were wounded.

In eighteen hundred and four a second battalion was added, and in eighteen hundred and eight the regiment embarked for Portugal, and entering Spain with the army under Sir John Moore, followed all his movements till he fell at Corunna. The regiment was next employed in the expedition to Zealand under the Earl of Chatham, and in eighteen hundred and ten embarked for Spain. In the battle of Busaco, which took place on the twenty-seventh of September that year, the regiment had seven men killed, and Captains Neil Douglas and Alexander Cameron, and forty-one rank and file, wounded. In the severe action at Fuentes de Honor on the third of May, eighteen hundred and eleven, the regiment acquired a high reputation for bravery, having mainly contributed to repulse a formidable column of Massena's army in one

\* This officer, who was son of the late Mr William Ross, tacksman of Brae in Ross-shire, had his arm amputated close to the shoulder; but he refused to leave the regiment. He was promoted by the duke of York, in reward of his merit, to a company in the 69th, at the head of which he was killed at the storming of Fort Cornelis in Java, in 1811.

of his most desperate assaults on that village. Lieutenant-colonel Philip Cameron, eldest son of Colonel Cameron, Captain William Imlach, and four rank and file, were killed on this occasion; and Lieutenant James Calder, and seventeen rank and file, wounded. At Villa Formosa, on the fifth of the same month and year the 79th had one sergeant and twenty-six rank and file killed; and nine officers, five sergeants, and one hundred and twenty-one rank and file, wounded.

The casualties of the regiment at the siege of Burgos, during the months of September and October, eighteen hundred and twelve, were as follow; viz. two officers, majors the Honourable E. Cocks and Andrew Laurie, one sergeant, and seventeen rank and file, killed; and three officers, Lieutenants Hugh Grant, Angus Macdonald, K. J. Leslie, five sergeants, one drummer, and eighty-seven rank and file, wounded. In the passage of the Nivelle, on the tenth of November eighteen hundred and thirteen, the regiment had only one man killed, and Lieutenant Alexander Robertson and five men wounded. In the subsequent passage of the Nive in December following, the 79th was particularly conspicuous from the well-directed fire which it kept up, which "was more destructive to the enemy than almost any similar instance of the kind during these campaigns."\* The Cameron Highlanders had five men killed, and Ensign John Thomson, two sergeants, and twenty-four rank and file wounded, in crossing that river.

In the battle of Toulouse the 79th particularly distinguished themselves. Their loss was severe: Captains Patrick Purves (only son of Sir Alexander Purves) and John Cameron, and Lieutenants Duncan and Ewen Cameron, sixteen rank and file, having been killed; and Captains Thomas Mylne, Peter Innes, James Campbell, William Marshall, Lieutenants William Macbarnet, Donald Cameron, James Fraser, Duncan Macpherson, Ewen Cameron, senior, Ewen Cameron, junior, John Kynock, Charles Macarthur, Allan Macdonald, Ensign Allan Maclean, Adjutant Alexander Cameron, twelve sergeants, two drummers, and one hundred and sixty-five rank and file having been wounded.

The regiment returned to England on the termination of hostilities, and, after the return of Napoleon from Elba, it embarked for Flanders. At Quatre Bras the 79th was in brigade with the 28th, 32d, and 95th regiments, under Major-general Kempt. This brigade, along with that of Major-general Pack, consisting of the Royal Scots, the 42d, 44th, and 92d regiments, was ordered by the duke of Wellington to preserve this important position, supported by a brigade of Hanoverians, the Brunswick cavalry and infantry, and a corps of Belgians. Marshal Ney's corps, which was very strong, was drawn up in an almost parallel position. The two armies were divided by a plain, part of which was covered by a thick wood, (*Bois de Boissu*), and the part which was clear of wood with corn.



General Kempt's brigade, formed into separate columns of regiments, extended on the plain to the left, and was first attacked by the enemy in great force. These were firmly met by the battalions, who successfully resisted repeated attempts of cavalry and infantry to break them. As the enemy continued to push forward fresh troops, the 42d and 44th were ordered out on the plain to support General Kempt's brigade. A desperate conflict now ensued, each battalion of the British having to sustain, in several instances separately and independently, the whole weight of the French masses which bore down upon them. In this arduous struggle the Cameron Highlanders supported the reputation they had acquired in the Peninsular war; for, not satisfied with repelling the enemy, they advanced upon them, and drove them off the ground, still preserving, however, a regularity of formation which enabled them to meet every fresh attack. They received the attacks of the enemy sometimes in position, and at other times they advanced to meet the charge of the French infantry, who uniformly declined the onset. The charges of the cavalry were received in squares and always repulsed.

In this hard-fought action the 79th suffered considerably. Adjutant Kynock and twenty-eight rank and file were killed; and no less than fifteen officers, ten sergeants, and two hundred and forty-eight rank and file, wounded. These officers were Lieutenant-colonel Neil Douglas; Majors Andrew Brown, Donald Cameron; Captains Thomas Mylue, William Marshall, Malcolm Fraser, John Sinclair, Neil Campbell; Lieutenants Donald Macphiee, Thomas Brown, William Maddock, William Leaper, James Fraser. W. A. Reach; and Ensign James Robertson.

At Waterloo Major-general Kempt's brigade, with the 28th and 32d regiments, formed the centre of Lieutenant-general Picton's division. A corps of Belgians and part of the Rifle brigade occupied a hedge, in the rear of which, at the distance of one hundred and fifty yards, the 32d and 79th were stationed. About two hours after the commencement of the battle three heavy columns of the enemy, preceded by artillery and sharpshooters, advanced towards the hedge. The Belgians fired a volley and retired in great disorder. The enemy then began to deploy into line, but before they could complete this operation the 32d, 79th, and Rifle corps pushed forward, and, forming upon the hedge, fired a volley, charged the enemy, and threw them into confusion. In an attempt to get towards their right the enemy were received by the 28th, which warmly attacked their right as they advanced. The 32d and 79th followed up their advantage, each attacking the column opposed to them, till at length the enemy gave way in the greatest confusion. At this moment General Picton was killed and General Kempt severely wounded; but although unable, from the severity of the wound, to sit on horseback, the latter would not allow himself to be carried off the field. The enemy rallied, and renewed their attempts to gain possession of the hedge, but without success.

The loss of the regiment was severe, arising chiefly from the artillery



and sharpshooters, whose distance enabled them to take a deliberate aim. Lieutenants D. Macpherson and E. Kennedy, two sergeants, and twenty-seven rank and file, were killed; and Captains James Campbell, Neil Campbell, John Cameron, (the two last died of their wounds;) Lieutenants John Fowling, Donald Cameron, Ewen Cameron, Alexander Cameron, Charles Macarthur, Alexander Forbes; Ensigns John Nash, A. S. Crawford; seven sergeants, four drummers, and one hundred and twenty-one rank and file, wounded.

The following is a summary of the casualties in the regiment, from the time it was embodied down to the eighteenth of June eighteen hundred and fifteen, embracing a period of twenty-two years:—

	KILLED.
Officers, . . . . .	12
Non-commissioned officers, . . . . .	5
Rank and file, . . . . .	144
	<hr/> 161
	WOUNDED.
Officers, . . . . .	70
Non-commissioned officers, (including 7 drummers,) . . . . .	55
Rank and file, . . . . .	902
	<hr/> 1027
Grand total, killed and wounded, . . . . .	<hr/> 1188

## STRATHSPEY REGIMENT,

OR

NINETY-SEVENTH.—1794.

AFTER Sir James Grant had embodied a regiment of Fencibles, of which a short notice will be found in the account of the Fencible corps, he applied for and obtained leave to raise a regiment of the line. Within the stipulated time he raised one thousand men, the required number, but many of them were from the manufacturing districts in the Lowlands, and inferior to the class of men who constituted the Fencible regiment. There were, however, some very good men amongst them, and, according to General Stewart, the flank companies were excellent.

The regiment was inspected and embodied at Elgin by Major-general Sir Hector Munro, and being ordered to the south of England in seventeen hundred and ninety-four, was sent on board Lord Howe's fleet in the Channel, in which they served as marines for a few months. In autumn seventeen hundred and ninety-five the men and officers were drafted into different regiments, and the flank companies into the 42d when about to embark for the West Indies.

## ARGYLESHIRE HIGHLANDERS,

OR

NINETY-EIGHTH,

NOW THE NINETY-FIRST REGIMENT.—1794

THIS regiment was raised by Lieutenant-colonel Duncan Campbell of Lochnell, who was appointed Lieutenant-colonel commandant thereof, in virtue of letters of service dated tenth February, seventeen hundred and ninety-four. The regiment was embodied at Stirling in the autumn of that year.

The 98th was ordered to the Cape of Good Hope, where it remained till eighteen hundred and one. In seventeen hundred and ninety-eight the number of the regiment was changed to the 91st, and in eighteen hundred and nine the Highland garb was laid aside. The 91st was employed in the Peninsular war, and took a conspicuous part in the series of brilliant actions from the Pyrenees to Toulouse.\*

## GORDON HIGHLANDERS,

OR

NINETY-SECOND REGIMENT.—1794.

THE Marquis of Huntly, whilst a captain in the 3d Foot Guards, having offered to raise a regiment for general service, letters of service were granted to him for this purpose on the tenth of February, seventeen hundred and ninety-four. In his zeal for the service the marquis was backed by his father and mother, the duke and duchess of Gordon, both of whom, along with the marquis himself, recruited in their own persons. The result was, that, within the short space of four months, the requisite number of men was raised, and on the twenty-fourth of June the corps was inspected at Aberdeen by Major-general Sir Hector Munro, and embodied under the denomination of the Gordon Highlanders. Three-fourths of the men were Highlanders, chiefly from the estates of the family of Gordon; the other fourth was from the Lowlands of Aberdeenshire and the neighbouring counties. The officers appointed were,

\* "A soldier of this regiment deserted and emigrated to America, where he settled. Several years after his desertion a letter was received from him, with a sum of money for the purpose of procuring one or two men to supply his place in the regiment, as the only recompense he could make for breaking his oath to his God and his allegiance to his king, which preyed on his conscience in such a manner that he had no rest night nor day."—*Stewart's Sketches*.

*Lieutenant-colonel commandant*,—George, Marquis of Huntly.

*Majors.*

Charles Erskine of Cadross, killed in Egypt in 1801.

Donald Macdonald of Boisdale, died in 1795.

*Captains.*

Alexander Napier of Blackstone, killed at Corunna in 1809.

John Cameron Fassafarn, killed at Quatre Bras, 16th June, 1815.

Honourable John Ramsay, son of Lord Dalhousie.

Andrew Paton.

William Mackintosh of Aberarder, killed in Holland in 1799.

Alexander Gordon, son of Lord Rockville, killed at Talavera in 1808, Lieutenant-colonel 83d regiment.

Simon Macdonald of Morer.

*Captain-lieutenant*,—John Gordon, retired as major.

*Lieutenants.*

Peter Grant, died in 1817, major on half-pay.

Archibald Macdonell, died in 1813, lieutenant-colonel of veterans.

Alexander Stewart.

Sir John Maclean, major-general, K. C. B., 1825.

Peter Gordon, died 1806.

Thomas Forbes, killed at Toulouse in 1814, lieutenant-colonel of the 45th regiment.

Ewan Macpherson.

George H. Gordon.

*Ensigns.*

Charles Dowle, died of wounds in Egypt in 1801.

George Davidson, killed at Quatre Bras in 1815, then captain in the 42d regiment.

Archibald Macdonald.

Alexander Fraser, killed 2d October, 1799.

William Tod.

James Mitchell, lieutenant-colonel in 1815, retired in 1819.

*Chaplain*,—William Gordon.

*Adjutant*,—James Henderson, died in 1796.

*Quarter-master*,—Peter Wilkie, died in 1806.

*Surgeon*,—William Findlay, died in Egypt in 1801.

The regiment embarked at Fort George on the ninth of July, and joined the camp on Netley Common in the month of August, when it was put on the list of numbered corps as the 100th regiment. On the fifth of September the Gordon Highlanders embarked for Gibraltar, where they remained till the eleventh of June, seventeen hundred and ninety-five, when they were ordered to Corsica. Whilst in that island they had a detachment in Elba. The regiment returned to Gibraltar in September of the following year, and in the spring of seventeen hundred and ninety-eight embarked for England, where they arrived about the middle of May.

The stay of the regiment in England was short, having soon after its arrival been ordered to Ireland, in consequence of the unfortunate troubles in that misgoverned country. The duties of this service were most arduous, as the men were kept in a state of almost continual motion. On one occasion the regiment, when under the command of General Moore, marched ninety-six *Irish miles*, in three successive days, with arms, ammunition, and knapsacks.\* During its stay in Ireland the regiment was "exemplary in all duties; sober, orderly, and regular in quarters," a character which they had maintained whilst in garrison at Gibraltar and Corsica; and such was the estimation in which the corps was held in Ireland, that an address was presented to the Marquis of Huntly by the magistrates and inhabitants when the regiment was about to leave one of its stations in that island. They observed that "peace and order were re-established, rapine had disappeared, confidence in the government was restored, and the happiest cordiality subsisted since his regiment came among them."

The Gordon Highlanders remained in Ireland until June seventeen hundred and ninety-nine, when they embarked for England, to join an armament then preparing for the coast of Holland. The number of the regiment was changed about this time to the 92d, the former regiment of that number, and others, having been reduced.

The first division of the army landed on the morning of the twenty-seventh of August without opposition; but the troops had scarcely formed on a ridge of sand hills, at a little distance from the beach, when they were attacked by the enemy, who were however driven back, after a sharp contest of some hours' duration. The 92d, which formed a part of General Moore's brigade, was not engaged in this affair; but in the battle which took place at Bergen on the second of October it took a very distinguished share. General Moore was so well pleased with the heroic conduct of the corps on this occasion, that, when he was made a knight of the Bath, and obtained a grant of supporters for his armorial bearings, he took a soldier of the Gordon Highlanders in full uniform as one of his supporters, and a lion as the other.† In the action alluded to the 92d had Captain William Mackintosh, Lieutenants Alexander Fraser, Gordon Machardy, three sergeants, and fifty-four rank and file, killed; and colonel, the Marquis of Huntly, Captains John Cameron, Alexander Gordon, Peter Grant, John Maclean, Lieutenants George Fraser, Charles Chadd, Norman Macleod, Donald Macdonald, Ensigns Charles Cameron, John Macpherson, James Bent, G. W. Holmes, six sergeants, one drummer, and one hundred and seventy-five rank and file, wounded.

Returning to England, the regiment was again embarked on the twenty-seventh of May, in the year one thousand eight hundred, and sailed for the coast of France; but no landing took place, and the fleet

\* Stewart.

† Stewart.

proceeded to Minorca, where the 92d disembarked on the twentieth of July. It formed part of the expedition against Egypt, the details of which will be found in the account of the service of the 42d regiment. The Gordon Highlanders particularly distinguished themselves in the battle of the thirteenth of March eighteen hundred and one. The British army moved forward to the attack in three columns of regiments; the 90th, or Perthshire regiment, led the advance of the first or centre column, and the Gordon Highlanders that of the second or left, the reserve marching on the right, covering the movements of the first line, and running parallel with the other two columns. The enemy were strongly fortified on a rising ground, and well appointed with cavalry and artillery. As soon as the regiments in advance had cleared some palm and date trees they began to deploy into line; but before the whole army had formed the enemy opened a heavy fire of cannon and musketry, and descended from the heights to attack the 92d, which had by this time formed in line. The fire was quickly returned by the Gordon Highlanders, who not only firmly maintained their ground singly against the attacks of the enemy supported by a powerful artillery, but drove them back with loss. In this action the 92d had nineteen rank and file killed; and Lieutenant-colonel Charles Erskine, (who afterwards died of his wounds,) Captains the Honourable John Ramsay, Archibald Macdonald, Lieutenants Norman Macleod, Charles Doule, (both of whom also died of their wounds,) Donald Macdonald, Tomlin Campbell, Alexander Clarke, (the two last died of their wounds,) Ronald Macdonald, Alexander Cameron, Ensign Peter Wilson, ten sergeants, and one hundred rank and file wounded.

The regiment had suffered much from sickness, during the voyage from Minorca to Egypt, and with this and its recent loss in battle it was so reduced in numbers that General Abercromby ordered it to the rear on the night of the twentieth of March, in order to take post upon the shore at Aboukir. Major Napier, on whom the command of the 92d had devolved in consequence of the death of Colonel Erskine, did not, however, remain long in this position, but hurried back as soon as he heard the firing and assumed his former place in the line. The regiment was but little engaged, and lost only three rank and file killed; and Captain John Cameron, Lieutenant Stewart Matheson, and thirty-seven rank and file, wounded.

In a short time the regiment recovered its health and shared in all the movements of the army in Egypt till the termination of hostilities, when it embarked for Ireland, and landed at Cork on the thirtieth of January, eighteen hundred and two. They were next removed to Glasgow, where they remained until the renewal of hostilities in eighteen hundred and three, when they were marched to Leith, and embarked for the camp which was then forming at Weeley. At this time a second battalion of one thousand men was embodied, raised under the Army of Reserve Act, in the counties of Nairn, Inverness, Moray, Banff, and

Aberdeen. This corps served as a nursery to the regiment during the war.

The regiment formed part of the expedition sent against Copenhagen in eighteen hundred and seven, and served in Sir Arthur Wellesley's brigade. The only instance which offered on this occasion to the regiment to distinguish itself was a spirited and successful charge with the bayonet, when they drove back a greatly superior number of the enemy. In the year eighteen hundred and eight the regiment embarked for Sweden under Sir John Moore; and immediately upon the return of the expedition to England the troops employed were ordered to Portugal under the same commander. The 92d accompanied all the movements of General Moore's army, and had the misfortune to lose its commanding officer, Colonel Napier of Blackstone, who was killed at Corunna. On that occasion Lieutenant Archibald Macdonald was wounded, and afterwards died of his wounds. The regiment had only three rank and file killed, and twelve wounded.\*

\* The following return will show the number of actions in which the 92d was engaged in the Peninsula and south of France, and the extent of the casualties:—

PLACE AND DATE OF THE ENGAGEMENTS.	KILLED.						WOUNDED.							
	Field-officers.	Captains.	Subalterns.	Staff.	Sergeants.	Drummers.	Rank and File.	Field-officers.	Captains.	Subalterns.	Staff.	Sergeants.	Drummers.	Rank and File.
Fuentes d'Honor, May 3d, 1811, (1)							7	1		1		2		9
Villa Formosa, May 5th, 1811, (2)							3	1	3	1				33
Arroyo del Molino, Oct. 28, 1811, (3)							8			1				7
Almaraz, May 19th, 1812,							4					1		2
Alba de Tormes, Nov. 10 & 11, 1812,							4							33
Vittoria, June 21st, 1813,												1		15
Puerto de Maya, July 4 & 8, 1813,														1
Pyrenees, July 25th, 1813, (4)					2	32	9	3	3	13		10		258
Pyrenees, July 30th, 1813, (5)							9		1					26
Pyrenees, July 30th and August 1st, 1813, (6)					2	8		1	3	2		3		66
Passage of the Nive, Dec. 9th, 1813,														2
Passage of the Nive, Dec. 13, 1814, (7)			3		1	27	1	3	6		7			136
St Sevor, February 14th, 1814, (8)									1					7
St Sevor, February 15th, 1814, (9)														10
St Sevor, February 17th, 1814,														3
Orthes, February 27th, 1814, .							2		1	2		1	1	33
Ayre, March 2d, 1814, (10) .														
Total, . . .			3		5	100	7	15	27		24	1	641	

(1) The officer wounded was Lieutenant James Hill.

(2) Major Peter Grant, and Lieutenant Allan Macnab, who died of his wounds.

(3) Lieutenant-colonel John Cameron, Captains Donald Macdonald, John Macpherson, Nugent Dunbar.

(4) Lieutenant-colonel John Cameron, Majors James Mitchell and John Macpherson; Captains G. W. Holmes, Ronald Macdonald, Samuel Bevan, (died of his wounds,) Lieutenants William Eyfe, Donald Macpherson, John J. Chisholm, Donald Macdonald, John Durie, James Kerr Ross, Robert Winchester, George Gordon, John Grant, Ensigns Alexander Macdonald, (died of his wounds,) George Mitchell, and Ewen Kennedy, who died of his wounds.

(5) Captain G. W. Holmes, died of wounds.

(6) Major John Macpherson, Captains James Seaton, James Lee, Dougald Campbell, and Lieutenant James Hope.

(7) Captains G. W. Holmes, Ronald Macdonald, Donald Macpherson, Lieutenants J. J. Chisholm, Robert Winchester, Ronald Macdonald, John Callanagh, George Mitchell, Ensign William Fraser.

(8) Lieutenant Richard Macdonald.

(9) Captain James Seaton, died of wounds.

(10) Captain William Eyfe, Lieutenants J. A. Hope and Richard Macdonell.



On its return to England the regiment was quartered at Weeley, where it received a reinforcement of recruits, which increased the strength of the corps to rather more than one thousand men. This number was, however, greatly reduced in the Walcherin expedition; but the loss was speedily supplied by recruits from the second battalion. The regiment embarked for Portugal on the twenty-first of September, eighteen hundred and ten, and joined the British army under Lord Wellington at the lines of Torres Vedras the following month.

The service of the 92d in the Spanish Peninsula and the south of France, is so blended with the operations of Lord Wellington's army, that, to give a complete idea of it, it would be necessary to enter into details which the limited space allotted to this division of the history will not admit of. It may, however, be observed here, that, in all the actions in which they were engaged, the Gordon Highlanders upheld the high military reputation which they had acquired in Egypt, and supported the honour of their native country in a manner worthy of Highlanders. The heroic conduct of the corps in Belgium must, however, receive a more lengthened notice.

At Quatre Bras the 92d, which, with the Royal Scots, the 42d, and 44th regiments, formed Major-general Pack's brigade, was drawn up in line along a ditch bounding the great Namur road, having the farm of Quatre Bras on their right, and the Hanoverian brigade and Brunswick infantry on their left, but a little to the rear. The Brunswick cavalry, covered by a few field-pieces, were drawn up on the road. After this disposition had been made, the duke of Brunswick, at the head of the Brunswick Hussars, pushed forward to check a column of French cavalry considerably in advance of the main body; but he was unfortunately killed, and the enemy taking advantage of the confusion into which the loss of their brave commander threw the Brunswickers, charged with great energy, and forced them to retire precipitately in the direction of the ditch along which the Gordon Highlanders were drawn up unperceived by the enemy. As soon as the cavalry came within reach, the Highlanders opened a well-directed and destructive fire upon them from behind the ditch. This unexpected attack completely disconcerted the enemy, who, thrown into irretrievable disorder by repeated volleys of musketry, fled in the utmost confusion, after sustaining a severe loss in killed and wounded.

For three hours the allies had to contend against the most fearful odds, and had to sustain sometimes together, and sometimes in separate battalions, a series of desperate charges made by an enemy confident of victory; but at six o'clock in the evening the arrival of a reinforcement from Brussels lessened the great disparity of force, and put both parties upon a more equal footing. A brigade of Guards, part of this reinforcement, was stationed on the right of Quatre Bras, and the other brigades on the left. The enemy now commenced a general discharge from a numerous artillery, which was so stationed as to cover the whole of the

British line. They continued the cannonade for an hour, when they advanced in two columns, the one by the high road, the other through a hollow along the skirts of a thick wood (Bois de Boissu). Unperceived by the allies the enemy had already taken possession of a house on the Charleroi road, some hundred yards from the village; and had also occupied a garden and several thickset hedges near to the house. The Gordon Highlanders were no sooner informed of this than they instantly resolved to dispossess the enemy; and whilst one party, headed by Colonel Cameron, rapidly moved forward on the road, another party pushed round by their right. The enemy were so well covered by the garden and hedges that it required great exertions to dislodge them; but the Highlanders at last succeeded, not, however, till they had lost their brave commander, Colonel Cameron, and other valuable lives.\* After driving the enemy, who were greatly more numerous than their assailants, from this post, the Highlanders pursued them more than a quarter of a mile, until checked by the advance of a large body of French cavalry and infantry, preceded by artillery. Unable to resist this formidable force the Highlanders retired along the edge of the wood of Boissu to their original position. Marshal Ney having failed in every attempt to force the allies from their position, and despairing of success, finally desisted from the attack at nine o'clock in the evening, leaving the allies in possession of the ground they had occupied at three o'clock, when the battle commenced.

Besides their colonel, the 92d lost, in this action, Captain William Little, Lieutenant J. J. Chisholm, Ensigns Abel Becker and John M. R. Macpherson, two sergeants, and thirty-three rank and file. The wounded officers were, Major James Mitchell, (afterwards Lieutenant-colonel,) Captains G. W. Holmes, Dougald Campbell, W. C. Grant, (who died of his wounds,) Lieutenants Thomas Hobbs, Thomas Mackintosh, Robert Winchester, Ronald Macdonnell, James Kerr Ross, George Logan, John Mackinlay, George Mackie, Alexander Macpherson, Ewen Ross, Hector M'Innes, Ensigns John Barnwell, Robert Logan, Angus Macdonald, Robert Hewit, and Assistant-surgeon John Stewart; also thirteen sergeants, one drummer, and two hundred and twelve rank and file.

On the morning of the seventeenth Lord Wellington had collected the whole of his army in the position of Waterloo, and was combining his measures to attack the enemy; but having received information that Marshal Blucher had been obliged, after the battle of Ligny, to abandon his position at Sombref and to fall back upon Wavre, his lordship found it necessary to make a corresponding movement. He accordingly retired upon Genappe, and thence upon Waterloo. Although the march took

\* "As a mark of respect for the talents and eminent services of this brave officer, his majesty granted a patent of baronetcy to his father, Ewen Cameron of Fassafarn, with two Highlanders as supporters to his armorial bearings, and several heraldic distinctions indicating the particular services of Colonel Cameron."—*Stewart's Sketches*.

place in the middle of the day the enemy made no attempt to molest the rear, except by following with a large body of cavalry, brought from his right, the cavalry under the Earl of Uxbridge. On the former debouching from the village of Genappe, the earl made a gallant charge with the Life Guards and repulsed the enemy's cavalry.

Lord Wellington took up a position in front of Waterloo. The rain fell in torrents during the night, and the morning of the eighteenth was ushered in by a dreadful thunder-storm; a prelude which superstition might have regarded as ominous of the events of that memorable and decisive day. The allied army was drawn up across the high roads from Charleroi and Nivelles, with its right thrown back to a ravine near Merke Braine, which was occupied, and its left extended to a height above the hamlet Ter-la-Haye, which was also occupied. In front of the right centre, and near the Nivelles road, they occupied the house and farm of Hougoumont, and in front of the left centre they possessed the farm of La Haye Sainte. The Gordon Highlanders, who were commanded by Major Donald Macdonald, in consequence of the wound of Lieutenant-colonel Mitchell, who had succeeded Colonel Cameron in the command, were in the ninth brigade with the Royal Scots, the Royal Highlanders, and the 44th regiment. This brigade was stationed on the left wing upon the crest of a small eminence, forming one side of the hollow, or low valley, which divided the two hostile armies. A hedge ran along this crest for nearly two-thirds its whole length. A brigade of Belgians, another of Hanoverians, and General Ponsonby's brigade of the 1st or Royal Dragoons, Scotch Greys, and Inniskillings, were posted in front of this hedge. Bonaparte drew up his army on a range of heights in front of the allies, and about ten o'clock in the morning he commenced a furious attack upon the post at Hougoumont. This he accompanied by a very heavy cannonade upon the whole line of the allies; but it was not till about two o'clock that the brigades already mentioned were attacked. At that time the enemy, covered by a heavy fire of artillery, advanced in a solid column of three thousand infantry of the guard, with drums beating, and all the accompaniments of military array, towards the position of the Belgians. The enemy received a temporary check from the fire of the Belgians and from some artillery; but the troops of Nassau gave way, and, retiring behind the crest of the eminence, left a large space open to the enemy. To prevent the enemy from entering by this gap, the third battalion of the Royal Scots, and the second battalion of the 44th, were ordered up to occupy the ground so abandoned; and here a warm conflict of some duration took place, in which the two regiments lost many men and expended their ammunition. The enemy's columns continuing to press forward, General Pack ordered up the Highlanders, calling out, "Ninety-second, now is your time; charge." This order being repeated by Major Macdonald, the soldiers answered it by a shout. Though then reduced to less than two hundred and fifty-men, the regiment instantly formed two men deep, and

rushed to the front, against a column ten or twelve men deep, and equal in length to their whole line. The enemy, as if appalled by the advance of the Highlanders, stood motionless, and upon a nearer approach they became panic-struck, and, wheeling to the rear, fled in the most disorderly manner, throwing away their arms and every thing that incumbered them. So rapid was their flight, that the Highlanders, notwithstanding their nimbleness of foot, were unable to overtake them; but General Ponsonby pursued them with the cavalry at full speed, and cutting into the centre of the column, killed numbers and took nearly eighteen hundred prisoners. The animating sentiment, "Scotland for ever!" received a mutual cheer as the Greys galloped past the Highlanders, and the former felt the effect of the appeal so powerfully, that, not content with the destruction or surrender of the flying column, they passed it, and charged up to the line of the French position. "Les braves Ecossais; qu'ils sont terribles ces Chevaux Gris!" exclaimed Napoleon, when, in succession, he saw the small body of Highlanders forcing one of his chosen columns to fly, and the Greys charging almost into his very line.

During the remainder of the day the 92d regiment remained at the post assigned them, but no opportunity afterwards occurred of giving another proof of their prowess. The important service they rendered at a critical moment, by charging and routing the élite of the French infantry, entitle them to share largely in the honours of the victory. "A column of such strength, composed of veteran troops, filled with the usual confidence of the soldiers of France, thus giving way to so inferior a force, and by their retreat exposing themselves to certain destruction from the charges of cavalry ready to pour in and overwhelm them, can only be accounted for by the manner in which the attack was made, and is one of the numerous advantages of that mode of attack I have had so often occasion to notice. Had the Highlanders, with their inferior numbers, hesitated and remained at a distance, exposed to the fire of the enemy, half an hour would have been sufficient to annihilate them, whereas in their bold and rapid advance they *lost only four men*. The two regiments, which for some time resisted the attacks of the same column, were unable to force them back. They remained stationary to receive the enemy, who were thus allowed time and opportunity to take a cool and steady aim; encouraged by a prospect of success, the latter doubled their efforts; indeed, so confident were they, that when they reached the plain upon the summit of the ascent, they ordered their arms, as if to rest after their victory. But the handful of Highlanders soon proved on which side the victory lay. Their bold and rapid charge struck their confident opponents with terror, paralyzed their sight and aim, and deprived both of point and object. The consequence was, as it will always be in nine cases out of ten in similar circumstances, that the loss of the 92d regiment was, as I have just stated, only four men, whilst

the other corps in their stationary position lost eight times that number."\*

At Waterloo the 92d regiment had one drummer and thirteen rank and file killed; and six officers, three sergeants, and nineteen rank and file wounded. The officers were Captains Peter Wilkie and Archibald Ferrier, Lieutenants Robert Winchester, Donald Macdonald, James Kerr Ross, and James Hope.

From the period of its formation in seventeen hundred and ninety-four, down to the close of the battle of Waterloo, embracing a period of twenty-two years, the total loss of the regiment was as follows:

Officers, killed,	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	12
Officers, wounded,	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	100
										<hr/> 112
Rank and file, killed,	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	238
Rank and file, wounded,	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	1261
										<hr/> 1499

This loss in rank and file is not so great as that sustained by the 42d during the same period, which amounted to 1764, although the 92d was twenty-six times in battle, whereas the 42d was only eighteen times engaged. The latter regiment, on the whole, however, lost fewer officers, having had nineteen killed and eighty-four wounded.

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## SUTHERLAND HIGHLANDERS,

OR

NINETY-THIRD REGIMENT.—1800.

IN May eighteen hundred Major-general Wemyss of Wemyss received letters of service to raise a regiment of six hundred men, with instructions to endeavour to prevail on the men who had served in the Sutherland Fencible corps, of which he had been colonel, and which had been disbanded about eighteen months before, to enter the new regiment. General Wemyss succeeded in raising four hundred and sixty men in Sutherland, and the remainder were drawn from Ross and the adjoining counties. The regiment was soon augmented to eight hundred, and afterwards to one thousand men, with officers in proportion. The numerical strength of the regiment, including non-commissioned officers, in the year eighteen hundred and eleven, was one thousand and forty-nine, of whom one thousand and fourteen were Highlanders and Lowlanders, seventeen were Irish, and eighteen English.



The 93d, when raised, was inspected by Major-general Hay at Inverness in the month of August eighteen hundred, and in September embarked for Guernsey. It remained there about two years, when it was ordered to Ireland, where it continued till July eighteen hundred and five, when it joined the armament against the Cape of Good Hope, under Major-general Sir David Baird.

The expedition sailed early in August, and, after a boisterous voyage, arrived and anchored in Table Bay on the fourth of January, eighteen hundred and six. The troops formed two brigades, one of which, consisting of the 24th, 38th, and 83d regiments, was under the command of Brigadier-general Beresford; the other, called the Highland brigade, comprehending the 71st, 72d, and 93d regiments, was commanded by Brigadier-general Ronald C. Ferguson. On the fifth, General Beresford, who had been detached to Saldanha Bay, in consequence of the violence of the surf in Table Bay, effected a landing there without opposition, and on the sixth the Highland brigade landed in Lospard Bay, after a slight resistance from a small body of light troops stationed on the adjoining heights. In landing, thirty-five men of the 93d were unfortunately drowned by the upsetting of a boat in the surf, and Lieutenant-colonel Pack of the 71st and a few men were wounded.

Having landed his stores on the seventh, General Baird moved forward the following day, and ascending the summit of the Blaw-Berg, (Blue Mountain,) he found the enemy, to the number of about five thousand men, drawn up in two lines on a plain, with twenty-three pieces of cannon. Forming his troops quickly in two columns he thereupon directed Lieutenant-colonel Joseph Baird, who commanded the first brigade, to move with that brigade towards the right, whilst the Highland brigade, which was thrown forward upon the high road, advanced against the enemy. Apparently resolved to retain their position, the enemy opened a heavy fire of grape, round shot, and musketry, which was kept up warmly as the British approached, till General Ferguson gave the word to charge. This order was obeyed with the accustomed alacrity of the Highlanders, who rushed upon the enemy with such impetuosity as at once to strike them with terror. After discharging the last volley without aim or effect, the enemy turned their backs and fled in great confusion, leaving upwards of six hundred men killed and wounded. The loss of the British was only sixteen men killed and one hundred and ninety-one wounded. The 93d had only two soldiers killed, and Lieutenant-colonel Honeyman, Lieutenants Scobie and Strachan, Ensigns Hedrick and Craig, one sergeant, one drummer, and fifty-one rank and file wounded. After this victory the colony surrendered.

The Sutherland Highlanders remained in garrison at the Cape till the year eighteen hundred and fourteen, when they embarked for England.\* They landed at Plymouth in August of that year, and on the

\* In 1813 a second battalion was added to this regiment. It was formed at Inverness, and, after some instructions in discipline, was destined to join the army under the



following month joined the troops under Major-general Keane, then about to embark for North America. The fleet sailed on the eighteenth of September, and, at Jamaica, joined the squadron under Vice-admiral the Honourable Alexander Cochrane, with three thousand five hundred troops on board. The united forces (the command of which was now assumed by General Keane) amounted to five thousand four hundred men. With this force he sailed from Jamaica on the twenty-seventh of November, and on the thirteenth of December landed near Cat island, at the entrance of a chain of lakes leading to New Orleans. On the twenty-third the troops landed without opposition at the head of the Bayone; but were attacked on the following night by a large body of infantry, supported by a strong corps of artillery. After a spirited contest the enemy were repulsed with loss. On the twenty-seventh Major-general the Honourable Sir Edward Pakenham, who had arrived and assumed the command of the army on the twenty-fifth, moved the troops forward in two columns, and took up a position within six miles of the town, in front of the enemy's lines. The position of the Americans was particularly favourable, having a morass and a thick wood on their left, the Mississippi on their right, and a deep and broad ditch in front, bounded by a parapet and breast-works, extending in a direct line about a thousand yards, and mounted with artillery, and a flanking battery on the right bank of the river.

Being joined by the 43d regiment on the seventh of January eighteen hundred and fifteen, General Pakenham resolved to attack the enemy in front, and as a diversion detached a force under Colonel Hamilton, with the 85th regiment, across the river, to take the enemy in flank and attack some vessels which supported their right. The attack was, according to the arrangements made, to be led by General Gibbs, with the King's Own, Scotch Fusileers, 44th regiment, and three companies of the Rifle corps;—these were to be supported by the Sutherland Highlanders, with two companies of the English Fusileers, two of the 43d, and two of the Rifle corps, forming the second brigade, under General Keane; and the English Fusileers and 43d regiment were to form the reserve. In order to occupy the attention of the enemy on the right, and to keep up a skirmishing fire, a party of black troops were ordered to the wood on the right flank. To enable the troops to cross the ditch, fascines and rafts were prepared, and scaling ladders were also provided, to enable them to mount a parapet raised upon the inner bank of the ditch. The attack was to have been made on the eighth before day-break; but, owing to some unexpected difficulties, it was long after sunrise before the troops could advance to the attack. This was an unfortunate occurrence, as they were thus exposed, whilst crossing an open plain which

duke of Wellington in France; but owing to the peace of 1814 this destination was changed to North America. The battalion was embarked, and landed in Newfoundland, where it was stationed sixteen months, and then returning to Europe in 1815, was reduced soon after landing.”—*Stewart*.

lay between them and the enemy's position, to the full view of the enemy, who opened a heavy fire from his whole line, and likewise from a battery upon the right bank of the river. If they could have got over the ditch they might have attained their object, but unluckily they had left their fascines and rafts in the rear, and on reaching the ditch found it impassable. Unable to advance, and exposed to a destructive fire from an enemy beyond their reach and completely covered, the troops began to waver, and at last retired in great confusion, after sustaining a very severe loss. Besides the brave Generals Pakenham and Gibbs, (the latter of whom died of his wounds,) three field-officers, five captains, four subalterns, eleven sergeants, one drummer, and two hundred and sixty-six rank and file, were killed; and one general officer, (Keane,) ten field-officers, twenty-one captains, forty-seven subalterns, one staff-officer, fifty-four sergeants, nine drummers, and eleven hundred and twenty-six rank and file, wounded. The 93d lost one field-officer, two captains, two sergeants, and fifty-eight rank and file, killed; and four captains, eight subalterns, seventeen sergeants, three drummers, and three hundred and forty-eight rank and file, wounded.

The British troops retired to the post they had occupied before the action, in which they remained until the eighteenth, when they retired to the head of the Bayone, where they first landed, having previously embarked all the wounded who were in a state to be removed, along with the artillery and stores. The army re-embarked on the twenty-seventh of January, and as peace soon afterwards ensued, the troops were ordered home. On their arrival in England the 93d was ordered to Ireland, and landed at Cork on the twenty-eighth of May eighteen hundred and fifteen.

In point of moral worth, honourable feeling, and all the other qualities which constitute good soldiers and citizens, the Sutherland Highlanders may challenge comparison with any of the other Highland corps. In one respect, indeed, circumstances placed them in a more advantageous position; for, whilst a temporary relaxation of military discipline crept into some regiments by an admixture of improper persons in the ranks, the Sutherland Highlanders preserved an unvaried and uniform line of good conduct. In the light infantry company not a single man was punished for nineteen years; a remarkable circumstance, when it is considered that such companies are frequently the most irregular, the men being selected more for their personal appearance than for their good character. The other companies of the regiment were equally remarked for their excellent conduct.

Amongst the good qualities which distinguished this exemplary corps, a strong feeling of religion was particularly observed. "The Sutherland men (says General Stewart) were so well grounded in moral duties and religious principles, that when stationed at the Cape of Good Hope, and anxious to enjoy the advantages of religious instruction agreeably to the tenets of their national church and there being no religious ser-

vice in the garrison, except the customary one of reading prayers to the soldiers on parade, the men of the 93d regiment formed themselves into a congregation, appointed elders of their own number, engaged and paid a stipend (collected from the soldiers) to a clergyman of the church of Scotland, (who had gone out with an intention of teaching and preaching to the Caffres) and had divine service performed conformably to the ritual of the established church. Their expenses were so well regulated, that, whilst contributing to the support of their clergyman from the savings of their pay, they were enabled to promote that social cheerfulness, which is the true attribute of pure religion and of a well-spent life. Whilst too many soldiers were ready to indulge in that vice, which, more than any other, leads to crime in the British army, and spent much of their money in liquor, the Sutherland men indulged in the cheerful amusement of dancing, and in their evening meetings were joined by many respectable inhabitants, who were happy to witness such scenes amongst the common soldiers in the British service. In addition to these expenses the soldiers regularly remitted money to their relations in Sutherland." With this drain upon their scanty allowance, they even accumulated considerable sums during the eight years they remained at the Cape, and shortly after their arrival at Plymouth in August, eighteen hundred and fourteen, upwards of £500 were deposited in one banking-house, to be remitted to Sutherland, exclusively of other remittances through the post-office and by officers. In several cases individual soldiers sent home as much as £20 each.

When embarking from the Cape of Good Hope, General Craddock, now Lord Howden, in alluding to "the respect and esteem of the inhabitants, with their regret at parting with men who will ever be borne in remembrance as kind friends and honourable soldiers," thus expressed himself:—"The commander of the forces anxiously joins in the public voice, that so approved a corps, when called forth into the more active scenes that now await them in Europe, will confirm the well-known maxim, that the most regular and best conducted troops in quarters are those who form the surest dependence, and will acquire the most renown in the field." When reviewed in Ireland on its return from North America, the regiment, according to the general officer who reviewed it, exhibited "a picture of military discipline and moral rectitude;"—and although the junior regiment in his majesty's service, it displayed "an honourable example, worthy the imitation of all."\*

\* Besides the thirty-three regiments whose service has been noticed, the following Highland corps were raised and embodied, but their services were not of sufficient importance to entitle them to a lengthened notice. 1. A regiment raised by Major Colin Campbell of Kilberrie, afterwards numbered as the 100th regiment of the line, was embodied at Stirling in 1761. It was stationed in Martinique till 1763, when it was ordered to Scotland and reduced.—2. A corps of two battalions was raised by Colonel David Graham of Gortley, and embodied at Perth in 1762. Out of compliment to the consort of George III., whom Colonel Graham had attended to England in 1761, this regiment was designated the Queen's Highlanders. This regiment, which was disbanded shortly after

## FENCIBLE CORPS.

THE plan of raising Fencible corps in the Highlands was first proposed and carried into effect by Mr Pitt, (afterwards earl of Chatham) in the year seventeen hundred and fifty-nine. During the three preceding years both the fleets and armies of Great Britain had suffered reverses, and to retrieve the national character, great efforts were necessary. In England county militia regiments were raised for internal defence in the absence of the regular army; but it was not deemed prudent to extend the system to Scotland, the inhabitants of which, it was supposed, could not yet be safely entrusted with arms. Groundless as the reasons for this caution undoubtedly were in regard to the Lowlands, it would certainly have been hazardous at a time when the Stuarts and their adherents were still plotting a restoration to have armed the clans. An exception, however, was made in favour of the people of Argyle and Sutherland, and accordingly letters of service were issued to the duke of Argyle, then the most influential and powerful nobleman in Scotland, and the earl of Sutherland to raise, each of them, a Fencible regiment within their districts. Unlike the militia regiments which were raised by ballot, the Fencibles were to be raised by the ordinary mode of recruiting, and like the regiments of the line, the officers were to be appointed, and their commissions signed by the king. The same system was followed at different periods down to the year seventeen hundred and ninety-nine, the last of the Fencible regiments having been raised in that year.

The following is a list of the Highland Fencible regiments according to the chronological order of the commissions:—

### 1. THE ARGYLE FENCIBLES OF 1759.

The commissions of the officers of this corps were dated in the month of July, seventeen hundred and fifty-nine. The regiment, which consisted of one thousand men, was raised in three months. Of thirty-seven officers, twenty-two were of the name of Campbell. The regiment was quartered in different parts of Scotland, and reduced in the year seventeen hundred and sixty-three.

the peace, was numbered the 105th.—3. Captain Allan Maclean of Torloisk raised a regiment, which was reduced in 1763. The Highland regiments in America and Germany were supplied with recruits from this corps.—4. A regiment, under the designation of the Perthshire Highlanders, and numbered the 116th, was raised by Major-general Alexander Campbell of Monzie in 1794; but after a short sojourn in Ireland, the men were drafted into other regiments.—5. In the same year Colonel Duncan Cameron of Callart raised a regiment numbered the 132d; but it was speedily reduced.—6. Colonel Simon Fraser, afterwards lieutenant-general, raised a regiment (the 133d) the same year. Both the last mentioned regiments were speedily reduced, and the officers and men were transferred to other corps.

## 2. THE SUTHERLAND FENCIBLES OF 1759.

Though the commissions of the officers were dated in the month of August, this regiment was raised several weeks before that of Argyle, eleven hundred men having assembled at the call of the earl of Sutherland, on the lawn before Dunrobin castle, within nine days after his lordship's arrival in Sutherland with his letters of service. "The martial appearance of these men," says General Stewart, "when they marched into Perth in May, 1760, with the earl of Sutherland at their head, was never forgotten by those who saw them, and who never failed to express admiration of their fine military air. Some old friends of mine, who often saw these men in Perth, spoke of them with a kind of enthusiasm. Considering the abstemious habits, or rather the poverty of the Highlanders, the size and muscular strength of the people are remarkable. In this corps there was no light infantry company; upwards of 260 men being above five feet eleven inches in height, they were formed into two grenadier companies, one on each flank of the battalion." This regiment was reduced in May, seventeen hundred and sixty-three.

## 3. THE ARGYLE OR WESTERN FENCIBLES OF 1778.

This corps was raised by Lord Frederick Campbell, who had been appointed colonel, and it was embodied in Glasgow in April, seventeen hundred and seventy-eight. Of the men, seven hundred were raised in Argyleshire and other parts of the western Highlands; the rest were recruited in Glasgow and the south-west of Scotland. Sir James Campbell of Ardkinglas was appointed lieutenant-colonel, and Mr Montgomery of Coilsfield, afterwards earl of Eglintoun, Major. The regiment was reduced in seventeen hundred and eighty-three.

## 4. THE GORDON FENCIBLES OF 1778:

This regiment, which consisted of nine hundred and sixty men, was raised by the late duke of Gordon on his estates in the counties of Inverness, Moray, Banff, and Aberdeen. It was embodied at Aberdeen, and reduced in seventeen hundred and eighty-three. During the five years this regiment was embodied, only twenty-four men died.

## 5. THE SUTHERLAND FENCIBLES OF 1779.

The family of Sutherland being now represented by a female, and an infant (afterwards the duchess-countess of Sutherland) and no near relative of the name to assume the command of this regiment, William Wemyss of Wemyss, nephew of the last earl, was appointed colonel. With the exception of two companies from Caithness, commanded by William Innes of Sandside, and John Sutherland of Wester, the recruits



were raised on the Sutherland estates; and so desirous were the men of Sutherland of entering the regiment, that in the parish of Farr alone, one hundred and fifty-four were enlisted in two days. In February, seventeen hundred and seventy-nine, the regiment was embodied at Fort George, whence it marched southward, and was stationed in the neighbourhood of Edinburgh during the part of its service. It was reduced in seventeen hundred and eighty-three.\*

## 6. THE GRANT OR STATHSPEY FENCIBLES—1793.

The late Sir James Grant of Grant, whose memory is deservedly cherished by all who knew him, having offered to raise a regiment, he obtained permission to do so, and two months after the declaration of war by France, the Grant Fencibles were assembled at Forres in the end of April, seventeen hundred and ninety-three. With the exception of forty-one Scottish Lowlanders, three Englishmen, and two Irishmen, the regiment consisted of Highlanders. On the fifth of June it was embodied and inspected by Lieutenant-general Leslie, marched to the southward in August, and quartered successively in most of the towns in the south of Scotland.

Whilst stationed at Dumfries in seventeen hundred and ninety-five, a mutiny broke out amongst the Strathspey Highlanders. A spirit of jealousy and distrust of their officers had taken deep root in the breasts of the men, in consequence of an attempt that had been made the preceding year at Linlithgow, to induce them to extend their service, which was confined to Scotland. They erroneously conceived that there was a design to entrap them; a suspicion which appears to have originated in the conduct of the officers, some of whom did not explain the nature of the proposals to their men, whilst others entirely mistook their import and meaning. For a time the good understanding between the officers and the men appeared to have returned; but an incident which occurred

\* Samuel Macdonald, better known by the sobriquet of "Big Sam," was a soldier in this regiment. He was born in the parish of Lairg in Sutherland, and was of extraordinary stature, being seven feet four inches in height, and every way stout in proportion. Being too large to stand in the ranks, he was generally placed on the right of the regiment when in line, and marched at the head when in column. Whether on duty, marching with his regiment, or on the streets, he was always accompanied by a mountain-deer of uncommon size, which was greatly attached to him. Samuel's "parents were of good size, but in nothing otherwise remarkable. Macdonald had fortunately a quiet, equable temper. Had he been irritable, he might, from his immense strength and weight of arm, have given a serious blow, without being sensible of its force. He was considered an excellent drill, from his mild and clear manner of giving his directions. After the peace of 1783 he enlisted in the Royals. From thence he was transferred to the Sutherland Fencibles of 1793. The countess of Sutherland, with great kindness, allowed him 2s. 6d. per diem extra pay, judging probably that so large a body must require more sustenance than his military pay could afford. He attracted the notice of the Prince of Wales, and was for some time one of the porters at Carlton house. When the 93d was raised he could not be kept from his old friends; and joining the regiment, he died in Guernsey in 1802, regretted by his corps as a respectable, trust-worthy, excellent man." — *Stewart's Sketches.*



at Dumfries rekindled the dying embers of dissension, and led to the most unpleasant consequences. A soldier in the ranks having made a jocular remark, which was considered as offensive by the officers, he and some of his comrades, who appeared to enjoy the joke, were put into confinement, and threatened with punishment. This injudicious step roused the feelings of the Highlanders, who considered themselves as insulted and disgraced in the persons of the prisoners, and they could not endure that such a stain should "attach to themselves and their country from an infamous punishment for crimes, according to their views, not in themselves infamous in the moral sense of the word."\* The consequence was, that many of the soldiers, in open defiance of their officers, broke out, and released the prisoners.

After this unfortunate affair, the regiment was marched to Musselburgh, when Corporal James Macdonald, and privates Charles and Alexander Mackintosh, Alexander Fraser, and Duncan Macdougall, were tried, and being found guilty of mutinous conduct, condemned to be shot. The corporal's sentence was restricted to a corporal punishment. The four privates were marched out to Gullane Links, East Lothian, on the sixteenth of July, seventeen hundred and ninety-five, and when they had arrived on the ground they were told that only two were to suffer, and that the two Mackintoshes would be permitted to draw lots. They accordingly drew, when the fatal one fell on Charles, who, with Fraser, was immediately shot in presence of the Scotch brigade, (afterwards the 94th regiment) and the Sutherland, Breadalbane, and Grant Fencibles. The others were ordered to join regiments abroad.

No other act of insubordination occurred in the regiment, which was reduced in the year seventeen hundred and ninety-nine.

#### 7. THE BREADALBANE FENCIBLES, (THREE BATTALIONS,) 1793 AND 1794.

The late earl of Breadalbane, moved by the same patriotic feeling which actuated the late Sir James Grant, offered to raise two Fencible regiments, which were completed in the summer of seventeen hundred and ninety-three. A third battalion was embodied a few months thereafter, under an arrangement, that its service, if necessary, should be extended to Ireland. The number of men raised was two thousand three hundred, of whom sixteen hundred were obtained from the estate of Breadalbane alone.

A mutiny, similar in every respect in its cause, object, and consequences, to that of the Strathspey Fencibles, occurred amongst the Breadalbane Fencibles, at Glasgow in seventeen hundred and ninety-five. Measures were taken to secure the ringleaders; but so many of the men were concerned, that it was found almost impossible to make a proper

distinction. The difficulty was however solved by some of the soldiers themselves, who, becoming sensible of their error, with a noble and high-minded feeling, voluntarily offered to stand trial, and to abide the issue. They were accordingly sent to Edinburgh castle, tried, and four of their number condemned to be shot, but only one, Alexander Morland, suffered. He was shot on Musselburgh Sands.

An anecdote of one of these men, related by General Stewart, affords a striking illustration of the faithfulness of the Highlanders in fulfilling obligations. On the march to Edinburgh, this man stated to Major Colin Campbell, who commanded the party, that he knew what his fate would be, but that he had left business of the utmost importance to a friend in Glasgow, which he wished to transact before his death; that as to himself he was fully prepared to meet his fate, but, with regard to his friend, he could not die in peace unless the business was settled; and that if the officer would permit him to return to Glasgow, he would join his comrades before they reached Edinburgh. He added, "You have known me since I was a child; you know my country and kindred, and you may believe I shall never bring you to any blame by a breach of the promise I now make, to be with you in full time to be delivered up in the castle." Major Campbell, a very judicious and humane man, was startled at this extraordinary proposal; but having perfect confidence in the prisoner, he complied with his request. The soldier, accordingly, returned to Glasgow at night, transacted his business, and left the town before day-light to redeem his pledge. To avoid observation, he made a circuitous route through woods and over hills, which retarded him so much, that he did not appear at the appointed hour. Major Campbell, on reaching the neighbourhood of Edinburgh without his prisoner, was greatly perplexed. He had indeed marched slowly forward, but no soldier appeared; and unable to delay any longer, he entered the city, marched up to the Castle, and as he was delivering over the prisoners, but before any report had been given in, Macmartin, the absent soldier, rushed in amongst his fellow-prisoners, all pale with anxiety and fatigue, and breathless, with apprehension of the consequences in which his delay might have involved his benefactor.

The first and second battalions of the Breadalbane Fencibles were discharged in seventeen hundred and ninety-nine along with the Grant, Gordon, Sutherland, Rothsay, Caithness, (1st battalion) Argyle, and Hopetoun Fencible regiments, whose services were limited to Scotland. The third battalion was sent to Ireland in seventeen hundred and ninety-five, and remained in that country till eighteen hundred and two, when it was reduced.

#### 8. THE SUTHERLAND FENCIBLES OF 1793.

This regiment, which mustered at the call of the countess of Sutherland, was embodied at Fort George. Colonel Wemyss, who had com-

manded the regiment of seventeen hundred and seventy-nine, was appointed colonel, and the Honourable James Stuart, brother of the earl of Moray, lieutenant-colonel. The numerical strength of the corps was ten hundred and eighty-four men, with drummers and pipers. This contained a company from Ross-shire, commanded by Mr Macleod of Cadboll.

In seventeen hundred and ninety-seven the regiment extended its services to Ireland; but, with the exception of one skirmish, no opportunity offered for distinguishing itself in the field. The conduct of the Sutherland Fencibles, in that distracted and till now misgoverned country, was most exemplary; and it was said of them, that "their conduct and manners softened the horrors of war, and they were not a week in a fresh quarter, or cantonment, that they did not conciliate and become intimate with the people." The regiment was reduced at the period mentioned. It was from the disbanded ranks of this corps that the 93d regiment was principally formed.

#### 9. THE GORDON FENCIBLES OF 1793.

The late duke of Gordon's commission as colonel of this regiment, was dated the third of March; and not long after this the regiment was raised and embodied at Aberdeen. The uniform was the full Highland garb. The duke raised upwards of three hundred men on his estates in Strathspey, Badenoch, and Lochaber, and about an equal number was recruited on the neighbouring estates. About one hundred and fifty more were raised in the Lowlands of Aberdeen, Banff, and Elgin. In seventeen hundred and ninety-four it was removed to England, having agreed to extend its service. The Gordon Highlanders were reviewed by George III. in Hyde Park. The regiment was disbanded, along with the other Fencible regiments, in seventeen hundred and ninety-nine.

#### 10. ARGYLE FENCIBLES OF 1793.

Letters of service, dated the first of March, were issued to the marquis of Lorn to raise this corps. It was shortly afterwards embodied at Stirling, and after six years' service, was reduced in seventeen hundred and ninety-nine.

#### 11. THE ROTHSAY AND CAITHNESS FENCIBLES, (TWO BATTALIONS,) 1794 AND 1795.

Letters of service were granted to the late Right Honourable Sir John Sinclair of Ulbster, to raise a Fencible regiment, whose services should extend to England. The present corps was accordingly formed, and as both officers and men were principally natives of Caithness, it was at first called the Caithness Fencibles; but the Prince of Wales

having granted permission that Rothsay, his chief title in Scotland, should be added, the battalion was afterwards called the Rothsay and Caithness Fencibles. Another reason for this conjunction was, that the counties of Bute and Caithness then sent alternately a member to represent them in parliament.

This regiment was assembled at Inverness in October, seventeen hundred and ninety-four, and embodied by Lieutenant-general Sir Hector Munro. The corps attracted particular notice from the majestic stature of the officers, nineteen of whom averaged six feet in height. The uniform of the regiment was a bonnet and feathers, with a plaid thrown across the shoulders, and tartan pantaloons in imitation of the trews, surmounted with a stripe of yellow along the seams, a fringe of tartan on the outside of the thigh, and the same round the ankle.\* This battalion was reduced in seventeen hundred and ninety-nine.

A second battalion was raised by Sir John Sinclair in seventeen hundred and ninety-five, and embodied by Lieutenant-general Hamilton at Forfar, in the May of that year. The service of this regiment was extended to Ireland. This corps was more mixed than the first; only about three hundred and fifty men from Caithness and Sutherland having entered the regiment. The establishment and uniform of the battalion was the same as the first. The regiment was soon after its formation removed to Ireland, where it remained several years. In seventeen hundred and ninety-nine the regiment was augmented to a thousand effective men, under the designation of the Caithness Highlanders, with officers in proportion.

Of the exemplary conduct of the regiment, some idea may be formed from the following extract of an address presented to Lieutenant-colonel Fraser of Culduthill, who commanded the regiment several years in Ireland, by a meeting of the magistrates of the county of Armagh, in the year seventeen hundred and ninety-eight, the Lord Viscount Gosford, the governor, in the chair:—"We beg leave to testify our highest approbation of the conduct of the Rothsay and Caithness Fencibles, during a period of fourteen months, and under circumstances of peculiar difficulty. Divided, from the unfortunate necessity of the times, into various cantonments, and many of them stationed in a manner most unfavourable to military discipline, they yet preserved the fidelity of soldiers, and the manly rectitude of their national character. It is with pleasure and satisfaction we declare, that the tranquillity which this county is now happily beginning to enjoy, must, in many respects, be ascribed to the ready obedience and proper deportment of the officers and men under your command. For reasons thus honourable to them, and grateful to ourselves, we return you our most sincere thanks, and request you will communicate to the officers, non-commissioned officers, and soldiers, this testimony of our esteem, and acknowledgment of their exemplary conduct."

\* Stewart.

In seventeen hundred and ninety-seven the regiment, with the exception of about fifty men, volunteered their services to any part of Europe. In the summer of eighteen hundred two hundred men volunteered into the 79th and 92d regiments. As an ensign was to be appointed to every fifty men who should volunteer from the Fencible regiments, four officers from the Caithness Highlanders obtained commissions in the 79th and 92d of the line.

The Caithness Fencibles returned to Scotland in eighteen hundred and two, and were reduced the same year.

## 12. THE DUMBARTON FENCIBLES—1794.

This regiment was raised by Colonel Campbell of Stonefield, agreeably to orders, dated the eleventh day of October, seventeen hundred and ninety-four, and was inspected and reported complete by Major-general Sir James Stewart, in the summer of the following year. Colonel Campbell was appointed its colonel.

The regiment was first stationed in Guernsey, and in seventeen hundred and ninety-seven was removed to Ireland, being reduced to five hundred men the previous year. Mr Maclaine of Lochbuy, the lieutenant-colonel, was removed to the Argyle Fencibles, on the transference of the regiment to Ireland, and was succeeded by Lieutenant-colonel Scott.

The Dumbarton Fencibles were actively employed during the Irish rebellion. They were particularly noticed by Sir John Moore, who, after the rebellion was crushed, stationed them as a light infantry corps in the mountains under his own eye, and such was his confidence in them, that he selected a detachment of this regiment to guard four hundred prisoners sent to Prussia, "as the service required confidential and trust-worthy men."

The regiment returned to Scotland in eighteen hundred and two, and was reduced the same year.

## 13. THE REAY FENCIBLES—1794.

Amongst other districts fixed on by government for raising Fencible corps at the commencement of the late French war, that of "Lord Reay's country," the residence of the clan Mackay, was selected. The chief of that clan, the then Lord Reay, being, from mental imbecility, incapable of acting, Hugh Mackay Bailie of Rosehall, was appointed colonel, and the late George Mackay of Bighouse, lieutenant-colonel of the regiment ordered to be raised.

Notwithstanding the unfortunate state of their chief the clan came readily forward, and in a few weeks a body of eight hundred Highlanders, of whom seven hundred had the word *Mac* prefixed to their names, was assembled.

In March seventeen hundred and ninety-five the regiment was em-



bodied by Sir Hector Munro at Fort George, whence it immediately proceeded to Ireland, where it soon acquired the confidence of Generals Lake and Nugent. The former was particularly attached to the Reay Fencibles, and, after the defeat of Castlebar, he frequently exclaimed, "If I had had my brave and honest Reays there, this would not have happened." The only opportunity they had of proving their firmness in the unhappy service in which they were engaged was at Tara-Hill, on the twenty-sixth of May seventeen hundred and ninety-eight, where, in conjunction with two troops of Lord Fingal's and the Tower Hill yeomanry, three companies of the Reays, under Captain Hector Maclean, an experienced officer, who had served thirty years in the 42d, attacked a large body of rebels, and drove them from their strong and elevated position, with a loss of about four hundred killed and wounded. In this affair the Reays had twenty-six men killed and wounded.

The regiment, whose conduct was most exemplary, returned to Scotland in eighteen hundred and two, and was disbanded at Stirling the same year. In dismissing the regiment Major-general Baillie took the "opportunity of expressing his highest approbation of the uniform good conduct of the regiment since it was embodied," reflecting "with pride and satisfaction on the many opportunities that occurred to evince the loyalty, good discipline, distinguished gallantry, and persevering attention of all ranks, to the good of the service."\*

#### 14. THE INVERNESS-SHIRE FENCIBLES—1794.

On the twenty-first of November letters of service were issued to Major Baillie of Duncan to raise a Fencible corps of six hundred men whose service should extend to the whole of Great Britain and Ireland. Major Gordon Cumming of Pitlurg was appointed to the permanent post of lieutenant-colonel by Colonel Baillie, who had that privilege conferred on him.

The regiment was completed in October seventeen hundred and ninety-five, and was embodied at Inverness under the name of the Loyal Inverness Fencible Highlanders, though there were only about three hundred and fifty Highlanders in the corps. The uniform was the full Highland garb, and it was observed that some young Welshmen, (about forty,) who had joined the ranks, were more partial to the plaid than the Lowlanders of Aberdeen and Perth.

The regiment was immediately ordered to Ireland, and with such haste that the men were despatched without clothing or arms, of which, however, they received a supply at Glasgow on their route. The regiment was actively employed during the rebellion, and conducted themselves in that unfortunate service with as much forbearance as circumstances would admit of. Colonel Baillie died in seventeen hundred and

\* General Order.



ninety-seven, and was succeeded by Lieutenant-colonel Cumming Gordon.

In compliment to the good behaviour of the corps its designation was changed, after the suppression of the rebellion, to the "Duke of York's Royal Inverness-shire Highlanders." The establishment of the regiment was increased, and in eighteen hundred and one the whole corps offered to extend its service to any part of the world. In March eighteen hundred and two the regiment was disbanded at Stirling.

#### 15. THE FRASER FENCIBLES—1794

In consequence of the advanced age of the then chief of the Clan Fraser, (youngest son of the last Lord Lovat, and brother of the late General Fraser,) James Fraser of Belladrum, who had served under his chief in Canada during the Seven Years' War, was appointed to raise this regiment. It was completed in the spring of seventeen hundred and ninety-five, and was inspected and embodied at Inverness on the fourteenth of June same year. Three hundred of the men bore the name of Fraser, chiefly from the Aird and Stratherrick. With the exception of thirty Scottish Lowlanders, and eighteen English and Irish, who had formerly served in the army, the rest of the corps were from the countries in the neighbourhood of these districts.

The regiment was ordered to Ireland, where it arrived on the first of August. In November seventeen hundred and ninety-seven, Simon Fraser, the younger of Lovat, was appointed colonel, in consequence of the resignation of Belladrum. The Fraser Fencibles were present in the unfortunate affair at Castlebar, and had the other corps behaved like them on that occasion the result would have been different. They were the last to retreat. A Highland Fraser sentinel was desired by his friends "to retreat with them, but he heroically refused to quit his post, which was elevated, with some little steps leading to it. He loaded and fired five times successively, and killed a Frenchman at every shot; but before he could charge a sixth time, they rushed on him."\*

During this trying service the Fraser Fencibles conducted themselves with great propriety. "The general character of the corps," says Major Fraser of Newton, an able and intelligent officer, "was excellent; they had a high degree of the *esprit de corps*; were obedient, active, and trusty; gaining the entire confidence of the generals commanding, by whom they were always stationed in the most distracted districts, previous to and during the rebellion. Many attempts were made to corrupt them, but in vain; no man proved unfaithful. The men were not in general large, but active, well-made, and remarkable for steady marching, never leaving any stragglers, even on the quickest and longest march."

\* Musgrave's History of the Rebellion in Ireland.

This regiment was reduced at Glasgow in July, in the year eighteen hundred and two.

#### 16. THE GLENGARRY FENCIBLES—1794.

Singular as the circumstance may appear, the idea of raising this corps originated with the Rev. Alexander Macdonell, a Catholic priest, now bishop of Kingston in Upper Canada. As the details connected with its formation are curious and interesting, they may not be out of place in a work of this nature.\*

The trade between the river Clyde and the North American colonies, particularly in tobacco, having been greatly injured by the peace which secured the independence of these colonies, the merchants of Glasgow and Greenock turned their attention to the importation and manufacture of cotton, and so rapid was the growth in this branch of industry, that, in seventeen hundred and ninety-two, about eighty thousand persons were employed in it, in the counties of Lanark, Renfrew, and Dumbarton. The great demand for labour increased the number of hands, and the price of provisions of all kinds, particularly of meat; and the Highlanders, finding a ready market and high prices for that kind of produce, considered that it would be more advantageous to turn their bleak and barren mountains into sheep-walks than to allow them to be occupied by a number of small tenants, who could scarcely procure from the soil subsistence for themselves, were they even to pay no rent to the landlord.

The feudal system, which, in the Highlands of Scotland, was based upon the mutual interest of the chieftain and the vassal, being now dissolved, the Highland chief saw no reason why he should any longer sacrifice his interest to the pride of reckoning a numerous clan. He, therefore, determined to rid himself of his poor tenantry, and to substitute, in their place, substantial and industrious farmers and shepherds, from the southern parts of Scotland. Hence it was not uncommon to see from one to two hundred families turned adrift, and the farms which they had occupied converted into one sheep-walk, for the accommodation of a south country shepherd; or, as it was termed in that country, a hundred and fifty or two hundred smokes went through one chimney. The poor people, thus dispossessed of their small farms, and compelled to dispose of their stock for little or nothing, because there was no one to purchase it but those who supplanted them, and who thought it fair to take every advantage they could of them, found themselves in the most helpless and distressed situation. They had never travelled beyond the limits of their native valleys and mountains; they neither understood nor spoke any other language but their mother tongue; and they were perfect strangers to the ways and manners of the world. The few who

\* These are taken from a series of papers, written by the bishop himself, and entitled, "A Page from the History of the Glengarry Highlanders," which appeared three or four years ago in the *Canadian Literary Magazine*.

could muster means to pay their passage to America, whither many of them were desirous to emigrate, were afraid to enter on the sea, covered as it then was with privateers; besides which, the British cruisers and ships of war had positive orders from the admiralty to prevent the departure of emigrants from the Highlands of Scotland, and to press such able-bodied men as they found on board emigrant ships. These orders were, on some occasions, carried into execution; but it frequently happened that the officers who boarded the ships and beheld the pitiable state of the emigrants could not prevail upon themselves to tear the father and husband from the wife and children; for had they done so, they would have been the instruments of the most ruinous and fatal consequences to the Highlanders.

It was in this conjuncture that Dr Macdonald, then a missionary on the borders of the counties of Inverness and Perth, in the highest inhabited parts of the Highlands of Scotland, affected by the distressed state of his countrymen, and hearing that an emigrant vessel which had sailed from the island of Harris had been wrecked and had put into Greenock, where she landed her passengers in the most helpless and destitute situation, repaired in the spring of the year seventeen hundred and ninety-two to Glasgow. Having procured an introduction to several of the professors of the university and the principal manufacturers of that city, he proposed to the latter that the Highlanders who had been turned out of their farms, and those lately escaped from shipwreck, should enter into their works, provided they (the manufacturers) would give them encouragement. This they readily promised to do upon very liberal terms. There were two serious obstacles, however, to the usefulness of the Highlanders; the one, that they did not understand the English language; and the other, that a large portion of them were Roman Catholics, against whom the prejudices of the inferior classes in that city were still so strong, that no Catholic clergymen could with safety reside there. The manufacturers represented to Mr Macdonald, that, although perfectly willing themselves to afford to Catholics all the countenance and protection in their power, yet, as the penal laws still remained in full force against them, they could not be answerable for the consequences, in the event of evil-designed persons assailing or annoying them; and they further stated that the danger was still greater to a Catholic clergyman, who was liable not only to the insult and abuse of the rabble but subject to an arraignment before a court of justice. The priest replied, that although the letter of the law militated against Catholics, the spirit of it was greatly mitigated; and if they would but assure the Highlanders of their protection, he himself would take his chance of the severity of the law and the fanaticism of the people, and accompany the Highlanders to the manufactories, in order to serve them in the double capacity of interpreter and clergyman. The manufacturers accepted this proposal, and Mr Macdonald took up his residence in Glasgow in June seventeen hundred and ninety-two, and in the course of a

few months obtained employment for upwards of six hundred Highlanders.

For two years the manufactures continued to increase and prosper, but in the year seventeen hundred and ninety-four trade received a sudden check, and the war with France almost put an end to the exportation of British manufactures to the Continent. The credit of the manufacturers was checked; their works were almost at a stand, and frequent bankruptcies ensued. The labouring classes were thrown out of employment, and amongst others the poor Highlanders. Unaccustomed to hard labour, and totally ignorant of the English language, the latter became more helpless and destitute than any other class of the community.

At this crisis Mr Macdonald conceived the plan of getting these unfortunate Highlanders embodied as a Catholic corps in the service of the government, with the then young chief Macdonell of Glengarry. Having assembled a meeting of the Catholics at Fort Augustus in February, seventeen hundred and ninety-four, a loyal address was drawn up to the king, offering to raise a Catholic corps under the command of the young chieftain, who, together with John Fletcher, Esq. of Dunans, proceeded as a deputation to London with the address, which was most graciously received by the king. The manufacturers of Glasgow furnished them with the most ample and favourable testimonials of the good conduct of the Highlanders during the time they had been in their works, and strongly recommended that they should be employed in the service of their country.

Letters of service were accordingly issued in August, seventeen hundred and ninety-four, to Alexander Macdonell of Glengarry, to raise the Glengarry Fencible regiment as a Catholic corps, and of which he was appointed the colonel. Though contrary to the then existing law, Mr (now the Right Rev. Dr) Macdonald was gazetted as chaplain to the regiment. The Glengarry Fencibles were a handsome body of men, and more than one-half were from the estate of Glengarry. Some of the Fencible regiments having refused to extend their services to England, and two of them (Breadalbane and Grant) having mutinied, in consequence of the attempt to induce them to march into England; the Glengarry Fencibles, by the persuasion of their chaplain, offered to extend their services to any part of Great Britain or Ireland, or even to the islands of Jersey and Guernsey. This offer was very acceptable to the government, as it formed a precedent to all Fencible corps raised after this period. The regiment was embodied in June, seventeen hundred and ninety-five, and was soon afterwards removed to Guernsey, where it remained till the summer of seventeen hundred and ninety-eight, when it was removed to Ireland. On landing at Balleback, they marched to Waterford, and thence to New Ross the same day. At Waterford an amusing incident occurred, which afforded no small surprise to some, and no slight ridicule to others, whilst, at the same time,

it showed the simplicity of the Highlanders, and their ignorance of the ways of the world. The soldiers who received billet-money on their entrance into the town, returned it upon their being ordered to march the same evening to New Ross, for the purpose of reinforcing General Johnson, who was surrounded, and in a manner besieged by the rebels.

The Glengarry Fencibles were actively employed in this service, and so well pleased was Lord Cornwallis, the lord-lieutenant of Ireland, with the conduct of the corps, that he advised the government to augment the regiment; but this augmentation did not take place. The regiment returned to Scotland in eighteen hundred and two, and was reduced along with the other Fencible corps.

After their discharge, the Glengarry Highlanders were as destitute as ever. Their chaplain, struck with their forlorn condition, proceeded to London, and entered into a negotiation with the government, in the hope of procuring assistance to enable them to emigrate to Upper Canada. The ministry were opposed to the plan, but offered to settle the Highlanders in the island of Trinidad, then just ceded to the crown of Great Britain; Mr Macdonald, however, persevered in his design, and Mr Addington, the premier, procured for him an order with the sign-manual to the lieutenant-governor of Upper Canada, to grant two hundred acres of land to every one of the Highlanders who should arrive in the province.

As soon as it was known that this order had been given by the colonial secretary, the Highland landlords took the alarm, as they considered that it would have the effect of enticing from the country their vassals and dependents. Sir John Macpherson, Sir Archibald Macdonald, lord-chief baron of the exchequer in England, the late Mr Charles Grant, one of the directors of the East India company, and M. P. for Inverness-shire, with the other gentlemen connected with the Highlands, and even the earl of Moira, then commander-in-chief in North Britain, endeavoured to dissuade the chaplain from his purpose, and promised to procure a pension for him if he would separate himself from the Highlanders; but neither their persuasions, nor those of the Prince of Wales, who was induced to interfere, and who offered a grant of waste lands to the intending emigrants in the county of Cornwall, could induce the chaplain to forego his resolution.

The greater part of the Glengarry Fencibles accordingly emigrated with their wives and families to Upper Canada, and settled in a district to which they gave the name of their native glen; and to follow out the parallel, every head of a family named his plantation after the name of the farm he had possessed in Glengarry. During the last war with America they gave a proof that their allegiance to their sovereign was not impaired in their adopted country, by enrolling themselves along with other emigrants and the sons of emigrants, in a corps for the defence of the province, under their old designation of Glengarry Fencibles.



## 17 THE CAITHNESS LEGION—1794.

This corps was raised by Sir Benjamin Dunbar of Hempriggs. When embodied, it was removed to Ireland, returned from that country in eighteen hundred and two, and was reduced the same year.

## 18. THE PERTHSHIRE FENCIBLES—1794.

This corps was raised by William Robertson of Lude, who was appointed its colonel. Though designated the Perthshire Fencibles, it contained but very few Highlanders.

## 19. ARGYLE FENCIBLES OF 1794—THIRD BATTALION.

This corps was raised by Colonel Henry M. Clavering, to whom the command was given. The regiment was removed to Ireland where it was stationed till its return to Scotland in eighteen hundred and two, when it was reduced.

## 20. LOCHABER FENCIBLES—1799.

The influence which the family of Lochiel possessed in the Highlands was not extinguished by the expatriation of the chief of the clan Cameron from his native country, as was fully evinced when Donald Cameron of Lochiel, who had been born and educated in France, fixed his abode in the land of his gallant ancestors. In consequence of the strong attachment which his clan still retained for the family, he was appointed colonel of a Fencible corps to be raised in Scotland, with the designation of the Lochaber Fencible Highlanders.

The clan, and indeed all Lochaber, immediately responded to the call of the chief, and in a very short time upwards of five hundred and sixty Highlanders were enrolled. The number of recruits was increased to eight hundred by the exertions of officers in other parts of the country, and the whole were assembled at Falkirk in May, seventeen hundred and ninety-nine. As some of the Highlanders afterwards volunteered into regiments of the line, others were raised to supply the vacancies thus occasioned, so that the total number of Highlanders who entered the Lochaber Fencibles, was seventeen hundred and forty.

In the year eighteen hundred the regiment was removed to Ireland; but its military duty was short. It returned to Scotland in eighteen hundred and two, and was reduced at Linlithgow in the month of July of that year.

## 21. THE CLAN-ALPINE FENCIBLES—1799

In December, Colonel Alexander Macgregor Murray received instruc-



tions to raise a regiment of Highland Fencibles, of which he was appointed the colonel. He accordingly raised a body of seven hundred and sixty-five men, whose service was to extend to any part of Europe. In May, seventeen hundred and ninety-nine, the men were assembled at Stirling, and inspected by Lieutenant-general Sir Ralph Abercromby. In consequence of an arrangement similar to that made with other Fencible corps of this description, by which one of the field-officers was to have permanent and progressive army rank, Captain Alexander Macgregor Murray of the 90th regiment, son of Colonel Macgregor Murray, was appointed major. In the event of any of the men entering the regular army, their services in the Clan-Alpine regiment were to be reckoned as if they had served from the first in the line.

In the year eighteen hundred, after the regiment had been removed to Ireland, orders were issued to augment it to ten hundred and fifty men. This increase was effected, notwithstanding the great and recent drains from the population, particularly of the Highlands. Shortly after this augmentation, two detachments entered the regular army, and it therefore became necessary to recruit again. Of twelve hundred and thirty men who entered the regiment from first to last, about seven hundred and eighty were Highlanders, thirty English and Irish, and the remainder Scottish Lowlanders.

The regiment returned from Ireland in eighteen hundred and two, and was disbanded on the twenty-fourth of July at Stirling.

## 22. THE ROSS-SHIRE FENCIBLES—1796.

This corps was raised by Major Colin Mackenzie of Mountgerald, who was appointed colonel. The regiment was small in point of numbers, and when reduced, was as strong and efficient as when embodied, not one man having died during its service.

## 23. REGIMENT OF THE ISLES, OR MACDONALD FENCIBLES—1799.

This corps was raised by the late Lord Macdonald on his estates in the isles, having, on his own application, obtained permission from George III. for that purpose. It was embodied at Inverness on the fourth of June, seventeen hundred and ninety-nine, by Major-general Leith Hay. This was an excellent body of young men, their average age being twenty-two years, "a period of life the best calculated to enter upon military service; not too young to suffer from, or incapable of supporting the hardships and fatigues peculiar to the profession; nor too old to admit of the mental and personal habits of the soldier being moulded to the moral and military restraints which the profession renders necessary."\*

The regiment was removed to England, where it was employed to put

\* Stewart.

down a combination amongst the seamen of Whitehaven, to raise their wages, by preventing the vessels from leaving the harbour. No force, however, was necessary, as the sailors had a salutary dread of the Highlanders; and the officers, by kind remonstrances, prevailed on the refractory seamen to yield the point, and to return to their ships. In eighteen hundred and two the regiment was marched to Fort George, and reduced.

#### 24. ARGYLE FENCIBLES, 1799—THIRD BATTALION.

This corps was raised by Archibald Macneil of Colonsay, who was appointed colonel of the regiment. The name of Argyle, like that of the Perthshire Highlanders, was rather a misnomer, as very few Argyleshire men entered the corps. The service of this regiment extending to any part of Europe, it was sent to Gibraltar in the year eighteen hundred, where it remained in garrison till the peace of Amiens, when it was ordered home, and reduced.

#### 25. THE ROSS AND CROMARTY RANGERS—1799.

This corps, which was embodied in June, seventeen hundred and ninety-nine, was commanded by Colonel Lewis Mackenzie, younger of Seatwell. Though the terms of its service were to extend to Europe, it remained in Scotland. It was reduced at the peace.

#### 26. THE MACLEOD FENCIBLES—1799.

This was the last Fencible regiment raised in the Highlands. It was inspected and embodied at Elgin by Major-general Leith Hay, in the month of June, under the designation of the Princess Charlotte of Wales's, or Macleod Highlanders. The command of the corps was given to John Macleod of Colbecks. The regiment was immediately sent to Ireland, where it remained till eighteen hundred and two, when, having embarked for England, it was reduced at Tynemouth barracks in the month of June.

HISTORY  
OF  
THE HIGHLAND CLANS.



# HISTORY

OF

## THE HIGHLAND CLANS.

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### CHAPTER I.

Extensive diffusion of the Celtic race—Fortunes of this race—Early history of nations—Inferences to be drawn from the remains of language—Peculiar customs and institutions of the Celtic race, anterior to their expulsion from the plains, little known—Nature of the inquiry to be pursued—Patriarchal system of government—Division of the people into tribes or clans—Probable origin of this division—Physical conformation of the country—The patriarchal different from the feudal and other systems—Its peculiarities—The *jus sanguinis*—The great principle of the patriarchal system community of origin, or supposed identity of family and blood—Contrasted with feudalism—Resemblance and contrariety—The feudal system, in as far as regarded tenures and jurisdictions, easily introduced—Peculiarities of clanship remained entire and unaffected—Description of these—General remarks—Consequences resulting from the division of the people into tribes or clans—Bonds of amity, or *manrent*—State of the Highlands under this system—Spirit of lawless revenge—Customs which nursed it—Law of succession.—Tanistry—Gavel—Law of marriage—Custom of *hand-fasting*—Gradation of ranks—Resemblance in the classification of society to that which prevailed in Ireland and Wales—Native men and *cumerlach*—Gradation of ranks in the clan or tribe—The *righ*, *maormor*, *tanist*, *ceantighes*, *toisich*, &c.—The *captain*, or leader of a clan, distinguished from a chief—Mode in which the authority of the chiefs was exercised—Practical limitations of their authority—Independence, and incorruptible fidelity of the people.

THE extensive diffusion of the Celtic race, at a period long anterior to the commencement of modern annals, is a fact attested by many circumstances, and by none more clearly than by the traces of their languages still discoverable in the multitudes of topical names which have survived the fortunes of those who originally imposed them, and passed into the nomenclature of the different nations by whom they were displaced. Of the origin and progress of this race, of their early migrations and the countries which they gradually overspread or occupied, as well as of their subsequent reverses, when, yielding to the pressure of new invasions, they were driven from the open country, and forced to seek refuge amongst the inaccessible fastnesses of the mountains, we have already treated, as fully as the importance of the question seemed to require, in various parts of this history, to which accordingly the reader is referred. There are few questions, indeed, where it is so easy to indulge in unlimited speculation, yet so difficult to arrive at any probable or satisfactory result, as that which relates to the early history of nations, the vicissitudes to which they have been exposed by invasion

and conquest, the effects of climate and the influence of time in softening or obliterating original distinctions, and the gradual amalgamation of different tribes into one general mass consequent on alliances or combinations arising out of common danger or common necessity. The causes by which great changes have ultimately been effected are either altogether unknown to us, from the want of contemporary records, and are, therefore, purely conjectural; or they are so numerous, and at the same time so imperceptible in their operation at any given period, though distinguishable enough after the lapse of long intervals of time, that any attempt to deduce certain conclusions from such doubtful and inappreciable premises must be abandoned as equally hopeless and irrational. The remains of language alone, of that which seems the most perishable, but which is in reality the most lasting of all human attributes or distinctions, afford a criterion by which we can estimate with reasonable probability the past predominance of certain races of men, their affiliation or connexion with other tribes or nations, and the order in which different races have succeeded each other in the same country or division of the earth. Such vestiges constitute all that antiquity has left us, all that time in its destroying course has spared; they form, as it were, the fossil remains of an extinct order of things, and though they in fact tell us but little of that which once was, they tell us all, or nearly all, we are ever likely to learn respecting those nations which have transmitted to us no other epitaph.

Of the peculiar customs and institutions which prevailed amongst the nations of Celtic origin anterior to the period when they were forced to give way before the irresistible current of that invasion which swept them from the plains, and forced them to seek refuge amongst the natural defences of the mountains, there to maintain a wild and precarious independence, we can form no opinion except by reasoning from analogy, and by assuming, that, amidst all their vicissitudes of fortune, they would still retain, in a considerable degree at least, the character and habits which had distinguished them, whilst they preserved an undisputed ascendancy. But it must nevertheless be observed, that the earliest information we possess respecting this singular race dates from a period long subsequent to that which is here referred to, when they had been expelled from the open country to make way for other and more powerful occupants; that they were a people of broken fortunes, overcome, but not subjugated, ages before any authentic information was obtained regarding their condition, or the peculiar state of society which prevailed amongst them; that their institutions, when first observed, were of a kind which appeared to have originated partly under the influence of local position and circumstances, and partly to have descended to them from the days of their palmy superiority; and that, consequently, in conducting our inquiries respecting this people we must abandon the region of conjectural speculation and shadowy tradition, and start from the point where history, emerging from the mists of fable and romance, begins to emit those feeble



but precious lights, which, when concentrated by a judicious and enlightened criticism, may enable us to penetrate even beyond the era at which they were evolved. It is in this mode alone that truth can be divined, and distinguished from fanciful exaggeration; or that the history of any people can be rendered an instructive practical exposition of those great principles in the philosophy of man, which are more or less applicable, however great may be the diversity of circumstances under which he is placed.

The striking yet obvious peculiarity, by which the form of society and government amongst the tribes of Celtic origin was distinguished from that of all other European nations, consisted in the existence amongst these tribes of a kind of patriarchal system of government, fortified and consolidated by a conventional reciprocity of paternal protection and filial devotion. In fact, the division of the people into separate tribes or clans, under separate chiefs whose influence remained undiminished until after the abolition of the heritable jurisdictions in 1748, may be regarded as the most remarkable circumstance in their political condition; inasmuch as it maintained itself in coexistence with a more advanced state of society, resisted the operation of causes which in other countries had long before obliterated the last remains of such a primitive form of government, and was only suppressed, without being altogether destroyed, by the defensive energy of a new dynasty, whose existence it had seriously endangered. Nor was this division, in its origin and development, the result of accident, or the consequence of any marked peculiarity of the Celtic character. On the contrary, the nature of the country which they had occupied, and the motives which had induced the Celts to make it their refuge, almost necessarily prescribed the form of their institutions. Unable to contend with the overwhelming numbers who had driven them from the plains, yet anxious to maintain their independence and prevent intermixture with strangers, they defended themselves in those great natural strongholds, which in every country are the sanctuaries of national liberty, and the refuge of those who resist the oppression or refuse to submit to the domination of more powerful neighbours. In the absence of their monarchs, whose authority was unfelt, secure within their rugged barrier of rocks, and strengthened by the natural barrenness of their mountains, they scarcely acknowledged a distant government, which could neither enforce obedience nor afford protection. The division of the country into so many straths, and valleys, and islands, separated from one another by mountains or arms of the sea, thus necessarily gave rise to various distinct societies; and individuals of superior property, courage, or ability, under whose banners they had fought, or upon whose lands they had settled, naturally became their chiefs, that is, at once their lawgivers, their judges, and their military leaders. Their secluded situation necessarily rendered general intercourse difficult, whilst the impenetrable ramparts with which they were surrounded made defence easy. The whole race was thus broken into many individual masses, possess-

ing a community of customs and character, but placed under different jurisdictions; every district became a sort of petty independent state; and the government of each community or clan assumed the patriarchal form, being a species of hereditary monarchy, founded on custom, and allowed by general consent, rather than regulated by positive laws.

But this system, although it exhibited features apparently identical with those by which the feudal and other forms of society were characterized, was based upon different principles, and knit together by stronger ties. In its origin, it was no doubt modified by the physical and other circumstances to which we have alluded; but in its development it was cemented by the notion of consanguinity, which made each clan regard itself and be considered by others as a separate and distinct family, the head of which was the chief. Community of feeling, position, and interest, was strengthened by a supposed community of blood; and hence the *jus sanguinis* gave to the Celtic chief a preeminent authority which never belonged to the feudal baron. In fact, the feudal system, which had spread itself so extensively over all the east and south of Europe, never penetrated into the inaccessible fastnesses, where the remains of the Celts had taken shelter. In Wales, in Ireland, and in the Highlands of Scotland, the patriarchal government was universal; whilst, opposed to, not identical with, this form, was the feudal system of the Saxon invaders, who established it as far as their power extended, and no farther. Hence, it was long the policy of the Scottish legislature to oppose the feudal power of the barons, and to support that which was exercised by the chiefs, *jure sanguinis*, over the obedience and service of their clans; the one was conceived to militate against and present an obstacle to the explication and assertion of the royal authority; the other, being considered as indefeasible and imprescriptible, a power which admitted neither of increase nor diminution, was sought as an ally against usurpations, which were restrained by no ties and confined within no limits, such as those which at once regulated and abridged the authority of a chief.

In this manner, the Duke of Gordon, though feudal superior of the lands and estates held by the Camerons, Macphersons, Macdonells of Keppoch, and others, had no command whatever over these clans; they acknowledged a different authority, and always followed the orders of their patriarchal chiefs. Thus although most of those nations by which Europe was originally peopled, were divided into a number of tribes, acknowledging each the rule of an hereditary chief, and consequently exhibiting a constitution apparently similar to that which has been denominated patriarchal, yet the latter was, in its real nature, altogether different. Whilst the Gothic and other tribes who had obtained a footing in Europe were associated for the purposes of mutual protection or convenience, it was community of origin, or supposed identity of family and of blood, which formed the bond that united the Celtic tribe with its chief. The latter was the hereditary lord of all who were supposed to be descended of the same stock with himself; the Gothic baron was merely the heredi-

tary proprietor of a certain tract of land, and, as such only, entitled to service and obedience of those who dwelt on it.\*

This distinguishing property of the patriarchal system, wherever it prevailed, was peculiarly remarkable in the case of the Highlanders of Scotland. That system, in some of its features, exhibited a close resemblance to feudalism, yet in others, the distinction was too strongly marked to be for a moment mistaken. If the former alone were considered, it might be supposed that the feudal system had always existed amongst the Highlanders; but this would be a narrow, partial, and incorrect view of the subject, inasmuch as, even where the similarity appears to be most striking, a distinctive specific difference may easily be traced. The system of clanship, for instance, has often been mistaken for a modification of the feudal jurisdiction, to which it no doubt bore a considerable external resemblance; yet, in the laws of succession and of marriage, as well as in the fundamental principle of community of origin, which formed no element whatever of the feudal constitution, these systems were almost diametrically opposed to each other, and hence could scarcely have sprung from a common source. At the same time, by reason of the similarity already mentioned, the feudal law was without difficulty introduced into the Highlands in as far as regarded the tenure of lands; but, in other respects, the struggle between the two systems proved long and doubtful, nor was it until a very recent period that the feudal law of succession and marriage came into full operation in the Highlands, and displaced that which had previously obtained, thus laying a foundation for those disputes which have since arisen amongst many of the Highland families respecting chieftainship and succession.

The system of clanship in the Highlands, although possessing an apparent resemblance to feudalism, was in principle very different indeed from that system as it existed in other parts of the country. In the former case, the people followed their chief as the head of their race, and the representative of the common ancestor of the clan; in the latter, they obeyed their leader as feudal proprietor of the lands to which they were attached, and to whom they owed military service for their respective portions of these lands. The Highland chief was the hereditary lord of all who belonged to his clan, wherever they dwelt or whatever lands they occupied; the feudal baron was entitled to the military service of all who held lands under him, to whatever race they might individually belong. The one dignity was personal, the other was territorial; the rights of the chief were inherent, those of the baron were accessory; the one might lose or forfeit his possessions, but could not thereby be divested of his hereditary character and privileges; the other, when divested of his fee, ceased to have any title or claim to the service of those who occupied the lands. Yet these two systems, so different in principle, were in effect nearly identical. Both exhibited the spectacle

\* Skene's *Highlanders of Scotland*, vol. i. p. 153. et seq.

of a subject possessed of unlimited power within his own territories, and exacting unqualified obedience from a numerous train of followers, to whom he stood in the several relations of landlord, military leader, and judge, with all the powers and prerogatives belonging to each of those characters. Both were equally calculated to aggrandise turbulent chiefs and nobles, at the expense of the royal authority, which they frequently defied, generally resisted, and but seldom obeyed; although for the most part, the chief was less disloyal than the baron, probably because he was farther removed from the seat of government, and less sensible of its interference with his own jurisdiction. The one system was adapted to a people in a pastoral state of society, and inhabiting a country, like the Highlands of Scotland, which, from its peculiar nature and conformation, not only prevented the adoption of any other mode of life, but at the same time, prescribed the division of the people into separate families or clans. The other system, being of a defensive character, was necessary to a population occupying a fertile but open country, possessing only a rude notion of agriculture, and exposed on all sides to aggressions on the part of neighbours or enemies. But the common tendency of both was to obstruct the administration of justice, nurse habits of lawless violence, exclude the cultivation of the arts of peace, and generally, to impede the progress of improvement; and hence neither was compatible with the prosperity of a civilised nation, where the liberty of the subject required protection, and the security of property demanded an equal administration of justice.

As far as the tenure of lands and the heritable jurisdictions were concerned, the feudal system was easily introduced into the Highlands; but although the principal chiefs readily agreed, or were induced by circumstances, to hold their lands of the crown or of low country barons, yet the system of clanship remained in full force amongst the native Highlanders until a very recent period; and its spirit still survives in the affections, the prejudices, the opinions, and the habits of the people. The peculiarities of clanship are nowhere better described than in a book written about the year 1730, entitled, "*Letters from an Officer of Engineers to his Friend in London*;" a work which is the more valuable as it contains the observations of an intelligent and unprejudiced stranger, who had ample opportunities of studying the people of the North, and who has recorded his remarks with equal truth, candour, and fidelity.

"The Highlanders are divided into tribes or clans, under chiefs or chieftains, and each clan is again divided into branches from the main stock, who have chieftains over them. These are subdivided into smaller branches of fifty or sixty men, who deduce their original from their particular chieftains, and rely upon them as their more immediate protectors and defenders. The ordinary Highlanders esteem it the most sublime degree of virtue to love their chief and pay him a blind obedience, although it be in opposition to the government. Next to this love of their chief is that of the particular branch whence they

sprang; and, in a third degree, to those of the whole clan or name, whom they will assist, right or wrong, against those of any other tribe with which they are at variance. They likewise owe good-will to such clans as they esteem to be their particular well-wishers. And, lastly, they have an adherence to one another as Highlanders in opposition to the people of the low country, whom they despise as inferior to them in courage, and believe they have a right to plunder them whenever it is in their power. This last arises from a tradition that the Lowlands, in old times, were the possessions of their ancestors.

“The chief exercises an arbitrary authority over his vassals, determines all differences and disputes that happen among them, and levies taxes upon extraordinary occasions, such as the marriage of a daughter, building a house, or some pretence for his support or the honour of his name; and if any one should refuse to contribute to the best of his ability, he is sure of severe treatment, and, if he persists in his obstinacy, he would be cast out of his tribe by general consent. This power of the chief is not supported by interest, as they are landlords, but by consanguinity, as lineally descended from the old patriarchs or fathers of the families, for they hold the same authority when they have lost their estates, as may appear from several instances, and particularly that of one (Lord Lovat) who commands his clan, though at the same time they maintain him, having nothing left of his own. On the other hand, the chief, even against the laws, is bound to protect his followers, as they are sometimes called, be they never so criminal. He is their leader in clan quarrels, must free the necessitous from their arrears of rent, and maintain such who by accidents are fallen to total decay. Some of the chiefs have not only personal dislikes and enmity to each other, but there are also hereditary feuds between clan and clan which have been handed down from one generation to another for several ages. These quarrels descend to the meanest vassals, and thus sometimes an innocent person suffers for crimes committed by his tribe at a vast distance of time before his being began.”

This clear and concise description will serve to convey an idea of clanship as it existed in the Highlands, about the beginning of the eighteenth century, when the system was in full force and vigour. It presented a singular mixture of patriarchal and feudal government; and every thing connected with the habits, manners, customs, and feelings of the people tended to maintain it unimpaired, amidst all the changes which were gradually taking place in other parts of the country, from the diffusion of knowledge, and the progress of improvement. There was, indeed, something almost oriental in the character of immutability which seemed to belong to this primitive institution, endeared as it was to the affections, and singularly adapted to the condition of the people amongst whom it prevailed. Under its influence all their habits had been formed; with it all their feelings and associations were indissolubly blended. When the kindred and the followers of a chief saw him surrounded by a



body of adherents, numerous, faithful, and brave, devoted to his interests, and ready at all times to sacrifice their lives in his service, they could conceive no power superior to his; and, when they looked back into the past history of their tribe, they found that his progenitors had, from time immemorial, been at their head. Their tales, their traditions, their songs, constantly referred to the exploits or the transactions of the same tribe or fraternity living under the same line of chiefs; and the transmission of command and obedience, of protection and attachment, from one generation to another, became in consequence as natural, in the eye of a Highlander, as the transmission of blood or the regular laws of descent. This order of things appeared to him as fixed and as inviolable as the constitution of nature or the revolutions of the seasons. Hence nothing could shake his fidelity to his chief, or induce him to compromise what he believed to be for the honour and interests of his clan. He was not without his feelings of independence, and he would not have brooked oppression where he looked for kindness and protection. But the long unbroken line of chiefs is of itself a strong presumptive proof of the general mildness of their sway. They governed in the right of affection and gratitude, as well as in that of patriarchal supremacy, and hence the loyalty and devotion of their followers were proof against all the common accidents and vicissitudes of fortune. The individuals might change, but the ties which bound one generation were drawn more closely, although by insensible degrees, around the succeeding one; and thus each family, in all its various successions, retained something like the same sort of relation to the parent stem, which the renewed leaves of a tree in spring preserve, in point of form and position, to those which had dropped off in the preceding autumn.

Many important consequences, affecting the character of the Highlanders, resulted from this division of the people into small tribes, each governed in the patriarchal manner already described. The authority of the sovereign, if nominally recognised, was nearly altogether unfelt and inoperative. His mandates could neither arrest the mutual depredations of the clans, nor allay their hereditary hostilities. Delinquents could not be pursued into the bosom of the clan which protected them, nor could the judges administer the laws, in opposition to the will or the interests of the chiefs. Sometimes the sovereign attempted to strengthen his hands by fomenting divisions between the different clans, and entering occasionally into the interests of one, in the hope of weakening another; he threw his weight into one scale that the other might kick the beam, and he withdrew it again, that, by the violence of the reaction, both parties might be equally damaged and enfeebled. Many instances of this artful policy occur in Scottish history, which, for a long period, was little else than a record of internal disturbances. The general government, wanting the power to repress disorder, sought to destroy its elements by mutual collision; and the immediate consequence of its inefficiency was an almost perpetual system of aggression,



warfare, depredation, and contention. Besides, the little principalities into which the Highlands were divided touched at so many points, yet they were so independent of one another; they approached so nearly in many respects, yet, in some others, were so completely separated; there were so many opportunities of encroachment on the one hand, and so little disposition to submit to it on the other; and the quarrel or dispute of one individual of the tribe so naturally involved the interest, the sympathies, and the hereditary feelings or animosities of the rest, that profound peace, or perfect cordiality scarcely ever existed amongst them, and their ordinary condition was either a chronic or an active state of internal warfare. From opposing interests or wounded pride, deadly feuds frequently arose amongst the chiefs, and being warmly espoused by the clans, were often transmitted, with aggravated animosity, from one generation to another.

If it were profitable, it might be curious to trace the negotiations, treaties, and bonds of amity, or *manrent* as they were called, by which opposing clans strengthened themselves against the attacks and encroachments of their enemies or rivals, or to preserve what may be called the balance of power. Amongst the rudest communities of mankind may be discovered the elements of that science which has been applied to the government and diplomacy of the most civilized nations. By such bonds they came under an obligation to assist one another; and, in their treaties of mutual support and protection, smaller clans, unable to defend themselves, and those families or septs which had lost their chieftains, were also included. When such confederacies were formed, the smaller clans followed the fortunes, engaged in the quarrels, and fought under the chiefs of the greater. Thus the M'Raes followed the Earl of Seaforth, the M'Colls the Stewarts of Apin, and the M'Gillivrays and M'Beans the Laird of Mackintosh; but, nevertheless, their ranks were separately marshalled, and were led by their own subordinate chieftains and lairds, who owned submission only when necessary for the success of combined operations. The union had for its object aggression or revenge, and extended no further than the occasion for which it had been formed; yet it served to prevent the smaller clans from being swallowed up by the greater, and at the same time nursed the turbulent and warlike spirit which formed the common distinction of all. From these and other causes, the Highlands were for ages as constant a theatre of petty conflicts as Europe has been of great and important struggles; in the former were enacted, in miniature, scenes bearing a striking and amusing analogy to those which took place upon a grand scale in the latter. The spirit of opposition and rivalry between the clans perpetuated a system of hostility; it encouraged the cultivation of the military at the expense of the social virtues, and it perverted their ideas both of law and morality. Revenge was accounted a duty, the destruction of a neighbour a meritorious exploit, and rapine an honourable employment. Wherever danger was to be encountered, or bravery displayed, there they conceived that distinction was to be obtained; the per-

verted sentiment of honour rendered their feuds more implacable, their inroads more savage and destructive; and superstition added its influence in exasperating animosities, by teaching that to revenge the death of a kinsman or friend was an act agreeable to his manes; thus engaging on the side of the most implacable hatred and the darkest vengeance, the most amiable and domestic of all human feelings, namely, reverence for the memory of the dead, and affection for the virtues of the living.

Another custom, which once prevailed, contributed to perpetuate this spirit of lawless revenge. "Every heir or young chieftain of a tribe," says Martin, who had studied the character and manners of the Highlanders, and understood them well, "was obliged to give a specimen of his valour before he was owned and declared governor or leader of his people, who obeyed and followed him on all occasions. This chieftain was usually attended with a retinue of young men, who had not before given any proof of their valour, and were ambitious of such an opportunity to signalize themselves. It was usual for the chief to make a desperate incursion upon some neighbour or other, that they were in feud with, and they were obliged to bring, by open force, the cattle they found in the land they attacked, or to die in the attempt. After the performance of this achievement, the young chieftain was ever after reputed valiant, and worthy of government, and such as were of his retinue acquired the like reputation. This custom being reciprocally used among them, was not reputed robbery; for the damage which one tribe sustained by the inauguration of the chieftain of another, was repaired when their chieftain came in his turn to make his specimen."\* But the practice seems to have died out about half a century before the time at which Martin's work appeared, and its disuse removed one fertile source of feuds and disorders. Of the nature of the depredations in which the Highlanders commonly engaged, the sentiments with which they were regarded, the manner in which they were conducted, and the effects which they produced on the character, habits, and manners of the people, an ample and interesting account will be found in the first volume of General Stewart's valuable work on the Highlands.

It has been commonly alleged, that ideas of succession were so loose in the Highlands, that brothers were often preferred to grandsons and even to sons. But this assertion proceeds on a most erroneous assumption, inasmuch as election was never in any degree admitted, and a system of hereditary succession prevailed, which, though different from that which has been instituted by the feudal law, allowed of no such deviations or anomalies as some have imagined. The Highland law of succession, as Mr Skene observes, requires to be considered in reference, first, to the chiefship and the superiority of the lands belonging to the clan; and, secondly, in respect to the property or the land itself. The succession to the chiefship and its usual prerogatives was termed the law of *tanistry*;

\* Description of the Western Islands. London, 1703.

that to the property or the land itself, *gavel*. But when the feudal system was introduced, the law of tanistry became the law of succession to the property as well as the chiefship, whilst that of *gavel* was too directly opposed to feudal principles to be suffered to exist at all, even in a modified form. It appears, indeed, that the Highlanders adhered strictly to succession in the male line, and that the great peculiarity which distinguished their law of succession from that established by the feudal system, consisted in the circumstance that, according to it, brothers invariably succeeded before sons. In the feudal system property was alone considered, and the nearest relation to the last proprietor was naturally accounted the heir. But, in the Highland system, the governing principle of succession was not property, but the right of chiefship, derived from being the lineal descendant of the founder or patriarch of the tribe; it was the relation to the common ancestor, to whom the brother was considered as one degree nearer than the son, and through whom the right was derived, and not to the last chief, which regulated the succession. Thus, the brothers of the chief invariably succeeded before the sons, not by election, but as a matter of right, and according to a fixed rule which formed the law or principle of succession, instead of being, as some have supposed, a departure from it, occasioned by views of temporary expediency, by usurpation, or otherwise. That an anxiety to avoid minorities in a tribe or clan which required above all things a competent leader in war, may have originally recommended the establishment of such a rule, cannot reasonably be doubted; but it is nevertheless obvious, that it results as an immediate consequence from the essential difference in principle between the Highland and the feudal systems of succession. In a word, the law of tanistry, however much opposed to the feudal notions of later times, flowed naturally from the patriarchal constitution of society in the Highlands, and was peculiarly adapted to the circumstances of a people such as we have described, whose warlike habits and love of military enterprise, or armed predatory expeditions, made it necessary to have at all times a chief competent to act as their leader or commander.

But if the law of tanistry was opposed to the principles of the feudal system, that of *gavel* or the succession to property amongst the Highlanders was still more adverse. By the feudal law the eldest son, when the succession opened, not only acquired the superiority over the rest of the family, but he also succeeded to the whole of the property, whilst the younger branches were obliged to seek advancement in war, or to push their fortune by following other pursuits. But in the Highlands the case was altogether different. By the law of *gavel*, the property of the clan was divided in certain proportions amongst all the male branches of the family, to the exclusion of females, who, by this extraordinary Salic anomaly, could no more succeed to the property than to the chiefship itself. The law of *gavel* in the Highlands, therefore, differed from the English custom of *gavel-kind* in being exclusively con-

fined to the male branches of a family. In what proportions the property was divided, or whether these proportions varied according to circumstances, or the will of the chief, it is impossible to ascertain. But it would appear that the principal seat of the family, with the lands immediately surrounding it, always remained the property of the chief; and besides this, the latter retained a sort of superiority over the whole possessions of the clan, in virtue of which he received from each dependent branch a portion of the produce of the land as an acknowledgment of his chiefship, and also to enable him to support the dignity of his station by the exercise of a commensurate hospitality. Such was the law of gavel, which, though adverse to feudal principles, was adapted to the state of society amongst the Highlands, out of which indeed it originally sprang; because, where there were no other pursuits open to the younger branches of families except rearing flocks and herds during peace, and following the chief in war, and where it was the interest as well as the ambition of the latter to multiply the connexions of his family, and take every means to strengthen the power as well as to secure the obedience of his clan, the division of property, or the law of gavel, resulted as naturally from such an order of things, as that of hereditary succession to the patriarchal government and chiefship of the clan. Hence, the chief stood to the cadets of his family in a relation somewhat analogous to that in which the feudal sovereign stood to the barons who held their fiefs of the crown, and although there was no formal investiture, yet the tenure was in effect pretty nearly the same. In both cases, the principle of the system was essentially military, though it apparently led to opposite results; and, in the Highlands, the law under consideration was so peculiarly adapted to the constitution of society, that it was only abandoned after a long struggle, and even at a comparatively recent period traces of its existence and operation may be observed amongst the people of that country.\*

The law of marriage, observed in the Highlands, has frequently been as little understood as that of succession, and similar misconceptions have prevailed regarding it. This was, perhaps, to be expected. In a

\* Skene's *Highlanders of Scotland*, vol. ii. chap. 7. "The most remarkable instance of this system," says Mr Skene, in the valuable and ingenious work here referred to, "appears in the history of the Macdonalds. Sommerled divided his immense possessions among his three sons. Another division took place by Reginald, his eldest son, among his three sons. And again, in the fourteenth century, by John, Lord of the Isles, who had obtained nearly the whole of the territories which had belonged to his ancestor Sommerled, among his seven sons; and finally, as late as the fifteenth century, we find the possessions of his eldest son, Reginald, the founder of the clan Ranald, divided among his five sons. One effect produced by this system was, that the branch of the family which had been longest separated from the main stem, in technical language the eldest cadet, became the most powerful family of the clan next to the chief, and in many cases much more powerful than the family of the chief itself, in direct opposition to the results produced when the feudal system prevailed, in which case the youngest cadet, or the family nearest to the main stem, was of most consideration." (See vol. ii. c. 7. pp. 164, 165.)

country where a bastard son was often found in undisturbed possession of the chiefship or property of a clan, and where such bastard generally received the support of the clansmen against the claims of the feudal heir, it was natural to suppose that very loose notions of succession were entertained by the people; that legitimacy conferred no exclusive rights; and that the title founded on birth alone might be set aside in favour of one having no other claim than that of election. But this, although a plausible, would nevertheless be an erroneous supposition. The person here considered as a bastard, and described as such, was by no means viewed in the same light by the Highlanders, because, according to their law of marriage, which was originally very different from the feudal system in this matter, his claim to legitimacy was as undoubted as that of the feudal heir afterwards became. It is well known that the notions of the Highlanders were peculiarly strict in regard to matters of hereditary succession, and that no people on earth was less likely to sanction any flagrant deviation from what they believed to be the right and true line of descent. All their peculiar habits, feelings, and prejudices were in direct opposition to a practice, which, had it been really acted upon, must have introduced endless disorder and confusion; and hence the natural explanation of this apparent anomaly seems to be, what Mr Skene has stated, namely, that a person who was feudally a bastard might in their view be considered as legitimate, and therefore entitled to be supported in accordance with their strict ideas of hereditary right, and their habitual tenacity of whatever belonged to their ancient usages. Nor is this mere conjecture or hypothesis. A singular custom regarding marriage, retained till a late period amongst the Highlanders, and clearly indicating that their law of marriage originally differed in some essential points from that established under the feudal system, seems to afford a simple and natural explanation of the difficulty by which genealogists have been so much puzzled.

“ This custom was termed *hand-fasting*, and consisted in a species of contract between two chiefs, by which it was agreed that the heir of one should live with the daughter of the other as her husband for twelve months and a day. If in that time the lady became a mother, or proved to be with child, the marriage became good in law, even although no priest had performed the marriage ceremony in due form; but should there not have occurred any appearance of issue, the contract was considered at an end, and each party was at liberty to marry or hand-fast with any other. It is manifest that the practice of so peculiar a species of marriage must have been in terms of the original law among the Highlanders, otherwise it would be difficult to conceive how such a custom could have originated; and it is in fact one which seems naturally to have arisen from the form of their society, which rendered it a matter of such vital importance to secure the lineal succession of their chiefs. It is perhaps not improbable that it was this peculiar custom which gave rise to the report handed down by the Roman and other



historians, that the ancient inhabitants of Great Britain had their wives in common, or that it was the foundation of that law of Scotland by which natural children became legitimized by subsequent marriage ;\* and as this custom remained in the Highlands until a very late period, the sanction of ancient custom was sufficient to induce them to persist in regarding the offspring of such marriages as legitimate.”†

It appears, indeed, that, as late as the sixteenth century, the issue of a hand-fast marriage claimed the earldom of Sutherland. The claimant, according to Sir Robert Gordon, described himself as one lawfully descended from his father, John, the third earl, because, as he alleged, “his mother was *hand-fast*ed and fianced to his father;” and his claim was bought off (which shows that it was not considered as altogether incapable of being maintained) by Sir Adam Gordon who had married the heiress of Earl John. Such, then, was the nature of the peculiar and temporary connexion, which gave rise to the apparent anomalies which we have been considering. It was a custom which had for its object, not to interrupt but to preserve the lineal succession of the chiefs, and to obviate the very evil of which it is conceived to afford a glaring example. But after the introduction of the feudal law, which, in this respect, was directly opposed to the ancient Highland law, the lineal and legitimate heir, according to Highland principles, came to be regarded as a bastard by the government, which accordingly considered him as thereby incapacitated for succeeding to the honours and property of his race; and hence originated many of those disputes concerning succession and chiefship, which embroiled families with one another, as well as with the government, and were productive of incredible disorder, mischief, and bloodshed. No allowance was made for the ancient usages of the people, which were probably but ill understood; and the rights of rival claimants were decided according to the principles of a foreign system of law, which was long resisted, and never admitted except from necessity. It is to be observed, however, that the Highlanders themselves drew a broad distinction between bastard sons and the issue of the hand-fast unions above described. The former were rigorously excluded from every sort of succession, but the latter were considered as legitimate as the offspring of the most regularly solemnized marriage.

Having said thus much respecting the laws of succession and marriage,

\* This is a mistake in point of law. The principle of legitimation by subsequent marriage was first explicitly announced in an imperial constitution of Constantine, and being wisely recognised by the church it was adopted by the canonists, through whom it passed into our law. The attempt to introduce it into England failed, in consequence of the attachment of the people to their ancient Saxon constitutions; and hence, although it was recognised in the statute of Merton, it was subsequently discarded, and never afterwards found admission into the municipal system of the neighbouring kingdom. There can be no doubt whatever that the principle is one which reason, morality, and religion must equally approve.

† Skene's *Highlanders of Scotland*, vol. i. chap. 7, pp. 166, 167.



we proceed next to consider the gradation of ranks which appears to have existed amongst the Highlanders, whether in relation to the lands of which they were proprietors, or the clans of which they were members. And here it may be observed, that the classification of society in the Highlands seems to have borne a close resemblance to that which obtained in Wales and in Ireland, amongst cognate branches of the same general race. In the former country, there were three different tenures of land, and nine degrees of rank. Of these tenures, the first was termed *Maerdir*, signifying a person who has jurisdiction, and included three ranks; the second was called *Uchilordir*, or property, and likewise consisted of three ranks; and the third, denominated *Priodordir*, or native, included that portion of the population whom we would now call tenants, divided into the degrees of yeomen, labourers, and serfs. A similar order of things appears to have prevailed in Ireland, where, in the classification of the people, we recognise the several degrees of *Fuidir*, *Biadhtach*, and *Mogh*. In the Highlands, the first tenure included the three degrees of *Ard Righ*, *Righ*, and *Maormor*; the *Tighern* or *Thane*, the *Armin* and the *Squire*, were analogous to the three Welsh degrees included in the *Uchilordir*; and a class of persons, termed native men, were evidently the same in circumstances and condition with the *Priodordir* of Wales. These native men were obviously the tenants or farmers on the property, who made a peculiar acknowledgment, termed *calpe*, to the chief or head of their clan. For this we have the authority of Martin, who informs us that one of the duties "payable by all the tenants to their chiefs, though they did not live upon his lands," was called "*calpich*," and that "there was a standing law for it" denominated "*calpich law*." The other duty paid by the tenants was that of *herezeld*, as it was termed, which, along with *calpe*, was exigible, if the tenant happened to occupy more than the eighth part of a *davach* of land. That such was the peculiar acknowledgment of chiefship incumbent on the native men, or, in other words, the clan tribute payable by them in acknowledgment of the power and in support of the dignity of the chief, appears from the bonds of amity or *manrent*, in which we find them obliging themselves to pay "*calpis* as native men ought and should do to their chief."

But the native men of Highland properties must be carefully distinguished from the *cumerlach*, who, like the *kaeth* of the Welsh, were merely a species of serfs, or *adscripti glebæ*. The former could not be removed from the land at the will of their lord, but there was no restriction laid on their personal liberty; the latter might be removed at the pleasure of their lord, but their personal liberty was restrained, or rather abrogated. The native man was the tenant who cultivated the soil, and as such, possessed a recognised estate in the land which he occupied. As long as he performed the requisite services he could not be removed, nor could a greater proportion of labour or produce be exacted from him than custom or usage had fixed. It appears, therefore, that they possessed

their farms, or holdings, by an inherent right, which was not derived from their lord, and of which, springing as it did from immemorial usage, and the very constitution of clanship, it was not in his power to deprive them. The *cumerlach* were the cottars and actual labourers of the soil, who, possessing no legal rights either of station or property, were in reality absolute serfs. The changes of succession, however, occasionally produced important results, illustrative of the peculiarities above described. "When a Norman baron," says Mr Skene, "obtained by succession or otherwise a Highland property, the Gaelic *nativi* remained in actual possession of the soil under him, but at the same time paid their *calpes* to the natural chief of their clan, and followed him in war. When a Highland chief, however, acquired by the operation of the feudal succession, an additional property which had not been previously in the possession of his clan, he found it possessed by the *nativi* of another race. If these *nativi* belonged to another clan which still existed in independence, and if they chose to remain on the property, they did so at the risk of being placed in a perilous situation, should a feud arise between the two clans. But if they belonged to no other independent clan, and the stranger chief had acquired the whole possessions of their race, the custom seems to have been for them to give a bond of *manrent* to their new lord, by which they bound themselves to follow him as their chief, and make him the customary acknowledgment of the *calpe*. They thus became a dependent sept upon a clan of a different race, while they were not considered as forming a part of that clan."\*

The gradation of ranks considered in reference to the clan or tribe may be briefly described. Besides the *righ* or *king*, who in point of birth and station was originally on a footing of equality with the other chiefs, and only derived some additional dignity during his life from a sort of regal preeminence, the highest title of honour amongst the Highlanders was anciently that of *maormor*, the persons invested with this distinction having been the patriarchal chiefs of the great tribes into which the Highlanders were formerly divided. But when the line of the ancient *maormors* gradually sank under the ascendant influence of the feudal system, the clans forming the great tribes became independent, and their leaders or chiefs were held to represent each the common ancestor or founder of his clan, and derived all their dignity and power from the belief in such representation. The chief possessed his office by right of blood alone, as that right was understood in the Highlands; neither election nor marriage could constitute any title to this distinction; it was, as we have already stated, purely hereditary, nor could it descend to any person except him who, according to the Highland rule of succession, was the nearest male heir to the dignity. Next to the chief stood the *tanist* or person who, by the laws of tanistry, was

\* Skene's *Highlanders & Scotchmen*, vol. i. pp. 172, 173.

entitled to succeed to the chiefship; he possessed this title during the lifetime of the chief, and, in virtue of his apparent honours, was considered as a man of mark and consequence. After the family of the chief came the *ceantighes*, or heads of the subordinate houses into which the clan was divided, the most powerful of whom was the *toisich*, or oldest cadet. This was a natural consequence of the law of gavel, which, producing a constant subdivision of the chief's estate, until in actual extent of property he sometimes came to possess less than any of the other branches of the family, served in nearly the same proportion to aggrandise the latter, and hence that branch which had been longest separated from the original became relatively the most powerful. Accordingly, from the earliest times, the oldest cadet held the highest rank in the clan, next to the chief, and when the clan took the field he occupied, as a matter of right, the principal post of honour. On the march he headed the van, and in battle took his station on the right; he was, in fact, the lieutenant-general of the chief, and when the latter was absent, he commanded the whole clan. Hence he was called *toisich*, or the first, because his business was to lead the way in the advance, and to head the attack in the field.\* Another function exercised by the oldest cadet was that of *maor*, or steward, the principal business of which officer was to collect the revenues of the chief; but, after the feudal customs were introduced, this duty devolved upon the baron-bailie, and the *maor* consequently discontinued his fiscal labours.

The peculiar position of the *toisich*, with the power and consequence attached to it, naturally pointed him out as the person to whom recourse would be had in circumstances of difficulty; and hence arose an apparent anomaly which has led to no little misconception and confusion. The difficulty, however, may easily be cleared by a short explanation. When, through misfortune or otherwise, the family of the chief had become so reduced that he could no longer afford to his clan the protection required, and which formed the correlative obligation on his part to that of fealty and obedience on theirs, then the clansmen followed the oldest cadet as the head of the most powerful sept or branch of the clan; and he thus enjoyed, sometimes for a considerable period, all the dignity, consequence, and privileges of a chief, without, of course, either possessing a right, *jure sanguinis*, to that station, or even acquiring the title of the office which he, *de facto*, exercised. He was merely a sort of patriarchal regent,

\* "*Toisich*," says Dr Macpherson, "was another title of honour which obtained among the Scots of the middle ages. Speinman imagined that this dignity was the same with that of Thane. But the Highlanders, among whose predecessors the word was once common, distinguished carefully in their language the *toisich* from the *tunistair* or the *tierna*. When they enumerate the different classes of their great men, agreeably to the language of former times, they make use of these three titles, in the same sentence, with a disjunctive particle between them." "In Gaelic," he adds, "*tus*, *tos*, and *tosich* signify the *beginning* or *first part* of any thing, and sometimes the *front* of an army or battle." And hence the name *toisich*, implying the post of honour which the oldest cadet always occupied as his peculiar privilege and distinction.

who exercised the supreme power, and enjoyed prerogatives of royalty, without the name. Whilst the system of clanship remained in its original purity, no such regency, or interregnum, could ever take place. But, in process of time, many circumstances occurred to render it both expedient and necessary. In fact, clanship, in its ancient purity, could scarcely coexist with the feudal system, which introduced changes so adverse to its true spirit; and hence, when the territory had passed, by descent, into the hands of a Lowland baron, or when, by some unsuccessful opposition to the government, the chief had brought ruin upon himself and his house, and was no longer in a condition to maintain his station and afford protection to his clan, the latter naturally placed themselves under the only head capable of occupying the position of their chief, and with authority sufficient to command or enforce obedience. In other words, they sought protection at the hands of the oldest cadet; and he, on his part, was known by the name, not of chief, which would have been a gross usurpation, but of *captain*, or leader of the clan. It is clear, therefore, that this dignity was one which owed its origin to circumstances, and formed no part of the original system, as has been generally but erroneously supposed. If an anomaly, it was one imposed by necessity, and the deviation was confined, as we have seen, within the narrowest possible limits. It was altogether unknown until a recent period in the history of the Highlands, and, when it did come into use, it was principally confined to three clans, namely, Clan Chattan, Clan Cameron, and Clan Ranald; an undoubted proof that it was not a regular but an exceptional dignity, that it was a temporary expedient, not part of a system, and that a captain differed as essentially from a chief as a regent differs from an hereditary sovereign. "It is evident," says Mr Skene, who has the merit of being the first to trace out this distinction clearly, "that a title, which was not universal among the Highlanders, must have arisen from peculiar circumstances, connected with those clans in which it is first found; and when we examine the history of these clans, there can be little doubt that it was simply a person who had, from various causes, become *de facto* head of the clan, while the person possessing the hereditary right to that dignity remained either in a subordinate situation, or else for the time disunited from the rest of the clan."\*

Next to the ceantighes, or heads of houses, followed in the order of rank the *duinewassels*, or gentry of the clan, a class intermediate between the chief and the body of the clan, and forming, as it were, the

\* Skene's *Highlanders*, vol. ii. pp. 177, 178. That the captains of clans were originally the oldest cadets, is placed beyond all doubt by an instance which Mr Skene has mentioned in the part of his work here referred to. "The title of captain occurs but once in the family of the Macdonalds of Slate, and the single occurrence of this peculiar title is when the clan Houston was led by the uncle of their chief, then in minority. In 1545, we find Archibald Maconnill captain of the Clan Houston; and thus, on the only occasion when this clan followed as a chief a person who had not the right of blood to that station, he styles himself captain of the clan," (Skene, *ubi supra*.)

link by which they were united. The duinewassels were all cadets of the house of the chief, and each had a pedigree of his own as long, and perchance as complicated as that of his chief. They were, as might be expected, the bravest portion of the clan; the first in the onset, and the last to quit the bloody strife, even when the tide of battle pressed hardest against them. They cherished a high and chivalrous sense of honour, ever keenly alive to insult or reproach; and they were at all times ready to devote themselves to the service of their chief, when a wrong was to be avenged, an inroad repressed or punished, or glory reaped by deeds of daring in arms.

To this general view of the constitution of society in the Highlands, little remains to be added. The chief, as we have seen, was a sort of *regulus*, or petty prince, invested with an authority which was in its nature arbitrary, but which, in its practical exercise, was for the most part mild and paternal. He was subjected to no theoretical or constitutional limitations, yet, if ferocious in disposition, or weak in understanding, he was restrained or directed by the elders of the tribe, who were his standing counsellors, and without whose advice no measure of importance could be decided on. Inviolable custom supplied the deficiency of law, and what at first sight appears to have been a savage despotism was, by the influence of opinion embodied and consecrated in usage, converted into a paternal authority. As his distinction and power consisted chiefly in the number of his followers, his pride as well as his ambition became a guarantee for the mildness of his sway; he had a direct and immediate interest to secure the attachment and devotion of his clan; and his condescension, whilst it raised the clansman in his own estimation, served also to draw closer the ties which bound the latter to his superior, without tempting him to transgress the limits of propriety. The Highlander was thus taught to respect himself in the homage which he paid to his chief. Instead of complaining of the difference of station and fortune, or considering prompt obedience as slavish degradation, he felt convinced that he was supporting his own honour in showing respect to the head of his family, and in yielding a ready compliance to his will. Hence it was that the Highlanders, whom more barbarous nations have sometimes called barbarians, carried in their demeanour the politeness of courts without the vices by which these are too frequently dishonoured, and cherished in their bosoms a sense of honour without any of its follies or extravagances. This mutual interchange of condescension and respect served to elevate the tone of moral feeling amongst the people, and no doubt contributed to generate that principle of incorruptible fidelity of which there are on record so many striking and even affecting examples. The sentiment of honour, and the firmness sufficient to withstand temptation, may in general be expected in the higher classes of society; but the voluntary sacrifice of life and fortune is a species of self-devotion seldom displayed in any community, and never perhaps exemplified to the same extent in any country, as in



the Highlands of Scotland.\* The punishment of treachery was a kind of conventional outlawry or banishment from society, a sort of *aquæ et ignis interdictio* even more terrible than the punishment inflicted under that denomination, during the prevalence of the Roman law. It was the judgment of all against one, the condemnation of society, not that of a tribunal; and the execution of the sentence was as complete as its ratification was universal. Persons thus intercommuned were forever cut off from the society to which they belonged; they incurred civil death in its most appalling form, and their names descended with infamy to posterity. What higher proof could possibly be produced of the noble sentiments of honour and fidelity cherished by the people, than the simple fact, that the breach of these was visited with such a fearful retribution?

On the other hand, when chiefs proved worthless or oppressive they were occasionally deposed, and, when they took a side which was disapproved by the clan, they were abandoned by their people. Of the former there are several well authenticated examples; and General Stewart has mentioned a remarkable instance of the latter. "In the reign of King William, immediately after the Revolution, Lord Tullibardine, eldest son of the Marquis of Athole, collected a numerous body of Athole Highlanders, together with three hundred Frasers, under the command of Hugh, Lord Lovat, who had married a daughter of the Marquis. These men believed that they were destined to support the abdicated king, but were, in reality, assembled to serve the government of William. When in front of Blair Castle, their real destination was disclosed to them by Lord Tullibardine. Instantly they rushed from their ranks, ran to the adjoining stream of Banovy, and filling their bonnets with water, drank to the health of King James; then with colours flying and pipes playing, fifteen hundred of the men of Athole, as reputable for arms as any in the kingdom, put themselves under the command of the Laird of Ballechin, and marched off to join Lord Dundee, whose chivalrous bravery and heroic exploits, had excited their admiration more than those of any other warrior since the days of Montrose." Such was the conduct of men who have often been ignorantly represented as knowing no other rule or principle of action than a blind, unreasoning obedience to the arbitrary will of their chiefs, and who have sometimes been branded as slaves and barbarians by persons who were alike incapable of imitating their independence, and appreciating their real character.

\* "All who are acquainted with the events of the unhappy insurrection of 1745, must have heard of a gentleman of the name of M'Kenzie, who had so remarkable a resemblance to Prince Charles Stuart, as to give rise to the mistake to which he cheerfully sacrificed his life, continuing the heroic deception to the last, and exclaiming with his expiring breath, 'Villains, you have killed your Prince.'" (Stewart's *Sketches*, &c. vol. i. p. 59.) This is one of those instances which prove that the romance of real life often exceeds all that has been imagined by the inventive genius of fiction. In poetry or fiction, it would probably appear improbable and extravagant. *Le vrai n'est pas toujours vraisemblable.*



## CHAPTER II.

Early history of the Clans involved in obscurity.—Traditionary origin ascribed to them.—The *Scottish* or *Irish* system.—The heroic or fabulous.—The *Norwegian* or *Danish*.—Mr Skene's theory as to the origin of the modern Highlanders.—Objection to this theory stated.—The difficulty shifted backwards, not removed.—The Northern Picts.—The Caledonians.—Points left unexplained by Mr Skene.—Tradition of a Pictish descent examined.—The 'Reddschankes' or 'Pictis.'—Insufficiency of the evidence on which it is sought to identify the Highlanders with the northern Picts.—Conflicting traditions.—Reasoning of Mr Skene unsatisfactory and inconclusive.—Division of the Clans in the old genealogies.—Principle of classification stated, with the reasons for adopting it.

THE early history of the Highland clans, like that of most other tribes and races of men, is involved in great obscurity. The mists of time, thickening with its progress, have drawn a deep veil over that portion of it which enlightened curiosity is most desirous to explore; and the sagacity of modern criticism, aided by the faint and uncertain glimmerings of tradition, has been more signalized in plausible speculation and ingenious conjecture, than in dispelling doubts, removing difficulties, reconciling apparent contradictions, and thus preparing the way for the ultimate discovery of truth. In such inquiries, however, large allowances must always be made. Where there is so little that can be positively ascertained, and so much in regard to which we are left, in a great measure, in the dark, the inductive method is susceptible of only a limited application; and hence the doubtful aid of hypothesis must frequently be called in to supply a probable explanation, in those cases where the materials for strict investigation are wanting. To some this may appear unwarrantable in itself, and calculated rather to deepen the natural obscurity of the subject than to contribute any thing towards its elucidation. But it should be remembered that every such hypothesis is, in reality, a step made in the career of generalisation, and that it is by the careful and anxious comparison of different and often incompatible speculations, that truth is ultimately attained.

In examining the history of the Highland clans, it is impossible not to be struck with the great diversity of traditionary origin which has been ascribed to them. By some they are supposed to have been of Irish, and by others of Scandinavian, Norwegian, or Saxon descent; and nearly the same discrepancy of opinion has prevailed respecting the origin of

particular clans. A considerable variety of systems has been promulgated, each supported by arguments and authorities more or less plausible and weighty ;—almost every writer, who has directed his attention to the subject, appears to have formed a distinct hypothesis of his own ;—and the only principle upon which all seem to be agreed, consists in attributing to these tribes a foreign origin. Nor is the difficulty lessened by considering that there has prevailed in the Highlands a succession of traditions respecting the origin of the different clans ; and that though each of these in its turn has obtained a temporary credit in the country, none of them seems capable of being reconciled with the others, and all have been thought equally untenable. A circumstance so remarkable, and at the same time perplexing, naturally invites inquiry, and deserves investigation ; more especially as there is probably no other instance to be found where the traditions of a people have undergone such successive changes, and where different systems have at different times sprung up amongst themselves respecting the common origin to which they laid claim, and insensibly passed into the popular belief as a portion of their national story.

I. The first of these is that which has been denominated the *Scottish* or *Irish* system. The immediate effect of the Scottish conquest was the overthrow of learning and civilization in the conquered country ; and to this event succeeded a period of confusion and civil war, during which all knowledge of the real origin of the clans seems to have been lost. But with the final triumph of the invaders anarchy and disorder ceased ;—a race of kings of Scottish lineage were firmly established on the throne ;—the country took its name from the people by whom it had been conquered ;—all former distinctions merged in one general denomination ;—and, in process of time, a belief in the Scottish origin of the Highland clans not only began to prevail, but appears to have been adopted even by the clans themselves. As a proof of the existence of such a tradition, Mr Skene refers to a manuscript containing genealogies of most of the Highland clans, and supposed to have been written about the middle of the fifteenth century, in which the Macdonalds and their numerous dependants are derived from two sources ; first, from Colla Uais, an Irish king of the fourth century ; and, secondly, from Feradach Fion, and his son Fearchar Fada, king of the Dalriads of the line of Lorn, who reigned in the early part of the eighth century. But he states several reasons which have induced him to think “that this could not have been the true origin of these clans ;” and that it must have been deduced from a system introduced by circumstances, and gradually adopted into the genealogical creed of the Highlanders. In the first place, the clans mentioned in this manuscript, and which seem to have occupied the greater part of the Highlands, including the extensive districts of Moray and Ross, are all deduced from the tribe of Lorn, as the parent stem. But although the Dalriads consisted of the three different tribes of Lorn, Cowal, and Kintyre, the last of which attained to great power, and

eventually acquired supreme authority over all Scotland, it is well known that the tribe of Lorn, to which alone these clans are traced, had been nearly annihilated; and hence it is not easy to conceive how the population of such immense districts as those of Moray and Ross, could have sprung from so small, and apparently so inadequate a source. Secondly, if the alleged descent of the clans from the Dalriadic tribe of Lorn be assumed as correct, their respective affinities, deduced from such an assumption, will be found to be totally irreconcilable with those which have been established by the most authentic documents. The clans which, according to the manuscript, sprang from the line of Lorn, were,—first, the descendants of Fearchar Fada; and, secondly, those of a certain Cormac MacOirbertaigh, a kinsman of Fearchar. But in the latter class, the Rosses are stated as more nearly allied to the Macnabs than the Mackinnons, although there is no tradition of any connexion having subsisted between them, and the distance of their respective abodes renders it improbable that such ever was the case; whereas, on the other hand, there exists a bond of manrent between the Macnabs and Mackinnons, founded upon their close connexion and descent from two brothers. Thirdly, Mr Skene has shown that the early parts of the different genealogies are incongruous and contradictory; a circumstance which seems to warrant the inference that the principle upon which they have been deduced is erroneous and unfounded. It appears, however, that, at the period to which the manuscript refers, there was an universal belief in the Highlands, that the clans formed a distinct people, claiming identity of race, and all acknowledging one common origin. The clans mentioned in this document consist of three principal divisions: the Macdonells with the different families which sprung from them; the descendants of Fearchar Fada, inhabiting chiefly the ancient district of Moray; and the principal clans of Ross-shire, including that of Alpin supposed to have been descended from Cormac MacOirbertaigh.

II. The next system of traditionary origin introduced into the Highlands is that which has been termed the *heroic*, but which may be more correctly characterised as the *fabulous*. This system supplanted the preceding, and consisted in deducing the principal Highland clans from the heroes celebrated in the fabulous histories of Scotland and Ireland. Some one of these heroes, who lived only in the songs of the bards or in the legends of romancing chroniclers, was identified with an ancestor of the clan who bore the same or a similar name; and as national vanity is easily flattered with the notion of high lineage, and seldom distrustful of so agreeable an imputation, the notion of an heroic origin soon obtained credit in the Highlands, and served, in some degree, to obliterate the remains of more rational though less imposing traditions. Thus the Macdonalds, who seem to have been the first to adopt this system, identified two of their ancestors, named Colla and Conn, with Colla Uais and Conn of the Hundred Battles, two fabulous kings of Ireland. The Macneills, improving on this example, maintained that their ancestor,

who gave his name to the clan, was identical with Neill Naoi Giall; a king of Ireland, who, if he ever existed at all, must have reigned many centuries before one of the race had a being. The Macgregors, equally ambitious of a heroic origin, gave themselves out as the lineal descendants of Kenneth Macalpin, celebrated in fabulous story for his supposed extermination of the whole Pictish nation; an achievement which, of course, was devoutly believed by those who adopted this unsparing destroyer as the head and founder of their race.\* The Mackintoshes, the Mackenzies, the Macleans, and others, also laid claim to a fabulous or heroic origin. The Macintoshes who, in the manuscript above referred to, are represented as a part of the Clan Chattan, and descended from Gillechattan Mor, the great progenitor of the race, soon afterwards discarded this lineage, and claimed as their ancestor, Macduff, Thane of Fife, a greater and more renowned hero than even Kenneth Macalpin himself, and, at the same time, not less apocryphal. Lastly, the Mackenzies and Macleans, finding the field of Scottish history pre-occupied, and all its fabulous heroes forestalled, borrowed an ancestor from Ireland, and claimed descent from a certain Colin Fitzgerald, a scion of the noble family of Kildare, who is said to have mainly contributed to the victory of Largs, gained in the year 1266. These instances, furnished by Mr Skene, are more than sufficient to show the true character of the heroic system of traditionary origin, and to satisfy every one that it was the mere offspring of national vanity, and altogether fabulous and imaginary. The Highlanders, however, may console themselves with the reflection that the poetical embellishment of their early annals is more or less peculiar to all nations. Niebuhr has reduced the ancient history of Rome to its true elements, disengaging the few facts which are still capable of being identified as such from the legends of fable and romance; and there can be little doubt that a similar course of rigid investigation would serve to abate much of the poetical splendour, which at once dazzles and captivates in the heroic story of ancient Greece.

III. The third system of Highland descent is that which may be termed the *Norwegian* or *Danish*, and which, unlike the former, is not the production of the Highland sennachies, or romancing genealogists. This system, which was first promulgated in the seventeenth century, appeared at a time when the fabulous history of Scotland had begun to fall into utter discredit; when all the old traditions, which had been so long received with undoubting faith, were subjected to a rigorous sceptical investigation; and when antiquaries and genealogists, wearied with pursuing the phantoms of imagination, sought to ground their in-

\* The Macgregors, however, proved disloyal to their supposed progenitor, whom for some fanciful reason they discarded, substituting in his stead no less a personage than Gregory the Great, a more mysterious, and therefore, perhaps, in their view a greater hero than Kenneth. The destroyer of a whole nation could not, it seems, satisfy the genealogical ambition of a Highland clan.

quiries upon some solid foundation of facts. But in this they were not altogether fortunate. The notions which then prevailed as to the extent of the Norwegian conquests and settlements in the north of Scotland, were at once vague and exaggerated; but they were nevertheless adopted, and made the foundation of a new system, in some respects as fanciful as those which had preceded it. Every thing was imputed to the Scandinavians; every one was supposed to be descended from that people. The Macleods were honoured with a descent derived from the Norwegian kings of Man and the Isles; the Camerons were provided with an ancestor in Cambro, a Dane; the Grants were taught to rejoice in the renown of Acquin de Grandt, likewise a Dane, who was declared their progenitor; the Macdonalds were made descendants of the Norwegians of the Isles; and the Campbells, most favoured of all, had a Norman lineage assigned them, being sprung, it was alleged, from a Norman baron with the Italian name of Campobello. In this system much that was purely fanciful, or based upon vague analogies and accidental coincidences of names, was mixed up with a small portion of truth, which gave it a colour of probability, and insured its reception amongst those who prefer the dogmatism of a theory to the labour of research and investigation.

IV. It thus appears that the ancient traditionary origin of the Highland clans having, in process of time, been abandoned, a new but visionary system was introduced, which, from its flattering the prejudices and vanity of the people, gradually obtained general belief; and that the farther back we go the nearer we approach to the primary stream of tradition, according to which the Highland clans formed a peculiar and distinct nation, all the branches of which rejoiced in a common origin, whilst the mutual affinities of the clans were, through all changes of opinion and varieties of fortune, uniformly preserved. The real origin of the Highlanders may have been lost, and a different one received in the country as true, though in itself purely imaginary; and there may also have been a succession of traditions all differing from one another, and each at variance with the truth. This indeed is no more than we might have been prepared to expect, considering the condition, circumstances, and character of the people. But, however these changes and anomalies may be explained, it seems obvious that, even if the old manuscript genealogies be considered as affording at least presumptive evidence of the Highlanders having originally been all of one and the same race, yet, in order to ascertain what that race really was, other sources must be explored. The theory proposed by Mr Skene has the merit of being constructed on this principle; and although the evidence produced in support of it falls far short of that "demonstration" to which the author pretends, and which, upon such a subject, is unattainable, it must, nevertheless, be admitted to possess the recommendations of ingenuity and originality. He contends that "the modern Highlanders are the same people with those who inhabited the Highlands of Scotland in the ninth



and tenth centuries; and that these inhabitants were not Scots, as has been generally supposed, but *were descendants of the great northern division of the Pictish nation*, who were altogether unaffected by the Scottish conquest of the Lowlanders in 843, and who in a great measure maintained the independence of the kings of that race." He also conceives that these northern Picts formed part of the great family of Caledonians, the most ancient inhabitants of the country, "and that they spoke the same language, and bore the same national appellation, with the present Highlanders." He then attempts to remove an objection which might be founded on the diversity of traditionary origin, and endeavours to reconcile with his theory the various systems which have, at different times, prevailed respecting the early history and descent of this people.

One objection to this theory, however, presents itself *in limine*, and deserves to be stated here with a view to the further elucidation of the subject. Supposing it were demonstrated, as Mr Skene imagines has been done by himself, that the modern Highlanders are the descendants of the great northern division of the Pictish nation, and that the latter "were a part of the Caledonians, the most ancient inhabitants of the country," speaking the same language and having the same national characteristics with the present Highlanders; still the difficulty would not be solved, but only removed one step backwards; nor is it easy to conceive what purpose could be gained by, or what useful conclusion could be drawn from, such removal. If the Highlanders are really the same people with those who inhabited the northern mountains of Scotland in the ninth and tenth centuries, the question still remains:—Who were those early inhabitants, and whence did they originally come? Mr Skene indeed informs us that they were not Scots, as is generally supposed, but part of the Caledonians, the most ancient inhabitants of the country. This, however, is only shifting the place of the difficulty, without resolving it. It is like telling us that the earth is supported on the back of a huge elephant, and that the elephant stands upon an enormous tortoise. The main question is, what supports the tortoise? The ingenious author stops short at the very point where it was most material that he should have prosecuted further his inquiries and researches. He has not explained how the Pictish nation came to consist of two great divisions, the northern and the southern, separated not only by geographical boundaries, but by the far more important distinctions of language and national character; how races differing so essentially came to coalesce into one and the same people; or how he ascertained that, at the time referred to, the northern Picts "spoke the same language, and bore the same national appellation with the present Highlanders." And, above all, he has made no attempt to trace the origin of the Caledonians, of whom the northern Picts are said to have formed a part; or to throw any light upon the history, character, and fortunes of "the most ancient inhabitants of the country," whom he abandons as *autochthones* or *indigenæ* to the curiosity of future inquirers. He leaves us indeed to infer



that, as the northern Picts, the supposed ancestors of the modern Highlanders, formed part of the Caledonians, and, in the ninth and tenth centuries, spoke the same language and bore the same national appellation with the present Highlanders, the original race must have belonged to the great Celtic family once so extensively diffused, and afterwards so universally beaten and expelled from the plains by more powerful invaders; but he contributes little or nothing to elucidate this, which, after all, is the *nodus* of the case, or the point to which the sagacity of critical inquiry should be mainly directed. Indeed all Mr Skene's reasonings are more or less genealogical. He seldom ventures into the higher regions of criticism, or attempts any striking generalisation; but, within his own peculiar province, he evinces much ingenuity, and deviates from the beaten track with a boldness and originality seldom displayed in treating a subject where undue weight is almost always given to mere authority.

It is proper, however, that the views of a writer, who has so resolutely dared to think for himself, should be placed clearly and fully before our readers. Assuming that the Highlanders of the tenth century were the descendants of the northern Picts of the seventh and eighth, he conceives that they were divided into great tribes which inhabited those districts afterwards known as earldoms; that these tribes had hereditary chiefs who appear under the title of *maormors*; that these maormors of the tenth century may be traced downwards in succession till the reign of David I., when, in compliance with Saxon customs, they assumed the title of *comites*, and became the first earls of Scotland; that in a few generations more almost all these great chiefs became extinct, leaving no male descendants; that then the different clans appear for the first time in these districts or earldoms, where they are found in a state of independence; that, consequently, the Highland clans were not of foreign origin, as some have supposed, but formed part of that original nation which was found in possession of the mountains of Scotland, at the date of the earliest historical records which have come down to our times; that they were divided into great tribes having each an hereditary chief; and that it was only when the line of these chiefs became extinct, and Saxon nobles came in their place, that the Highland clans appeared in the peculiar situation and character in which they were afterwards found. Such is the view which Mr Skene has given of the original division of the Highlanders into tribes, and the consequent, though gradual introduction of clanship; and he conceives that it is corroborated by the tradition of a Pictish descent, which may still be traced in the Highlands, and which, in his opinion, "stamps the Dalriadic tradition as the invention of the Scottish monks," by whom, he thinks, it was first introduced.

The proofs which he produces of the existence of this tradition are certainly curious. In a letter dated 1542, and addressed to Henry VIII. of England, by a person designating himself "*John Elder, clerk, a Reddschanke*," the writer mentions the "*Yrische lords of Scotland, com-*

monly called *Redd Schankes*, and by Historiographouris *Pictis*;" and then proceeds to give an account of the origin of the Highlanders, whom he describes as inhabiting Scotland, "befor the incummynge of Albanactus Brutus' second sonne," as having been "gyaunts and wylde people, without ordour, civilitie, or maners," who "spake no other language but the *Yrische*," and as having been civilized by Albanactus, from whom they were "callit Albonyghe." He adds, that this "derivacion the papistical curside spiritualitye of Scotland will not heir in no maner of wyse, nor confesse that ever such a king, namede Albanactus reigned ther, the which derivacion all the *Yrische men* of Scotland, which be the *auncient stoke*, cannot, nor will not, deny." It appears indeed that "the papistical curside spiritualitye" had a theory of its own. Elder continues thus: "But our said bussheps drywithe Scotland and them selves, from a certain ladye named *Scota*, which, as they allege, came out of *Egipte*, a maraculous hotte cuntreth, to recreatt herself emonges theame in the colde ayre of Scotland, *which they can not afferme by no probable auncient author*." From these extracts it seems evident that, at the time to which they refer, there prevailed in Scotland two conflicting traditions respecting the origin of the "*Reddschankes*" or Highlanders; the one supported by "all the *Yrische men* of Scotland" belonging to "the *auncient stoke*;" and the other maintained by "the papistical curside spiritualitye" of that country. And, from the great indignation with which the worthy "clerk" expresses himself against the "bussheps," it may further be inferred that the latter tradition, "which they can not afferme by no probable auncient author," was then fast gaining ground on what he conceived to be the more orthodox belief as to the origin of the Highlanders. To this extent the deduction of Mr Skene seems to be supported by the curious document on which he founds. But when he says that there must have existed amongst the purer Highlanders a still older tradition, by which their origin was derived from the "*Pictis*," we think he exceeds the limits of just inference prescribed by his premises. There can be little doubt that the Highlanders were, at that time, generally known by the name of "*Reddschankes*," a term which historiographers converted into "*Pictis*," as Elder states in his letter to Henry; but they are also called "the *Yrische men* of Scotland," a description which seems scarcely reconcileable with the supposition that the "*Reddschankes*" were identical with the people properly denominated "*Pictis*," although historiographers, writing in Latin, translated the one term into the other.\*

\* In Stapleton's translation of the Venerable Bede, written in 1550, the term "*Picti*" in Latin is rendered by that of "*Reddschankes*" in the English version. The passage in Bede stands thus in the original: "Cujus monasterium in cunctis pæne Septentrionalium Scotorum et omnium *Pictorum* monasteriis non parvo tempore arcem tenebat." This Stapleton translates as follows: "The house of his religion was no small time the head of all the monasteries of the northern Scottes, and of the abbyes of all the *Reddschankes*." The only inference, however, which can be legitimately deduced from this version is, that the terms *Picti* and *Reddschankes* were then considered as synonymous;

There seems to be no doubt as to the existence of a still older tradition than that which is said to have been introduced by the "bussheps;" it may be questioned, however, whether, according to that tradition, the origin of the Highlanders was derived from the "Pictis," properly so called, seeing that the terms "Reddschankes" and "Pictis" are employed as synonymous to describe, not two different branches of the same race, but one and the same people, denominated by Elder "*the Yrische men of Scotland.*"

Mr Skene, however, contends, that the authority of John Elder not only proves the tradition of the descent of the Highlanders from the Picts to have existed in the Highlands before the Irish or Dalriadic system was introduced, but even enables us to ascertain the origin of the later system, and to assign the cause why it ultimately obtained universal assent. It appears, from Elder's letter to Henry, that the bishops and clergy of Scotland derived the descent of the Highlanders from the Scots of Dalriada; and also that the older Highland families, those of "the auncient stoke," held a different tradition. But the object of this letter was "to assure the king of England of support in the Highlands in his plans of obtaining influence in Scotland; and the Highland chiefs who held this older tradition are just those whom he afterwards names to king Henry as in the English interest. Now it is very remarkable," continues Mr Skene, "that the first trace of the Dalriadic system which we can discover, is in the famous letter addressed to the Pope in 1320, by the party who asserted the independence of Scotland. To this party the clergy of Scotland unquestionably belonged, while *it is equally clear* that the Highland chiefs, with very few exceptions, belonged to the English party; and upon comparing the traditionary history upon which Edward I. founded his claim, and which of course his party in Scotland must have believed, we actually find it to be a part of the same tradition which John Elder asserts to have been held by the other Highland families, and which included a belief of their descent from the Picts. The cause of the prevalence of the Scottish story is now clear; for the question of the independence of Scotland having been most improperly placed by the two parties on the truth of their respective traditions, it is plain that as the one party fell, so would the tradition which they asserted, that the final supremacy of the independent party in the Highlands as well as in the west of Scotland, and the total ruin of their adversaries, must have established the *absolute belief* in the descent of the Highlanders, as well as the kings and clergy of Scotland, from the Scots of Dalriada."†

This is, no doubt, ingenious and plausible enough; but still it leaves several points of importance unexplained, or, in other words, proceeds upon assumptions which are not established. For, supposing it were true,

or identical in signification, not that those bearing the latter name were derived from a people called by the former.

† Skene's *Highlanders*, vol. ii. pp. 20, 21.

as Mr Skene contends, that the old Highland families entertained a belief of their descent from the Picts, it is not easy to see how such a genealogical notion should have led them to join the English party in an attempt to subvert the independence of their country; nor is it less difficult to understand why the kings and clergy of Scotland should have embraced the national cause merely because they believed themselves descended from the Scots of Dalriada. Where is the evidence of any community of origin, or any identity of feelings and interests between the English Saxons, and the descendants of the northern Picts in the Highlands of Scotland? Where is the proof that the old Highland families were prepared to support the English monarchs in their plans for obtaining influence of Scotland, solely because they wished to vindicate this supposed descent? Would "the older tradition" have received any confirmation from the subjugation of Scotland? Is it by foreign conquest that the origin and descent of nations is established? What Mr Skene considers as "clear" to "demonstration" appears, when closely examined, to be worse than doubtful. It is scarcely within the reach of credibility that two conflicting traditions, as to origin and descent, should have brought into question the independence of Scotland; that the old Highlanders should have joined the English party, merely because they claimed to be the descendants of the northern Picts; or that the kings and clergy of Scotland should have declared against that party, because they believed themselves to have sprung from the Scots of Dalriada. Such a doctrine is too absurd to be seriously maintained. Besides, traditions do not commonly rise and fall with the fortunes of those by whom they are, or may have been, temporarily espoused. They are plants of hardier growth, and often become more deeply and firmly rooted in the soil from the storms to which they have been exposed. Like the ivy they adhere to the last fragment of the ruin, and perish only when every trace of the past is obliterated. Nations or tribes, who have been exposed to great calamities, or overpowered by hordes of ruthless invaders, naturally cling to the historical recollections of the past, and cherish more affectionately the traditions which have descended to them from ancient times. Adversity or defeat might therefore have strengthened, but would never have altogether destroyed a belief once entertained respecting their origin and descent; nor could "the absolute belief" of a contrary system have been established in consequence of "the final supremacy of the independent party," as Mr Skene seems to have imagined.

But not to dwell longer upon matters too disputable ever to admit of a definitive and satisfactory adjustment, it may be sufficient to observe that, according to the manuscript genealogies of the Highland clans, the people were originally divided into several great tribes; that the clans forming each of these separate tribes were deduced from a common ancestor; and that a marked line of distinction may be drawn between the different tribes, in each of which indications may be traced

serving more or less, according to Mr Skene, to identify them with the maormorships or earldoms into which the north of Scotland was anciently divided.

This will appear from the distribution of the clans into different tribes conformably to the old genealogies. In these each tribe is invariably traced to a common ancestor, from whom all the different branches or clans are supposed to have equally descended. Thus we have, 1. *Descendants of Conn of the Hundred Battles*, including the Lords of the Isles, or Macdonalds, the Macdougals, the Macneills, the Maclachlans, the Macewens, the Maclairishes, and the Macearcherns. 2. *Descendants of Fearchar Fada MacFeradaig*, comprehending the old maormors of Moray, the Macintoshes, the Macphersons, and the Macnaughtans. 3. *Descendants of Cormac MacOirbertaig*, namely, the old Earls of Ross, the Mackenzies, the Mathiesons, the Macgregors, the Mackinnons, the Macquarries, the Macnabs, and the Macduffies. 4. *Descendants of Fergus Leith Dearg*, or the Macleods and the Campbells. And, 5. *Descendants of Kerycul*, or the Macnicols.

Whatever may be the merits or defects of this distribution, it is convenient for the purpose of classification. In giving a short account of the Highland clans, we shall, therefore, take the various great tribes into which the Highlanders were originally divided, in the order in which they appear in the genealogies, and under the head of each tribe advert to the different clans of which it was composed, at the time when they first assumed a distinctive and independent character. This scheme presents various advantages. The principle of classification on which it proceeds is not only simple in itself, but is that which authority has sanctioned. It affords the means of referring the different clans to their respective tribes, and thus avoiding an arbitrary arrangement, or the suspicion of undue preference; and it is further in accordance with the general views which have already been submitted to the reader respecting the original constitution of clanship, and the various traditions which have at different times prevailed in the Highlands concerning the origin, descent, and affinities of the people of that country.

It is proper to observe, however, that the arrangement here adopted is rather technical than philosophical. It is not in questionable genealogies or contradictory traditions, in poetical descents or legendary romances, that the philosopher must seek for the elements of his investigations. His peculiar province is separated by a strong line of demarcation from this fanciful and shadowy region; and it is from indestructible physical characteristics, from the effects of climate, condition, and food, from the remains of language, or the affinities found to subsist between different varieties of speech, that he must draw the materials out of which his generalisations are to be formed. As a scheme of description chiefly, the plan we have proposed is as good as any other; but considered in a philosophical point of view, it would scarcely deserve refutation. It is proper that this distinction should be kept fully in view.



### CHAPTER III.

The Gallgael or Gaulgall.—This race identical with the Vikingr Skotar of the Sagas.—The Western Isles and Argyle occupied by them.—Supposed identity of the Gaulgall and the Northern Picts.—Argyle.—Its various denominations and extent.—Western Ross.—Ancient Sheriffdoms.—Clans inhabiting the district of Argyle.—Sìol-Cuinn, or Race of Conn, the most powerful tribe of which were the Macdonalds.—This race supposed by some to be of Irish, and by others, of Norwegian descent.—Traditions of the Macdonalds themselves.—Their supposed identity with the Gallgael.—Somerled.—History of this chief.—His fortune and ambition.—Attempts to place his son upon the throne of the Isles.—Sovereignty divided between Godred and the son of Somerled.—Attempt to depose Malcolm IV.—Defeat and death of Somerled.—He is succeeded by his grandson of the same name.—Conduct of the latter.—His defeat and violent death.—Consequences.—Erection of Argyle into a sheriffdom.—Districts included therein.—Power of the Macdonalds on the main land broken by this reverse.—The race of Dugall.—Reginald.—The Sudereyan kings.—Haco.—Alexander II.—Alexander III.—Expedition of the Earl of Ross.—Conduct of Iwen the son of Duncan.—Battle of Largs, 1266, and defeat of the Norwegians.—General Remarks.

No sooner does a faint morning light begin to dawn upon the early history of the north of Scotland, than we discern traces of a people to whom the Irish annalists give the name of Gall-gael, or Gaul-gall, and who appear to have been a piratical race. The term *Gaul*, or *Gall*, originally signifying a *stranger*, appears to have been applied to every description of pirate or rover; it is, in fact, a sort of generic term, which is rendered specific by the particular name with which it happens to be conjoined. Thus, the northern pirates were known by the names of Fingall and Dugall, the former denomination having been applied to the Norwegians, and the latter to the Danes; and these white and black “strangers,” or buccaneers, were again distinguished from the Gaulgall or Gallgael, that is, the Gaelic pirates. The latter are mentioned for the first time, in the Irish annals of the year 855, when we find them leagued with the Irish against the Norwegians; and, in 856, they appear again under their leader, Caittil-Fin, in a state of hostility with the Norwegian Vikingr of Dublin. In 1034, Tighernac notices the death of Suibne, the son of Kenneth, king of the Gaulgael; and, in 1154, mention is made of an expedition to Ireland, undertaken by the Gaelgall of Arran, Kintyre, Man, and the Cantair Alban. But the name of Cantair Alban being equivalent to that of Oirir Alban, or Oirir Gael, which is applied by other writers, and likewise to the Ergadia of the Scottish historians, it seems to follow that



the Gaulgael were the inhabitants of the Western Isles and of Argyle.\* This is confirmed by the authority of Arefrodi, who states, that when Harold Harfagr took his departure, the Western Isles were occupied by the Vikingr Skotar, or Scottish rovers, who were no doubt identical with the Gaulgael, since both names are in fact synonymous. Hence it may be concluded, firstly, that, from the date of the Scottish conquest in the ninth century, and for a considerable period afterwards, the Gaulgael occupied the Western Isles and the district of Argyle; and secondly, that they were not Norwegians but native Scots, or Vikingr Skotar, that is, Scottish pirates.

In the ninth century, therefore, the Gaulgael were undoubtedly independent; and as a king of this race is mentioned in the beginning of the eleventh century, it has been conjectured by Mr Skene, that, in the interval, the kings of the Isles were of the stock of the Gaulgael. The first king of the Isles of whom mention is made, was Anlaf, who, in conjunction with the Scottish king, Constantine, attempted to obtain possession of Northumberland, but was defeated by Athelstan, king of the Saxons, in 938. Anlaf is styled, by the Saxon historians, "the king of many islands;"† and, in the Egilla Saga, he is not only denominated a king of Scotland, but he is also described as the son of "a native Scot" by a Danish mother, a descendant of Regnar Lodbrog. Anlaf was the son of Sidroc, whom the Danes had put in possession of Northumberland. But as he is called by the Irish annalists, the grandson of Ivar, who, as is well-known, was a son of Regnar Lodbrog, it follows, from the passage in the Saga, above referred to, that Sidroc must have been a native Scot of the race of the Gaulgael, who had married the daughter of Ivar, the principal leader or chief of the Danish pirates, and had by him been made king of the Northumbrians. It further appears that Sidroc was the brother of Nial, the king of the Gaulgael, whom he put to death in 934; that at the time when he committed this fratricide, he was in possession of Northumberland; and that Nial was succeeded, not by his brother Sidroc, but by his nephew Anlaf. In corroboration of this view, Mr Skene has referred to the Manx traditions, one of which, mentioned by Sacheverel in his work upon the Isle of Man, and confirmed, by the *Lodbrogar-quida*, or record of the piratical expeditions of Regnar Lodbrog, shows clearly that a native tribe, denominated Gaulgael, had, under one of their kings, taken possession of the Western Isles, and likewise of Man, shortly after the date of the Scottish conquest in the year 843. But as the Caledonians, according to this ingenious writer, inhabited the ancient and extensive district of Argyle, with the exception only of Dalriada, which, after the Scottish conquest, was surrounded by them on every side; and as the Gaulgael are repre-

\* The etymology of this name has been variously deduced. Argyle is, according to some, *Iur-Gael*, or the Western Gael; but more probably, *Oirir-Gael*, or the Gael inhabiting the coast-lands.

† Their expression is, "Rex plurimarum insularum."

sented as having possessed Argyle, as well as the Western Isles, he contends, plausibly enough, that the Gaulgael must have belonged to the great northern branch of the Pictish nation, from which he deduces the origin of most of the clans; and, from other considerations, he concludes that the territories occupied by the Gaulgael in the ninth century were pretty nearly commensurate with, and, in fact, constituted the diocese of Dunkeld, to which, on the conquest of the southern Picts, the primacy had been transferred by Kenneth Macalpin.\* He therefore conceives that when the Southern Picts were conquered by the Scots; that the latter obtained possession of Dalriada, which, along with their previous possessions in Lochaber and Wester Ross, now received the name of *Oirir-Gael*, (coast-lands of the Gael) in contradistinction to their inland possessions in Athole; and that, having thus occupied Dalriada, they soon afterwards made themselves masters of the Western Isles. This, it will be observed, is pretty nearly an inversion of the common belief on the subject. It is putting as a consequent what was formerly conceived to have been an antecedent of the Scottish conquest; and, whatever may be thought of the arguments upon which the hypothesis is founded, it certainly has the merit of placing in a new light, a question which was supposed to have been, if not settled, at least exhausted.

The ancient district of Argyle, which consisted of the present county of that name, with the districts of Lochaber and Wester Ross, was known to the Highlanders by the names of Cantair, Oirir, Alban, and sometimes Oirir-Gael, from which last the modern name appears to have been derived. Wester Ross was termed Oirir-an-tuath, or the northern coast-lands; and the remaining portion received the name of Oirir-andheas, or southern coast-lands, probably because both divisions formed the maritime territories of the Gaulgael. By the Scottish historians the whole of this extensive district was included under the general name of *Ergadia*; although, for the sake of distinction, the northern division was denominated *Ergadia Borealis*, and the southern, *Ergadia Australis*. When the Sassenach policy was introduced into Scotland, and the whole country divided into sheriffdoms, the government having a very insecure footing in the Highlands, were unable to distribute that portion of the kingdom into a number of such jurisdictions, as had been done in the Lowlands, and by this means to enforce obedience to the laws. But the principles of that policy required that an attempt should at least be made to bring the whole country nominally under one uniform system; that is, to commence an administrative and judicial organisation which time might eventually extend, improve, and consolidate; and accordingly the whole

\* The primacy remained with the see of Dunkeld, until the reign of the usurper Grig, when it was removed to St Andrews. This the Scots appear to have obtained as the price of their submission to the intruder, who, according to the words of an old chronicle, in narrating the transference, gave liberty to the *Scottish church*, which had previously been under the dominion of the *Picts*:

Qui dedit Ecclesiæ libertates Scoticanæ,  
Quæ sub Pictorum lege redacta fuit.

of the Highlands was now divided into two sheriffdoms, namely, those of Inverness and Perth, the former including the districts north of the Mounth, or interior chain of the Grampians, and the other, the districts to the southward of that range of mountains. This, it must be obvious, was merely a nominal distribution; a geographical, rather than a judicial or political division. But under it the Highlands remained until the reign of Alexander II. when, in order to bring that country into subjection to the government and laws, the Scottish monarch instituted the additional sheriffdoms of Elgin, Nairn, Banff, Cromarty, and Argyle. It thus appears that, prior to the reign of Alexander II. the districts of northern and southern Argyle were included in separate sheriffdoms, the former being within the jurisdiction of Inverness, and the latter within that of Perth; but that, after the distribution referred to, both divisions were comprehended within the same sheriffdom, the territory or jurisdiction of which was defined by their recognised boundaries.

The great district here described was at the time referred to inhabited by a number of powerful clans, particularly the Macdonalds, and other branches of the same race, who, for a very long period, exercised an almost regal sway in these wild and unsubdued regions. These different clans and septs or branches of clans, were all included under the generic denomination of *Sìol-Cuinn*, or race of Conn, being supposed, in the genealogies, to be the descendants of Conn of the Hundred Battles.

The race of Conn have been claimed by the Irish Sennachies, on the one hand, and represented as of Norwegian extraction on the other. But the advocates of their genealogical pretensions reject both imputations. It is denied that either of these hypotheses is borne out by sound argument or valid authority. The Macdonalds and other clans of the same race, cannot, it is said, be convicted of an Irish origin, upon the credit merely of a vague tradition, and against the supposed improbability that a tribe possessing extensive territories in Scotland, should have been of foreign origin, or that if such had been the case, history would have been altogether silent as to their arrival and settlement in the country. Nor has the Norwegian theory been in any respect more favourably received. It is not disputed indeed that a close connexion subsisted at all times between the Macdonalds and the Norwegians of the Isles; but this, it has been contended, does not warrant any inference as to community of origin, which could only have been imputed by overlooking the fact, "that when the Danish and Norwegian pirates ravaged the shores of Scotland, and brought its inhabitants under subjection, the conquered Gael in some degree adopted the Norwegian habits of piracy, and frequently took an active share in their predatory expeditions." It is not easy to decide between these conflicting opinions. In questions of this kind it is often tradition against tradition; and it is certainly a difficult matter to lay down any rule of criticism by which we may be enabled to decide in favour of one and against another.

But be this as it may, the accredited traditions of the Macdonald

seem adverse to either supposition, at least within the limits which are assigned to each respectively. According to the theory of Mr Skene, the whole of the Highlands, including of course the districts possessed by the people called Gaulgael, were inhabited by the northern Picts, as late as the eleventh century. But in the middle of the twelfth century, Somerled and his sons, the chiefs of the Macdonalds, were called the Dalveria Aet, or Dalverian family, from Dala the Norwegian name for the district of Argyle; and hence it is inferred that at the period in question they must have been for some time in possession of that district. According to this view, they were either the descendants of the Pictish inhabitants of Argyle, or if of foreign extraction, they must have entered the country previously to the commencement of the ninth century.

As to the family tradition, there is unquestionable evidence of its existence. Thus, in the year 1596, James Macdonell of Denluce, addressing James VI. says, "Most mightie and potent prince, recomend us unto your hienes with our service, for ever your grace shall understand that our forbears hathe been *from time to time*, [that is, from time immemorial] servants unto your owne kingdom of Scotland." And in 1615, Sir James Macdonald of Kintyre, in a letter addressed to the Bishop of the Isles, declares that his race has been *tenne hundred years* kyndlie Scottisemen under the kings of Scotland." These authorities seem decisive as to the tradition or belief of the family; but supposing that the fullest effect were given to this tradition, the question of origin would only be carried back to the seventh century, where the historical archeologist, being without any light to guide him, would be obliged to leave it. From the statement of John Elder, however, it appears that the Macdonalds were included in the "auncient stoke," who still retained a tradition of Pictish descent; and that they formed part of the great tribe of Gaulgael seems probable enough from the circumstance that, in the last mention which is made of this race, they are described as then inhabiting Argyle, Kintyre, Arran, and Man, which were the territories actually possessed by Somerled. This creates a pretty strong presumption in favour of their identity, notwithstanding a discrepency to which we shall have occasion immediately to advert. Assuming that the clan governed by Somerled formed part of the great tribe of Gaulgael, it follows that the independent kings of the latter must in all probability have been his ancestors, and should therefore be found in the old genealogies of his family. But this scarcely appears to be the case. The last king of the Gaulgael was Suibne, the son of Kenneth, who died in the year 1034; and, according to the manuscript of 1450. an ancestor of Somerled, contemporary with this petty monarch, bore the same name; from which it may be presumed that the person referred to in the genealogy and the manuscript is one and the same individual. The latter, however, calls Suibne's father Nialgusa; and in the genealogy there is no mention whatever of a Kenneth. But from the old Scottish writers, we learn, that at this time there was a Kenneth Thane of the Isles, and that one

of the northern maormors also bore the same name; although it is not very easy to say what precise claim either had to be considered as the father of Suibne. There is also a further discrepancy observable in the earlier part of the Macdonald genealogies as compared with the manuscript; and, besides, the latter, without making any mention of these supposed kings, deviates into the misty region of Irish heroic fable and romance. At this point indeed, there is a complete divergence, if not contrariety, between the history as contained in the Irish Annals, and the genealogy developed in the manuscript; for, whilst the latter mentions the Gaulgael under their leaders as far back as the year 856, the former connect Suibne, by a different genealogy, with the kings of Ireland. The fables of the Highland and Irish Sennachies now became connected with the genuine history. The real descent of the chiefs was obscured or perplexed by the Irish genealogies; and previously to the eleventh century neither these genealogies nor even that of the manuscript of 1450 can be considered as of any authority whatsoever. It seems somewhat rash, however, to conclude, as Mr Skene has done, that the Siol-Cuinn, or descendants of Conn, were of native origin. This exceeds the warrant of the premises, which merely carry the difficulty a few removes backwards into the obscurity of time, and there leave the question in greater darkness than ever.

From the death of Suibne till the accession of Gillebride Mac Gille Adomnan, the grandfather of Somerled, nothing whatever is known of the history of the clan. The latter, having been expelled from his possessions by the Lochlans and the Fingalls, took refuge in Ireland, where he persuaded the descendants of Colla, consisting of Macquarries and Macmahons, to espouse his quarrel and assist him in an attempt to recover his possessions. Accordingly, four or five hundred persons put themselves under his command, and at their head he returned to Alban, where he effected a landing; but the expedition, it would seem, proved unsuccessful. Somerled, the son of Gillebride, was, however, a man of a very different stamp. At first he lived retired, musing in solitude upon the ruined fortunes of his house. But when the time for action arrived, he boldly put himself at the head of the inhabitants of Morven; attacked the Norwegians, whom, after a considerable struggle, he expelled; made himself master of the whole of Morven, Lochaber, and northern Argyle; and not long afterwards, added to his other possessions the southern districts of that country. In the year 1035, when David I. expelled the Norwegians from Man, Arran, and Bute, Somerled appears to have obtained a grant of those islands from the king. But finding himself still unable to contend with the Norwegians of the Isles, whose power remained unbroken, he resolved to recover by policy, what he despaired of acquiring by force of arms; and, with this view, he succeeded in obtaining by stratagem, the hand of the daughter of Olaf, surnamed the Red, who was then the Norwegian king of the Isles. The lady thus fraudulently seized and forcibly married, brought



him three sons, namely, Dugall, Reginald, and Angus; and, by a previous marriage he had one named Gillecallum.

The prosperous fortunes of Somerled at length inflamed his ambition. He had already attained to great power in the Highlands, and success inspired him with the desire of extending it. His grandsons having formerly claimed the earldom of Moray, their pretensions were now renewed; and this was followed by an attempt to put them in actual possession of their alleged inheritance. The attempt, however, failed. It had brought the *regulus* of Argyle into open rebellion against the king, and the war appears to have excited great alarm amongst the inhabitants of Scotland; but Somerled, having encountered a more vigorous opposition than he had anticipated, found it necessary to return to the Isles, where the tyrannical conduct of his brother-in-law, Godred, had irritated his vassals and thrown every thing into confusion. His presence gave confidence to the party opposed to the tyrant; and Thorfinn, one of the most powerful of the Norwegian nobles, resolved to depose Godred, and place another prince on the throne of the Isles. Somerled readily entered into the views of Thorfinn, and it was arranged that Dugall, the eldest son of the former, should occupy the throne from which his maternal uncle was to be displaced. But the result of the projected deposition did not answer the expectations of either party. Dugall was committed to the care of Thorfinn, who undertook to conduct him through the Isles, and compel the chiefs not only to acknowledge him as their sovereign, but also to give hostages for their fidelity and allegiance. The Lord of Skye, however, refused to comply with this demand, and, having fled to the Isle of Man, apprized Godred of the intended revolution. Somerled followed with eight galleys; and Godred having commanded his ships to be got ready, a bloody but indecisive battle ensued. It was fought on the night of the Epiphany; and as neither party prevailed, the rival chiefs next morning entered into a sort of compromise or convention, by which the sovereignty of the Isles was divided, and two distinct principalities established. By this treaty Somerled acquired all the islands lying to the southward of the promontory of Ardnamurchan, whilst those to the northward remained in the possession of Godred.

But no sooner had he made this acquisition than he became involved in hostilities with the government. Having joined the powerful party in Scotland, which had resolved to depose Malcolm IV. and place the boy of Egremont on the throne, he began to infest various parts of the coast, and for some time carried on a vexatious predatory warfare. The project, however, failed; and Malcolm, convinced that the existence of an independent chief was incompatible with the interests of his government and the maintenance of public tranquillity, required of Somerled to resign his lands into the hands of the sovereign, and to hold them in future as a vassal of the crown. Somerled, however, was little disposed to comply with this demand, although the king was now preparing to enforce it by means of a powerful army. Emboldened by his previous successes,



he resolved to anticipate the attack, and having appeared in the Clyde with a considerable force, he landed at Renfrew, where being met by the royal army under the command of the High Steward of Scotland, a battle ensued which ended in his defeat and death. This celebrated chief has been traditionally described, as "a well-tempered man, in body shapely, of a fair piercing eye, of middle stature, and of quick discernment." He appears, indeed, to have been equally brave and sagacious, tempering courage with prudence, and, excepting in the last act of his life, distinguished for the happy talent, rare at any period, of profiting by circumstances, and making the most of success. In the battle of Renfrew his son Gillecallum perished by his side, leaving a son, Somerled, who succeeded to his grandfather's possessions.

These were very considerable, comprehending the whole of the district of Argyle, the original possession of the clan, and also that portion of the Western Isles, termed the Sudereys. For upwards of half a century after the death of Somerled, his grandson remained in undisturbed enjoyment of this princely inheritance; without offering any decided opposition to the government, yet covertly countenancing the numerous rebellions by which that period was distracted. In 1221, however, having taken a more active part in one of these insurrections, he brought upon himself the undivided vengeance of the government. But the first attempt made by Alexander proved unsuccessful. The king, having collected an army in Lothian and Galloway, sailed for Argyle, intending to disembark his force, and penetrate into the interior of the country; but his ships having been overtaken by a storm, he was driven back and forced to take refuge in the Clyde. Nothing discouraged, however, he now resolved to proceed by land, and entering Argyle, at the head of a large force, he made himself master of the whole country. Somerled, unable to offer any effectual resistance, took refuge in his insular dominions; where, eight years afterwards, he perished by violence, though in what manner we are not informed. The results of this conquest were the subjugation of Argyle to the authority of the government, and the erection of that country into a sheriffdom, in conformity with the invariable policy of Alexander II. Those who had previously held their possessions of Somerled now submitted to the king and became crown vassals; the forfeited estates were brought under the direct jurisdiction of the government by means of the new sheriffdom; and certain districts, which had belonged to the native lords or proprietors, were bestowed upon strangers, as a reward for their having joined the expedition against Argyle.\*

\* The Sheriffdom of Argyle originally consisted of what now forms Argyle proper, including the districts of Glenorchy, Lochow, Lochfyne, Glassrie, and Ardskeodnish which were bestowed upon the ancestors of the Macgregors and Macnaughtans, and of a family called De Glassrie, which was probably of Lowland origin; whilst the ancestor of the Campbells was made hereditary sheriff of the newly-constituted jurisdiction. In the same shire were also comprehended part of Lochaber, the northern half of Kintyre, and the upper half of Cowal. The whole of Northern Argyle (*Ergadia Borealis*) was bestowed on the Earl of Ross, as a reward for the assistance which he had rendered to the

The power of the Macdonalds on the mainland being thus completely broken, the clan now turned their regards to the race of Dugall, which remained in undisturbed possession of the Isles acquired by Somerled as their head. Dugall, the eldest son of his father by the second marriage, possessed not only the Isles, but also the district of Lorn, which had been allotted as his share of the territories belonging to his ancestors. On his death, however, the Isles, instead of descending immediately to his children, were acquired by his brother Reginald, who in consequence assumed the title of King of the Isles; but by the same law of succession, the death of Reginald restored to his nephews the inheritance of their father. Dugall left two sons, Dugall Scrag and Duncan, who appear in the northern Sagas, under the title of the Sudereyan Kings. They appear to have acknowledged, at least nominally, the authority of the Norwegian king of the Hebrides; but actually they maintained an almost entire independence. Haco, the king of Norway, therefore, came to the determination of reducing them to obedience and subjection; a design in which he proved completely successful. In a night-attack the Norwegians defeated the Sudereyans, and having slain Somerled, took Dugall prisoner.

Duncan was now the only member of his family who retained any power in the Sudereys; but nothing is known of his subsequent history except that he founded the priory of Ardehatten, in Lorn. He was succeeded by his son Ewen, who appears to have remained more faithful to the Norwegian kings than his predecessors had shown themselves; for, when solicited by Alexander II. to join him in an attempt he meditated to obtain possession of the Western Isles, Ewen resisted all the promises and entreaties of the king, and on this occasion preserved inviolate his allegiance to Haco. Alexander, it is well known, died in Kerreray, when about to commence an attack upon the Isles, and was succeeded by his son Alexander III. When the latter had attained majority, he resolved to renew the attempt which his father had begun, and with this view, excited the Earl of Ross, whose possessions extended along the mainland opposite to the Northern Isles, to commence hostilities, against them. The earl willingly engaged in the enterprise, and having landed in Skye, ravaged the country, burned churches and villages, and put to death numbers of the inhabitants without distinction of age or sex. Haco soon appeared with a Norwegian force, and was joined by most of the Highland chiefs. But Ewen having altered his views, excused himself from taking any part against the force sent by the Scottish king; and the unfortunate termination of Haco's expedition justified the prudence of this timely change. In the year 1266,

king on this and a former occasion. The remainder of Argyle was now held of the crown by those who had previously been the vassals of Somerled. Lochaber was held by the chief or head of the Clan Chattan; Lorn by the sons of Dugall; Knapdale by the ancestors of the Mac Neils; South Kintyre, by a grandson of Somerled; and the lower half of Cowal, by the ancestor of the Lamonds. These districts, however, formed no part of the new sheriffdom, but were included in the jurisdictions of Perth and Inverness.—(See Skene's *Highlanders*, vol. ii. p. 48.)

the Norwegians were completely defeated by the Scots at the battle of Largs; and the Isles were, in consequence of this event, finally ceded to the kings of Scotland. This event, however, rather increased than diminished the power of Ewen, who profited by his seasonable defection from the Norwegians, and was favoured by the government to which that defection had been useful. But he died without any male issue to succeed him, leaving only two daughters, one of whom married the Norwegian king of Man, and the other, Alexander of the Isles, a descendant of Reginald.

These historical notices may perhaps be found to possess little interest or attraction to the general reader, who can scarcely be supposed to enter with much satisfaction into details, however brief and condensed, respecting the policy, the conduct, and the fortunes of chiefs, whose exploits live only in doubtful traditions, or scarcely less questionable genealogies. But they are nevertheless indispensable to the completion of the general design of this work, which has for its object to embrace the history of the Highlands, in all its various branches; and they are further necessary in order to preserve unity and sequence in the accounts of the respective clans which divided amongst them the region of the mountains and the islands. Nor, to those who consider society in all its forms as a subject of enlightened and liberal inquiry, will they be found altogether devoid of instruction; inasmuch as amidst predatory expeditions, frequent insurrections, and a sort of chronic *guerre de chicane*, may be discovered traits of character, conduct, and policy, which are worthy of preservation, as well as the elements of institutions, which, acquiring strength and consistency from time, had no small influence on the general character and habits of the people. Besides, the history of the Highlands is connected at so many points with the history of Scotland, more especially in the earlier times of the monarchy, that the latter can never be divorced from the former, nor even read with due intelligence except in connection with it, and as a sort of secondary branch of the same subject.

## CHAPTER IV.

Division of the Siol-Cuinn into three distinct branches.—Reginald, father of Rory Donald, and Dugall, the heads of these clans.—Clan Rory.—Reginald's share of the inheritance left by his father Somerled.—His titles did not descend to his children.—Succeeded by Roderick, a noted pirate.—Eventual succession of Allan, the son of Roderick.—Roderick, son of Allan, considered as illegitimate by the feudal law.—Effect of the Highland law.—Succeeded by his son Ranald.—Feud with the Earl of Ross.—Ranald murdered at Elcho.—John of the Isles.—Clan Donald.—Origin.—Pilgrimage of Donald.—Angus Mor.—Convention of 1284.—His sons Alexander and Angus Og.—Fidelity of the latter to the fortunes of King Robert Bruce.—Lordships and lands conferred on Angus Og.—His sons John and John Og.—Change of policy by John, and his junction with the party of Edward Baliol.—Treaty.—Accession of David II.—Arrangement between the King and the Lord of the Isles.—Fresh disputes.—State of parties in Scotland.—The Steward of Scotland.—Gives his daughter in marriage to John.—Insurrection of the northern barons.—Conduct of the Steward.—Treaty between David II. and John at Inverness.—Accession of Robert Stewart to the throne.—His policy in regard to the family of the Isles.—Effects of this.—Division of the clan.—Earldom of Ross.—Claim of Donald of the Isles.—Battle of Harlaw.—Recovery of the Earldom by Albany.—Succession of Alexander, son of Donald.—James I.—Arrest of the northern barons at Inverness.—Consequence of this.—Bold march of the King.—Total defeat and captivity of Alexander.—John, Lord of the Isles.—Rebellion of his son, Angus Og.—Battle of the Bloody Bay.—Accession of James IV.—Forfeiture and death of John of the Isles.—Decline and fall of the Macdonalds.—Fruitless attempts to regain their ascendancy.—Different branches of the Macdonalds.—Family of Sleat.

THE conquest of Argyle by Alexander II., and the subsequent annexation of the Western Islands to the kingdom of Scotland, under the reign of his successor, annihilated the power of the race of Conn as an independent tribe; and, from the failure of the male descendants of Dugall in the person of Ewen, had the effect of dividing the clan into three distinct branches, the heads of which held their lands of the crown. These were the clan Rory, the clan Donald, and the clan Dugall, so called from three sons of Ranald or Reginald, the son of Somerled by his second wife, of whom they were, or believed themselves to be, descended.

Of this Ranald or Reginald, but little comparatively is known. Upon the death of Somerled, the superiority of Argyle fell to his grandson of the same name, whilst that of the Isles descended in the right line to his son Dugall. But, according to the Highland custom of gavel, his property was divided amongst all his sons; and in this division, the portion which fell to the share of Reginald appears to have consisted of the island of Islay, with Kintyre and part of Lorn on the mainland. Contemporary with Reginald there was a Norwegian king of Man and the Isles, who,

being called by the same name, is liable to be confounded with the head of the Siol Cuinn. Reginald, after the death of his brother Dugall, was designated as Lord, and sometimes even as King, of the Isles; and he had likewise the title of Lord of Argyle and Kintyre, in which last capacity he granted certain lands to an abbey that had been founded by himself at Saddel in Kintyre. But these titles did not descend to his children. He was succeeded by his eldest son Roderick, who, on the conquest of Argyle, agreed to hold his lands off the crown, and afterwards was commonly styled Lord of Kintyre. In this Roderick the blood of the Norwegian rovers seems to have revived in all its pristine purity. Preferring "the good old way, the simple plan" to more peaceful and honest pursuits, he became one of the most noted pirates of his day, and the annals of the period are filled with accounts of his predatory expeditions. But his sons, Dugall and Allan, had the grace not to follow the vocation of their father, for which they do not seem to have evinced any predilection. Dugall having given important aid to Haco in his expedition against the Western Isles, obtained in consequence a considerable increase of territory, and died without descendants. Allan succeeded to the possessions of this branch of the race of Conn, and, upon the annexation of the Isles to the crown of Scotland, transferred his allegiance to Alexander III., along with the other chiefs of the Hebrides.\*

Allan left one son, Roderick, of whom almost nothing is known, except that he was not considered as legitimate by the feudal law, and in consequence was succeeded in his lordship of Garmoran by his daughter Christina. Yet the custom or law of the Highlands, according to which his legitimacy could 'moult no feather,' had still sufficient force amongst the people to induce the daughter to legalize her father's possession of the lands by a formal resignation and reconveyance; a circumstance which shows how deeply it had taken root in the habits and the opinions of the people. Roderick, however, incurred the penalty of forfeiture during the reign of Robert Bruce, "probably," as Mr Skene thinks, "from some connexion with the Soulis conspiracy of 1320;" but his lands were restored to his son Ranald by David II. Ranald, however, did not long enjoy his extensive possessions. Holding of the Earl of Ross some lands in North Argyle, he unhappily became embroiled with that powerful chief, and a bitter feud, engendered by proximity, arose between them. In that age, the spirit of hostility seldom remained long inactive. In 1346, David II. having summoned the barons of Scotland to meet him at Perth, Ranald, like the others, obeyed the call, and having made his appearance attended by a considerable body of men, took up his quarters at the monastery of Elcho, a few miles distant from the Fair City. To the Earl of Ross, who was also with the army, this seemed a favourable opportunity for revenging himself on his enemy;

\* In the list of the Barons who assembled at Scone in 1284, to declare Margaret, the Maid of Norway, heiress to the crown, he appears under the name of *Allangus filius Roderici*.



and accordingly having surprised and entered the monastery in the middle of the night, he slew Ranald, along with seven of his followers. This midnight murder, perpetrated in a religious house, within a few miles of the place where the king then resided, and apparently followed by no attempt to bring the murderer to justice, conveys a fearful picture of the horrid license of those barbarous times. By the death of Ranald, the male descendants of Roderick became extinct; and John of the Isles, the chief of the Clan Donald, who had married Amy, the only sister of Ranald, now claimed the succession to that principality.

The Clan Donald derive their origin from a son of Reginald, who appears to have inherited South Kintyre, and the island of Islay; but little is known of their history until the annexation of the Isles to the crown in the year 1266. According to Highland tradition, Donald made a pilgrimage to Rome to do penance, and obtain absolution for the various enormities of his former life: and, on his return, evinced his gratitude and piety by making grants of land to the monastery of Saddle, and other religious houses in Scotland. He was succeeded by his son, Angus Mor, who, on the arrival of Haco with his fleet, immediately joined the Norwegian king, and assisted him during the whole of the expedition; yet, when a treaty of peace was afterwards concluded between the kings of Norway and Scotland, he does not appear to have suffered in consequence of the part which he took in that enterprise. In the year 1284 he appeared at the convention, by which the Maid of Norway was declared heiress of the crown, and obtained as the price of his support on that occasion, a grant of Ardnamurchan, a part of the earldom of Garmoran, and the confirmation of his father's and grandfather's grants to the monastery of Saddle. Angus left two sons, Alexander and Angus Og. Alexander, by a marriage with one of the daughters of Ewen of Ergadia, acquired a considerable addition to his possessions; but having joined the lord, of Lorn in his opposition to the claims of Robert Bruce, he became involved in the ruin of that chief; and being obliged to surrender to the king, he was imprisoned in Dundonald castle, where he died. His whole possessions were forfeited, and given to his brother, Angus Og, who, having attached himself to the party of Bruce, now received the reward of his fidelity and devotion. After the defeat of Methven, and the subsequent unfortunate skirmish with the men of Lorn at Tyndrum, Bruce was received by Angus in his castle of Dunaverty, and there sheltered until he found it necessary to take refuge in the island of Rachlin. His fortunes were now at the lowest ebb; but the reflux having soon afterwards commenced, Angus, who had remained faithful in the hour of adversity, shared in the glory which crowned the subsequent enterprises of Bruce. He assisted in the attack upon Carrick, when the king recovered "his father's hall;" and he was present at Bannockburn, where, at the head of his clan, he formed the reserve, and did battle "stalwart and

\* Palgrave's *Illustrations of Scottish History*, vol. i. See also *Federer*, vol. i. p. 638.



stout," on that never-to-be-forgotten day. Bruce, having at length reaped the reward of all his toils and dangers, and conquered the independence of Scotland, was not unmindful of those who had participated in the struggle thus victoriously consummated. Accordingly, he bestowed upon Angus the lordship of Lochaber, which had belonged to the Comyns, together with the lands of Durroure and Glenco, and the islands of Mull Tyree, &c. which had formed part of the possessions of the family of Lorn Prudence might have restrained the royal bounty. The family of the Isles were already too powerful for subjects; but the king suffered not considerations of policy to prevent him from testifying his grateful estimation of services rendered at his utmost need; and, secure of the attachment and fidelity of Angus, he contented himself with making the permission to erect a castle or fort at Tarbet in Kintyre, a condition of the grants which he had made. This distinguished chief died early in the fourteenth century, leaving two sons; John his successor, and John Og, the ancestor of the Macdonalds of Glenco.

Angus, as we have already seen, had all his life been a steady friend to the crown, and had profited by his fidelity. But his son John does not seem to have inherited the loyalty along with the power, dignities, and possessions of his father. Having had some dispute with the Regent concerning certain lands which had been granted by Bruce, he, in resentment of this opposition, joined the party of Edward Baliol, and the English king; and, by a formal treaty concluded on the 12th of December, 1335, and confirmed by Edward III. on the 5th October, 1336, engaged to support the pretensions of the former, in consideration of a grant of the lands and islands claimed by the Earl of Moray, besides certain other advantages. But all the intrigues of Edward were baffled; Scotland was entirely freed from the dominion of the English; and, in the year 1341, David II. was recalled from France to assume the undisputed sovereignty of his native country. Upon his accession to the throne, David, anxious to attach to his party the most powerful of the Scottish barons, concluded a treaty with John of the Isles, who, in consequence, pledged himself to support his government. But a circumstance soon afterwards occurred, which threw him once more into the interest of Baliol and the English party. In 1346, Ranald of the Isles having been slain at Perth by the Earl of Ross, as already mentioned, John, who had married his sister Amy, immediately laid claim to the succession. The government, however, unwilling to aggrandise a chief already too powerful, determined to oppose indirectly his pretensions, and evade the recognition of his claim. It is unnecessary to detail the pretexts employed, or the obstacles which were raised by the government. Their effect was to restore to the party of Baliol one of its most powerful adherents, and to enable John in the meanwhile to concentrate in his own person nearly all the possessions of his ancestor Somerled.

But ere long a most remarkable change took place in the character and position of the different parties or factions, which at that time di-

vided Scotland. The epoch of the change in question was the return of David II. from captivity in England. Before this period, 1357, the government and the principal barons had almost invariably evinced the most determined hostility to the claims of England; the adherents of Baliol, and the advocates of English supremacy, consisting of a small faction of the nobility who were in opposition to the court. But on the return of David, the situation of parties became materially altered, or rather, they in some measure changed places. The king of Scotland now appeared in the extraordinary and unnatural character of a mere tool or partizan of Edward, and even seconded covertly the endeavours of the English king to overturn the independence of Scotland. History presents but few examples of such inconceivable baseness; and it is humiliating to find, in the immediate successor of the hero of Bannockburn, the total extinction of that patriotic spirit, which had secured the triumph of the national arms, and shed immortal glory upon the national name. Its effect, however, was to throw into active opposition the party which had hitherto supported the throne and the cause of independence; and, on the other hand, to secure to the enemies of both, the favour and countenance of the king. But as soon as by this interchange, the English party became identified with the royal faction, John of the Isles abandoned it, and formed a connection with that party to which he had for many years been openly opposed. At the head of the national party was the steward of Scotland, who, being desirous of strengthening himself by alliances with the more powerful barons, hailed the accession of John to his interests as an extraordinary piece of good fortune, and cemented their union by giving to the Lord of the Isles, his own daughter in marriage. The real aim of this policy was not for a moment misunderstood; but any open manifestation of force was at first cautiously avoided. At length, in 1366, when the heavy burdens imposed upon the people to raise the ransom of the king, had produced general discontent, and David's jealousy of the steward had displayed itself by throwing into prison the acknowledged successor to the throne, the northern barons broke out into open rebellion, and refused either to pay the tax imposed, or to obey the king's summons to attend the parliament.

In this state matters remained for some time, when David, finding that the northern barons had assumed an attitude of independence, applied to the steward, as the only person capable of restoring peace to the country, and, at the same time, commissioned him to put down the rebellion. The latter, satisfied that his objects would be more effectually forwarded by steady opposition to the court than by avowedly taking part with the insurgents, accepted the commission, and employed every means in his power to reduce the refractory barons to obedience. His efforts, however, were only partially successful. The Earls of Mar and Ross, and other northern barons, whose object was now attained, at once laid down their arms; John of Lorn, and Gillespie Campbell, likewise gave in their submission; but the Lord of the Isles, secure in the distance and

inaccessible nature of his territories, refused to yield, and in fact set the royal power at defiance. The course of events, however, soon enabled David to bring this refractory subject to terms. Edward, finding that France required his undivided attention, was not in a condition to prosecute his ambitious projects against Scotland; a peace was accordingly concluded between the rival countries; and David thus found himself at liberty to turn his whole force against the Isles. With this view, he commanded the attendance of the Steward and other barons of the realm, and resolved to proceed in person against the rebels. But the Steward, perceiving that the continuance of the rebellion might prove fatal to his party, prevailed with his son-in-law to meet the king at Inverness, where an agreement was entered into, by which the Lord of the Isles not only engaged to submit to the royal authority, and pay his share of all public burdens, but further promised to put down all others who should attempt to resist either; and, besides his own oath, he gave hostages to the king for the fulfilment of this obligation. The accession of Robert Steward or Stewart to the throne of Scotland, which took place shortly after this act of submission, brought the Lord of the Isles into close connection with the court; and during the whole of this reign, he remained in as perfect tranquillity, and gave as loyal support to the government as his father Angus had done under that of King Robert Bruce. In those barbarous and unsettled times, the government was not always in a condition to reduce its refractory vassals by force; and, from the frequent changes and revolutions to which it was exposed, joined to its general weakness, the penalty of forfeiture was but little dreaded. Its true policy, therefore, was to endeavour to bind to its interests, by the ties of friendship and alliance, those turbulent chiefs whom it was always difficult and often impossible to reduce to obedience by the means commonly employed for that purpose.

The advice which King Robert Bruce had left for the guidance of his successors, in regard to the Lords of the Isles, was certainly dictated by sound political wisdom. He foresaw the danger which would result to the crown were the extensive territories and consequent influence of these insular chiefs ever again to be concentrated in the person of one individual; and he earnestly recommended to those who should come after him, never, under any circumstances, to permit or to sanction such aggrandisement. But, in the present instance, the claims of John were too great to be overlooked; and though Robert Stewart could scarcely have been insensible of the eventual danger which might result from disregarding the admonition of Bruce, yet he had not been more than a year on the throne when he granted to his son-in-law a feudal title to all those lands which had formerly belonged to Ranald the son of Roderick, and thus conferred on him a boon which had often been demanded in vain by his predecessors. King Robert, however, since he could not with propriety obstruct the accumulation of so much property in one house, attempted to sow the seeds of future discord by bringing about

a division of the property amongst the different branches of the family. With this view he persuaded John, who had been twice married, not only to gavel the lands amongst his offspring, which was the usual practice of his family, but also to render the children of both marriages feudally independent of one another. Accordingly, King Robert, in the third year of his reign, confirmed a charter granted by John to Reginald, the second son of the first marriage, by which the lands of Garmoran, forming the dowry of Reginald's mother, were to be held of John's heirs; that is, of the descendants of the eldest son of the first marriage, who would of course succeed to all his possessions that had not been feudally destined or devised to other parties. Nor was this all. A short time afterwards John resigned into the king's hands nearly the whole of the western portion of his territories, and received from Robert charters of these lands in favour of himself and the issue of his marriage with the king's daughter; so that the children of the second marriage were rendered feudally independent of those of the first, and the seeds of future discord and contention effectually sown between them. After this period little is known of the history of John, who is supposed to have died about the year 1386.

During the remainder of this king's reign, and the greater part of that of his successor, Robert III., no collision seems to have taken place between the insular chiefs and the general government; the peace of the country was not disturbed by any act of hostility on the part of the former, and hence little or nothing is known of their proceedings. But when the dissensions of the Scottish barons, occasioned by the marriage of the Duke of Rothesay, and the subsequent departure of the Earl of March to the English court, led to a renewal of the wars between the two countries, and the invasion of Scotland by an English army, the insular chiefs appear to have renewed their intercourse with England; being more swayed by considerations of interest or policy, than by the ties of relationship to the royal family of Scotland. At this time, the clan was divided into two branches, the heads of which seemed to have possessed co-ordinate rank and authority. Godfrey, the eldest surviving son of the first marriage, ruled on the mainland, as lord of Garmoran and Lochaber; Donald, the eldest son of the second marriage, held a considerable territory of the crown, then known as the feudal lordship of the Isles; whilst the younger brothers, having received the provisions usually allotted by the law of gavel, held these as vassals either of Godfrey or of Donald. This temporary equipoise was, however, soon disturbed by the marriage of Donald with Mary, the sister of Alexander Earl of Ross, in consequence of which alliance he ultimately succeeded in obtaining possession of the earldom. The manner in which he effected this object is highly characteristic of those times. Alexander Earl of Ross had an only child, Euphemia, by a daughter of the Duke of Albany, whom he had married. But, on the death of her father, this lady entered a convent and became a nun, having previously committed

the charge of the earldom to her grandfather, Albany. Donald, however, lost no time in preferring his claim to the succession in right of his wife. He contended that Euphemia, by taking the veil, had become dead in law; that, consequently, she could neither claim the earldom in her own person, nor convey or communicate any right thereto to another; and that, in these circumstances, it belonged to him in right of his wife, the sister of the last earl. Albany was, in no degree, moved by this reasoning, and the demand of Donald, who insisted on being put in immediate possession of the earldom, he met by a positive refusal. The *ultima ratio* of kings and chiefs was now appealed to. Determined to assert his claim by force of arms, Donald raised a considerable force, with which he invaded Ross, and meeting little or no resistance from the people, soon made himself master of the district. On reaching Dingwall, however, he was encountered by Angus Dhu Mackay, at the head of a considerable body of men from Sutherland; but, after a fierce conflict, the Mackays were completely defeated, and their leader made prisoner. This victory not only put Donald in possession of the earldom, but inspired him with the conviction that more important conquests might be effected. Leaving the district of Ross, which now acknowledged his authority, he advanced at the head of his army, through Moray, and penetrated into Aberdeenshire. Here, however, a decisive check awaited him. On the 24th of July, 1411, he was met at the village of Harlaw by the Earl of Mar, at the head of an army inferior in numbers, but composed of better materials; and a battle ensued, upon the event of which seemed to depend the decision of the question, whether the Celtic or the Sassenach part of the population of Scotland were in future to possess the supremacy. The immediate issue of the conflict was doubtful, and, as is usual in such cases, both parties claimed the victory. But the superior numbers and irregular valour of the Highland followers of Donald had received a severe check from the steady discipline and more effective arms of the Lowland gentry; they had been too roughly handled to think of renewing the combat, for which their opponents seem to have been quite prepared; and as, in such circumstances, a drawn battle was equivalent to a defeat, Donald was compelled, as the Americans say, "to advance backwards." The Duke of Albany, having obtained reinforcements, marched in person to Dingwall; but Donald, having no desire to try again the fate of arms, retired with his followers to the Isles, leaving Albany in possession of the whole of Ross, where he remained during the winter. Next summer, the war was renewed, and carried on with various success, until at length the insular chief found it necessary to come to terms with the Duke, and a treaty was concluded at a small place in Argyleshire, by which Donald agreed to abandon his claim to the earldom of Ross, and to become a vassal of the crown of Scotland.\*

\* Mr Skene is of opinion that the invasion was a part of a much more extensive scheme; that the claim set up by Donald to the earldom was merely a pretext to cover



The vigour of Albany restored peace to the kingdom, and the remainder of his regency was not disturbed by any hostile attempt upon the part of Donald of the Isles. But when the revenge of James I. had consummated the ruin of the family of Albany, Alexander, the son of Donald, succeeded, without any opposition, to the earldom of Ross, and thus realized one grand object of his father's ambition. At almost any other period, the acquisition of such extensive territories would have given a decided and dangerous preponderance to the family of the Isles. The government of Scotland, however, was then in the hands of a man who, by his ability, energy, and courage, proved himself fully competent to control his turbulent nobles, and, if necessary, to destroy their power and influence. Equally daring and artful, James I., from the very commencement of his reign, turned his attention towards the important object of strengthening the power of the crown, the indispensable condition of which was to abridge that of the feudal nobility, by whom it was continually defied. Distrustful, however, of his ability to reduce the northern barons to obedience by force of arms, he had recourse to stratagem; and having summoned them to attend a parliament at Inverness, whither he proceeded attended by his principal nobility, and a considerable body of troops, he there caused them to be arrested to the number of forty, as soon as they made their appearance. Alexander Earl of Ross and Lord of the Isles, his mother the Countess of Ross, and Alexander MacGodfrey of Garmoran, were amongst the number of those arrested on this occasion. Along with several others, MacGodfrey was immediately executed, and his whole possessions forfeited to the crown; and the remainder were detained in captivity. By this bold stroke, in which treachery and vigour were equally conspicuous, James conceived that he had effectually subdued the Highland chiefs; and, under this impression, he soon afterwards liberated Alexander of the Isles. But he seems to have forgotten that "vows made in pain," or at least in duress, "are violent and void." The submission of the captive was merely feigned. As soon as he had recovered his liberty, the Lord

the real design; and that on the failure of the grand project, the lesser pretension was readily abandoned. It has generally been supposed that the resignation of the earldom by Euphemia, daughter of Alexander, in favour of her grandfather, Albany, was the sole cause of this invasion; but, as the instrument of resignation is dated in 1415, *four years after the battle of Harlaw*, by which the fate of Donald's expedition was decided, the supposition in question falls to the ground. There is no doubt that the claim to the earldom was the ostensible cause of the invasion as stated in the text. The resignation, however, which took place four years afterwards, could not have served as a pretext for this aggression; it was, in fact, an attempt, on the part of Albany, to give a colour of right to his retention of the earldom, which the result of the battle had placed in his power. But from the manner in which the claim was abandoned by Donald, when his advance into the Lowlands was checked, not to mention his connexion with England, and the truce of six years with that country which followed the accommodation with the Lord of the Isles, we are inclined to agree with Mr Skene, in the opinion that the expedition against Ross was only a part, or tentative commencement, of a more general and important scheme, having for its real object the overthrow of Scottish independence. (Skene's *Highlanders*, vol. ii. p. 74.)



of the Isles flew to arms, and having assembled a body of ten thousand men, marched against Inverness, which he rased to the ground, in revenge of the injurious treatment he had there experienced. James, however, far from being dismayed by this sudden explosion of vengeance, collected a considerable force, and having rapidly penetrated into Lochaber, overtook the Highland army before they were able to make good their retreat to the Isles. Surprised by this bold march, which, considered in a military point of view, displays great ability, the Lord of the Isles soon found himself deserted by the Clans Chattan and Cameron, who went over in a body to the king. His situation was now desperate; yet he did not shrink from the encounter. A battle took place which ended in the total discomfiture and dispersion of the Highland army; and so vigorously did the king follow up his victory that the insular chief, finding concealment or escape equally impossible, was compelled to throw himself upon the royal clemency. He was carried to Edinburgh, and, on the occasion of a festival celebrated in the chapel of Holywood, the unfortunate chief, whose ancestors had treated with the crown on the footing of independent princes, was compelled to appear before the assembled court divested of all his upper garments, and to implore on his knees, with a naked sword in his hands, the forgiveness of his offended monarch. Satisfied with this extraordinary, but we must add, impolitic act of compulsory humiliation, James granted the suppliant his life, and directed him to be forthwith imprisoned in Tantallan castle.

The spirit of clanship could not brook such a mortal affront, unparalleled in the annals of Scotland. The cry for vengeance was raised; the strength of the clan was mustered; and Alexander had scarcely been two years in captivity when the Isles once more broke out into open insurrection. Under the command of Donald Balloch, the cousin of Alexander and chief of Clan Ranald, the Islanders burst into Lochaber, where, having encountered an army which had been stationed in that country for the purpose of overawing the Highlanders, they gained a complete victory. The king's troops were commanded by the Earls of Mar and Caithness, the latter of whom fell in the action, whilst the former saved with difficulty the remains of the discomfited force. Donald Balloch, however, did not follow up his victory, but having ravaged the adjacent districts, withdrew first to the Isles, and afterwards to Ireland. In this emergency, James displayed his usual energy and activity. To repair the reverse sustained by his lieutenants, he proceeded in person to the North; his expedition was attended with complete success; and he soon received the submission of all the chiefs who had been engaged in the rebellion. Not long afterwards he was presented with the head of Donald Balloch, who had been betrayed into the hands of his enemies, and almost deserved his fate for neglecting to profit by the victory which he had gained over Mar and Caithness. The king, being thus successful, listened to the voice of clemency. He restored to liberty the prisoner of Tantallan, granted him a free pardon for his various acts of rebellion,

confirmed to him all his titles and possessions, and further conferred upon him the lordship of Lochaber, which, on its forfeiture, had been given to the Earl of Mar. The wisdom of this proceeding soon became apparent. Alexander could scarcely forget the humiliation he had undergone, and the imprisonment he had endured; and, in point of fact, he appears to have joined the Earls of Crawford and Douglas, who at that time headed the opposition to the court; but during the remainder of his life, the peace of the country was not again disturbed by any rebellious proceedings on his part, and thus far the king reaped the reward of his clemency.

The opposition of Crawford, Douglas, and their associates, had hitherto been chronic; but, on the death of Alexander, it broke out into active insurrection; and the new Lord of the Isles, as determined an opponent of the royal party as his father had been, seized the royal castles of Inverness, Urquhart, and Ruthven in Badenoch, at the same time declaring himself independent. In thus raising the standard of rebellion, John of the Isles was secretly supported by the Earl of Douglas, and openly by the barons, who were attached to his party. But a series of fatalities soon extinguished this insurrection. Douglas was murdered in Edinburgh castle; Crawford was entirely defeated by Huntly; and John, by the rebellion of his son Angus, was doomed to experience, in his own territories, the same opposition which he had himself offered to the general government. Submission was, therefore, inevitable. Having, for several years, maintained a species of independence, he was compelled to resign his lands into the hands of the king, and to consent to hold them as a vassal of the crown. This, however, was but a trifling matter compared with the rebellion of his son, which, fomented probably by the court, proved eventually the ruin of the principality of the Isles, after it had existed so long in a state of partial independence. Various circumstances are stated as having given rise to this extraordinary contest, although in none of these, probably, is the true cause to be found.\* It appears, however, that Angus Og, having been appointed

\* By an ancient Sennachie of the clan Donald, the causes of this extraordinary contest are thus stated:—"John succeeded his father, a meek, modest man, brought up at court in his younger years, [a place, by the way, where *meekness* and *modesty* rarely flourish] and a scholar more fit to be a churchman than to command so many irregular tribes of people. He endeavoured, however, still to keep them in their allegiance, by bestowing gifts on some, and promoting others to lands and possessions; by which means he became prodigal and very expensive. He had a natural son, begotten of Macduffie of Colonsay's daughter, and Angus Og his legitimate son, by the earl of Angus's daughter. He gave the lands of Morvairn to Maclean, and many of his lands in the north to others; judging, by these means, to make them more faithful to him than they were to his father. His son, Angus Og, being a bold, forward man, and high-minded, observing that his father very much diminished his rents by his prodigality, thought to deprive him of all management and authority."—(Skene's *Highlanders*, vol. ii. pp. 80. 81.) This is all probable enough; indeed Angus must have had some strong cause of discontent before he could be incited to take up arms against his father; but such cause existing, there can be little doubt, we think, that he was incited to rebel by those who thought more of breaking the power of his house than preserving or promoting his individual

his father's lieutenant and representative in all his possessions, took advantage of the station or office which was thus conferred on him, deprived his father of all authority, and got himself declared Lord of the Isles. How this was effected we know not; but scarcely had he attained the object of his unnatural ambition, when he resolved to take signal vengeance upon the Earl of Athole, an inveterate enemy of his house, and, at the same time, to declare himself altogether independent of the crown. With this view, having collected a numerous army, he suddenly appeared before the castle of Inverness, and having been admitted by the governor, who had no suspicion whatever of his design, immediately proclaimed himself king of the Isles. He then invaded the district of Athole; stormed and took Blair castle; and having seized the earl and countess, carried them prisoners to Islay. But this outrage, though committed with impunity from man, was avenged by the elements. On his return to the Isles with the booty he had obtained, the marauder was overtaken by a violent tempest, in which the greater part of his galleys foundered. Heaven seemed to declare against the spoiler, who had added sacrilege to rapine by plundering and attempting to burn the chapel of St Bridget in Athole. Stricken with remorse for the crime he had committed, he released the earl and countess, and then sought to expiate his guilt by doing penance on the spot where it had been incurred.

As a proof of the sincerity of his repentance, this Angus Og next engaged in treason upon a larger scale. At the instigation of this hopeful son, his father, whom he had already deprived of all authority, now entered into a compact with the king of England and the Earl of Douglas, the object of which was nothing less than the entire subjugation of Scotland, and its partition amongst the contracting parties. By this treaty, which is dated the 13th of February, 1462, the Lord of the Isles agreed, on the payment of a stipulated sum, to become the sworn ally of the king of England, and to assist that monarch, with the whole body of his retainers, in the wars in Ireland and elsewhere; and it was further provided, that in the event of the entire subjugation of Scotland, the whole of that kingdom, to the north of the Frith of Forth, should be equally divided between Douglas, the Lord of the Isles, and Donald Balloch of Islay; whilst, on the other hand, Douglas was to be reinstated in possession of those lands between the Forth and the English borders, from which he had, at this time, been excluded. Conquest, partition, and spoliation, were thus the objects contemplated in this extraordinary compact. Yet no proceeding appears to have been taken, in consequence of the treaty, until the year 1473, when we find the Lord of the Isles again in arms against the government. He continued several years in open rebellion; but having received little or no support from the other parties to the league,

interests. He appears to have been a bold, fearless man, full of energy, possessing both talents and decision of character, and capable of inspiring others with his own resolute and determined spirit; and if his life had been prolonged, the king would have found it no easy matter to reduce him to subjection.

he was declared a traitor in a parliament holden at Edinburgh in 1475; his estates were also confiscated, and the earls of Crawford and Athole were directed to march against him at the head of a considerable force. The meditated blow was, however, averted by the timely interposition of the Earl of Ross. Convinced that the proceedings of his turbulent and rebellious son would entail destruction on his house, he resolved to make an effort to regain his authority, and preserve the possessions of his ancestors. With a view to this, it was of primary importance to obtain, if possible, the assistance of the government; an object of no easy attainment in the false position into which he had been thrown by the rebellion of his son, and the forfeiture which it had entailed. However, by a seasonable grant of the lands of Knapdale, he secured the influence of the Earl of Argyll, and through the mediation of that nobleman, received a remission of his past offences, was reinstated in his hereditary possessions, which he had resigned into the hands of the crown, and created a peer of parliament, by the title of the Lord of the Isles. The earldom of Ross, the lands of Knapdale, and the sheriffships of Inverness and Nairne were, however, retained by the crown, apparently as the price of the remission granted to this doubly unfortunate man.

But Angus Og was no party to this arrangement. He continued to defy the power of the government; and when the Earl of Athole was sent to the north to reinstate the Earl of Ross in his remaining possessions, he placed himself at the head of the clan, and prepared to give him battle. Athole was joined by the Mackenzies, Mackays, Frasers, and others; but being met by Angus at a place called Lagebread, he was defeated with great slaughter, and escaped with difficulty from the field. The earls of Crawford and Huntly were then sent against this desperate rebel, the one by sea, and the other by land; but neither of them prevailed against the victorious insurgent. A third expedition, under the earls of Argyll and Athole, promised better results. It was accompanied by the father of the rebel, and several families of the Isles were induced by his persuasions, backed by those of Argyll, to join the royal force. An attempt was now made to bring about an accommodation between the contending parties; but an interview, which took place at the suggestion of Argyll and Athole, terminated without producing any result; and the two earls, who seem to have had little taste for an encounter with Angus, returned without effecting any thing. John the father, however, undismayed by their pusillanimity, proceeded onwards through the Sound of Mull, accompanied by the Macleans, Macleods, Macneills, and others, and having encountered Angus in a bay on the south side of the promontory of Ardnamurchan, a desperate combat ensued, in which Angus was again victorious, and his unfortunate parent overthrown. By the Battle of the Bloody Bay, as it is called in the traditions of the country, Angus obtained possession of the extensive territories of his clan, and as "when treason prospers, 'tis no

longer treason," was recognised as its head. John was afterwards reconciled to his son, who, however, does not appear to have, in consequence, made any surrender of his power or influence. In little more than five years after this nominal submission to paternal authority, he once more threw off his allegiance to the throne; engaged in a treaty with Edward IV., who was then preparing to invade Scotland; and during the remainder of the reign of James III., continued in a state of open resistance to the government. But the accession of James IV. produced a material change in the relative situations of all parties. That able monarch, who inherited the talents and energy of the first James, took decided measures to reduce the refractory chiefs, and re-establish public tranquillity. Angus Og died suddenly; John was in no condition to defend himself, even had he wished to persevere in the rebellion which his son had involved him; and thus, by the force of circumstances alone, the royal authority prevailed. James directed his particular attention to the Highlands and Isles, which he thrice visited in person in the course of one year, (the sixth of his reign,) and having penetrated as far as Dunstaffnage and Mingarry, reduced most of the chiefs to obedience. The Lord of the Isles still refused to submit, and the king was not then in a condition to attack him in his strongholds with any prospect of success; but on his return to Edinburgh he assembled a parliament, in which the title and possessions of the Lord of the Isles were declared to be forfeited to the crown. Even at the period to which we refer, this was considered as a formidable proceeding; but, in the present case, circumstances rendered it peculiarly fatal to the family of the Isles. Angus was dead; his father soon afterwards followed him to the grave; Donald Dhu, his grandson, was still a minor; the other branches of the family were engaged in mutual feuds and dissensions; and there was no one amongst them powerful enough to assume the government of the clan, and offer effectual resistance to the royal authority. The consequence was, that by the death and forfeiture of John the clan were completely disorganized. There was no longer any bond of union amongst them, or any common head capable of rallying all their energies in a general cause; and the smaller families, which had been long dependent on the Lords of the Isles, though not connected with them by descent, now, with one accord, seized the opportunity of declaring themselves independent, and of procuring from the king feudal titles to their respective lands. The Macdonalds had already passed the culminating point of their fortunes; they had no longer any prospect of recovering the royal state which they had so long maintained; and from this period accordingly, may be dated the decline and fall of that once great and powerful clan.

But although fortune had declared against them, they did not finally resign the contest without a struggle to preserve their ascendancy. Three different attempts were made by them to place some branch of the family at the head of the tribe; but all these proved unsuccessful,



partly owing to the prompt measures adopted by the government, but still more on account of their own dissensions, and the opposition they experienced from those clans which, though formerly dependent upon them, now found it, for their interest, to prevent the union of the tribe under one common chief or head. The first of these attempts was made, shortly after the death of John, in favour of Donald Dhu, who was the son of Angus Og; and the principal parties engaged in it were Alister Macdonald of Lochalsh, Torquil Macleod of Lewis, and Lachlan Mac-lane of Doward. Macdonald, who headed the enterprise, proceeded to Ross, accompanied by the greater part of the clan; in the hope that, by a sudden stroke, he might recover possession of that earldom. But the expedition was rendered abortive by the promptitude and vigilance of Mackenzie, who, having attacked the Macdonalds by night, slew a great number of them, and dispersed the remainder. Macdonald returned to the Isles, where he proceeded to raise more men, in the hope of repairing this disaster; but MacIain of Arduamurchan, Macconnell of Kintyre, and some others who were opposed to the succession of Donald Dhu, and unwilling to be implicated in the rebellion raised on his account, followed Macdonald to Oransay, and there put him to death. Nor did Mac-lane, and the chiefs who still adhered to him, prove more fortunate. Having made an irruption into Badenoch with a considerable force, they laid waste the country in all directions; set fire to the town of Inverness; and eluded the army which was sent against them, by immediately retiring to the Isles with the plunder which they had acquired. Their discomfiture and ruin were, however, only deferred. A fleet was sent against them, under the command of the celebrated Sir Andrew Wood; the insurgents were defeated; Kerneburg castle, in which they had taken refuge, was reduced; the Mac-lanes and the Macleods submitted to the government; and Donald Dhu, having been made prisoner, was sent to the castle of Inchconnell, where he lingered in confinement during the long period of forty years.

An honourable trait in the character of the Highlanders is the devotion with which they have always supported a sinking cause. Misfortunes had thickened around the house of the Isles, and the person whom they regarded as the legitimate heir was now in hopeless captivity; yet, undeterred by adversity, which usually frightens away fair-weather friends and adherents, they made an attempt to place his nearest relation in possession of his insular dominions. Encouraged by their promises of support, Donald Galda, the son of Alister who had been the principal mover in the former rebellion, raised another insurrection in order to assert his claim to the lordship of the Isles. He was immediately joined by the powerful clan of the Macleods; he also effected a reconciliation with the Macconnells of Kintyre; and with the aid of these allies he succeeded in obtaining possession of the Isles. But he did not long enjoy his success. In a short time after he had been declared lord of the Isles, Donald Galda died; and the confederacy formed in his favour



was in consequence dissolved. During his short career, however, he revenged the murder of his father on the MacIans of Ardnamurchan, by causing their chief, along with his son, to be seized and put to death.

But the ill success of these attempts, however discouraging, did not induce the Macdonalds to abandon all hope of yet placing at their head a chief of their own race. They had suffered much in the various struggles in which they had been engaged; indeed, their power as a clan was for the time so greatly depressed, that, during the remainder of the reign of James V., they were in no condition to renew the enterprise, although they had never ceased to entertain the idea of doing so. But under the regency of Mary of Guise, a favourable opportunity of accomplishing their object, seemed at length to present itself. Having turned their thoughts towards Donald Dhu, the son of Angus Og, whom they had formerly attempted, without success, to set up as the successor of the last Lord of the Isles, they now resolved to make a final effort to reinstate him in his inheritance, and to invest him with the honours and dignities of his house. After the successful attack of Kerneburg castle by Sir Andrew Wood, Donald Dhu, then a minor, had, as we have already seen, been made prisoner, and sent to Inchconnell, where he had, ever since, been detained in captivity. But a sudden and unexpected attack, made by the Macdonalds of Glenco, effected his liberation from the place where he had been confined; and Donald had no sooner arrived in his paternal domains, than he was declared Lord of the Isles, and received the submission of the heads of the different branches of the Macdonalds, as well as that of other insular chiefs. At first he was supported by the Earl of Lennox, then attached to the English interest, and thus remained for a time in undisputed possession of the Isles. But that nobleman having soon afterwards made his peace with the government, and disbanded his followers, Donald Dhu was obliged to proceed to Ireland in quest of assistance, hoping to raise a force in that country sufficient to maintain him in possession of the Isles. His sudden death, however, put an end to the enterprise. Being attacked with fever, immediately after landing in Ireland, he died at Drogheda, on his way to Dublin, and with him terminated the direct line of the Earls of Ross and Lords of the Isles. All hopes of a descendant of Somerled again governing the Isles were now at an end; and from this period the Macdonalds, unable to regain their former power and consequence, were divided into various branches, the aggregate strength of which was rendered unavailing for the purpose of general aggrandisement by the jealousy, disunion, and rivalry, which unfortunately prevailed amongst themselves.

After the forfeiture of the Lords of the Isles, and the failure of the successive attempts which were made to retrieve their fortunes, different clans occupied the extensive territories which had once acknowledged the sway of those insular princes. Of these some were clans, which, although dependent upon the Macdonalds, were not of the same origin as the race of Conn; and, with the exception of the Macleods, Macleans,

and a few others, they strenuously opposed all the attempts which were made to effect the restoration of the family of the Isles, rightly calculating that the success of such opposition would tend to promote their own aggrandisement. Another class, again, were of the same origin as the family of the Isles; but having branched off from the principal stem, before the succession of the elder branches reverted to the clan, in the person of John of the Isles, during the reign of David II., they now appeared as separate clans. Amongst these were the Macalisters, the MacIans, and some others. The Macalisters, who are traced to Alister, a son of Angus Mor, inhabited the south of Knapdale and the north of Kintyre. After the forfeiture of the Isles they became independent; but being exposed to the encroachments of the Campbells, their principal possessions were, ere long, absorbed by different branches of that powerful clan. The MacIans of Ardnamurchan were descended from John, a son of Angus Mor, to whom his father conveyed the property which he had obtained from the crown. The Macdonalds of Glenco are also MacIans, being descended from John Fraoch, a son of Angus Og, Lord of the Isles; and hence their history is in no degree different from that of the other branches of the Macdonalds. Their name, however, has obtained a painful celebrity in the annals of their country, from the cold-blooded massacre to which this unfortunate clan were subjected in the reign of William III.; an atrocity which fixes a deep and indelible stain on the memory of the king by whom it was sanctioned, and on that of the nobleman at whose instigation it was perpetrated, and which amply justified the hatred and opposition of the Highlanders towards the government established by the Revolution, and continued by the Act of Settlement. A third class consisted of the descendants of the different Lords of the Isles, who still professed to form one clan, although the subject of the representation of the race soon introduced great dissensions, and all adopted the generic name of Macdonald in preference to secondary or collateral patronymics.

The first division which occurred in this class took place amongst the descendants of John, Lord of the Isles, in the fourteenth century. John had been twice married, and he had had sons by both marriages. The descendants of the first marriage were limited to the clan Ranauld, whilst those of the second consisted of the Macdonalds of Sleat, Islay, and Keppoch; and as the circumstances which had given the latter a certain degree of pre-eminence were now changed, the former loudly asserted their pretensions to be considered as the patriarchal chiefs of the clan Donald. The Macdonalds of Sleat, Islay, and Keppoch, remained, in every respect, independent of one another; although the representation had devolved on the first of these branches as the descendants of Hugh, brother of John, the last Lord of the Isles. The Macdonalds of Islay and Kintyre, after maintaining themselves for some time in a state of independence, at length sunk gradually under the usurping ascendancy of the Campbells, and were finally extinguished soon after the accession

of Charles I. The Campbells having procured letters of fire and sword against the whole race of Ian Vohr, and, at the same time, obtained the assistance of the Macleods, Macleans, Macneils, Camerons, and others, compelled Sir James Macdonald, the last representative of that house, to fly to Spain; and the prime obstacle being thus removed, the Earl of Argyll obtained a grant of his lands, which was the real object of this atrocious combination. The most valuable portion of the property of the ducal house of Argyll consists of the lands of which the Macdonalds of Islay and Kintyre were thus violently despoiled. The Macdonalds of Keppoch remained long in possession of the district of Lochaber, in spite of every effort to dislodge and expel them. But they were engaged in continual feuds with their neighbours; and having been the last of the Highlanders to abandon that predatory system of warfare, in which, at one time, all of them were equally engaged, they may be said to have preserved the ancient character of their country until they ceased to exist as a separate clan. As to the Macdonalds of Sleat, they constitute the only branch which, in modern times, has increased in power and station; and as their chief has been ennobled by the title of Lord Macdonald, this circumstance has served to place him apparently at the head of the race, although his claim to such a distinction has been keenly and even violently disputed.

The pretensions of the different claimants to the honour of chief of the whole Clan Donald have been very fairly stated by Mr Skene. That the family of Sleat are the undoubted representatives of the last Lord of the Isles, appears to be admitted on all sides; but, on the other hand, if the descendants of Donald, from whom the clan received its name, or even of John of the Isles, who flourished in the reign of David II., are to be held as constituting one clan, then, according to the Highland principles of clanship, the *jus sanguinis*, or right of blood to the chiefship, rested in the male representative of John, whose own right was undoubted. By Amy, daughter of Roderick of the Isles, John had three sons,—John, Godfrey, and Ranald; but the last of these only left descendants; and it is from him that the Clan Ranald derive their origin. Again, by the daughter of Robert II. John had four sons: Donald, Lord of the Isles, the ancestor of the Macdonalds of Sleat; John Mor, from whom proceeded the Macconnells of Kintyre; Alister, the progenitor of Keppoch; and Angus, who does not appear to have left any descendants. That Amy, the daughter of Roderick, was John's legitimate wife, is proved, first, by a dispensation which the supreme Pontiff granted to John in the year 1337; and secondly, by a treaty concluded between John and David II. in 1369, when the hostages given to the king were a son of the second marriage, a grandson of the first, and a *natural* son. Besides, it is certain that the children of the first marriage were considered as John's feudal heirs; a circumstance which clearly establishes their legitimacy. It is true that Robert II., in pursuance of the policy he had adopted, persuaded John to make the chil-

dren of these respective marriages feudally independent of each other; and that the effect of this was to divide the possessions of his powerful vassal into two distinct and independent lordships. These were, first, the lordship of Garmoran and Lochaber, which was held by the eldest son of the first marriage,—and secondly, that of the Isles which passed to the eldest son of the second marriage; and matters appear to have remained in this state until 1427, when, as formerly mentioned, the Lord of Garmoran was beheaded, and his estates were forfeited to the crown. James I., however, reversing the policy which had been pursued by his predecessor, concentrated the possessions of the Macdonalds in the person of the Lord of the Isles, and thus sought to restore to him all the power and consequence which had originally belonged to his house; “but this arbitrary proceeding,” says Mr Skene, “could not deprive the descendants of the first marriage of the feudal representation of the chiefs of the Clan Donald, which now, on the failure of the issue of Godfrey in the person of his son Alexander, devolved on the feudal representative of Reginald, the youngest son of that marriage.”

The Clan Ranald are believed to have derived their origin from this Reginald or Ranald, who was a son of John of the Isles by Amy MacRory, and obtained from his father the lordship of Garmoran, which he held as vassal of his brother Godfrey. That this lordship continued in possession of the clan appears evident from the Parliamentary Records, in which, under the date of 1557, mention is made of the Clan Ranald of Knoydart, Moydart, and Glengarry. But considerable doubt has arisen, and there has been a good deal of controversy, as to the right of chiefship; whilst of the various families descended from Ranald each has put forward its claim to this distinction. On this knotty and ticklish point we shall content ourselves with stating the conclusions at which Mr Skene arrived, ‘after,’ as he informs us, ‘a rigid examination’ of the whole subject in dispute. According to him, the present family of Clanranald have no valid title or pretension whatever, being descended from an illegitimate son of a second son of the old family of Moydart, who, in 1531, assumed the title of Captain of Clanranald; and, consequently, as long as the descendants of the eldest son of that family remain, they can have no claim by right of blood to the chiefship. He then proceeds to examine the question,—Who was the chief previous to this assumption of the captaincy of Clanranald? and, from a genealogical induction of particulars, he concludes, that Donald, the progenitor of the family of Glengarry, was the eldest son of the Reginald or Ranald above-mentioned; that from John, the eldest son of Donald, proceeded the senior branch of this family, in which the chiefship was vested; that, in consequence of the grant of Garmoran to the Lord of the Isles, and other adverse circumstances, they became so much reduced, that the oldest cadet obtained the actual chiefship, under the ordinary title of captain; and that, on the extinction of this branch in the beginning of the seventeenth century, the family of Glengarry descended from Alister, second son of Donald,

became the legal representatives of Ranald, the common ancestor of the clan, and consequently possessed that *jus sanguinis* of which no usurpation could deprive them. Such are the results of Mr Skene's researches upon this subject. Latterly, the family of Glengarry have claimed not only the chiefship of clan Ranald, but likewise that of the whole clan Donald, as being the representative of Donald, the common ancestor of the clan; and it can scarcely be denied that the same evidence which makes good the one point must serve equally to establish the other. Nor does this appear to be any new pretension. When the services rendered by this family to the house of Stuart were rewarded by Charles II. with a peerage, the Glengarry of the time indicated his claim by assuming the title of Lord Macdonnell and Arross; and although upon the failure of heirs male of his body, this title did not descend to his successors, yet his lands formed, in consequence, the barony of Macdonnell.

The force of this clan has at all times been considerable. In 1427, the Macdonnells of Garmoran and Lochaber mustered 2000 men; in 1715, the whole clan furnished 2820; and in 1745, 2330. In a memorial drawn up by President Forbes of Culloden, and transmitted to the government soon after the insurrection in 1745, the force of every clan is detailed, according to the best information which the author of the report could procure at the time. This enumeration, which proceeds upon the supposition that the chieftain calculated on the military services of the youthful, the most hardy, and the bravest of his followers, omitting those who, from advanced age, tender years, or natural debility, were unable to carry arms, gives the following statement of the respective forces of the different branches of the Macdonalds:—

Macdonald of Sleat,	. . . . .	700 men.
Macdonald of Clanranald,	. . . . .	700
Macdonell of Glengarry,	. . . . .	500
Macdonell of Keppoch,	. . . . .	300
Macdonald of Glenco,	. . . . .	130
		<hr/>
In all,	. . . . .	2330 men.

Next to the Campbells, therefore, who could muster about 5000 men, the Macdonalds were by far the most numerous and powerful clan in the Highlands of Scotland.



## CHAPTER V.

1. *Clan Dugall*.—Their origin.—First appearance of this family.—Their opposition to Bruce.—Battle of Dalree, or the King's Field, and defeat of Bruce.—The Macdugalls, in their turn, defeated.—Consequences of this.—Bannockburn.—John of Lorn.—His marriage with a grand-daughter of Robert Bruce.—Subsequent history of the family.
- 2. *Siol Gillevray*.—Macneills.—Families of Barra and Gigha.—Clan Lachlan.—Clan Ewen.
- 3. *Siol Eachern*.—Clan Dugall Craignish.—Clan Lamond.

HAVING thus completed our account of the main stem or trunk, we shall now proceed to notice some of the principal branches that sprung from it, beginning with the Clan Dugall.

I. The Macdugalls have generally been derived from Dugall, who was the eldest son of Somerled, the common ancestor of the Clan Donald; and it has hitherto been supposed, that Alexander de Ergadia, the undoubted ancestor of the Clan Dugall, who first appears in the year 1284, was the son of Ewen de Ergadia, who figured so prominently at the period of the cession of the Isles. This opinion, however, Mr Skene conceives to be erroneous; first, because Ewen would seem to have died without leaving male issue; and, secondly, because it is contradicted by the manuscript of 1450, which states that the Clan Dugall, as well as the Clan Rory, and the Clan Donald, sprung not from Ewen, but from Ranald, the son of Somerled, through his son Dugall, from whom indeed they derived their name.

The first appearance which this family makes in history is at the convention which was held in the year 1284. In the list of those who attended on that occasion, we find the name of Alexander de Ergadia, whose presence was probably the consequence of his holding his lands by a crown charter; but from this period we lose sight of him entirely, until the reign of Robert Bruce, when the strenuous opposition offered by the lord of Lorn and by his son John to the succession of that king, restored his name to history, in connexion with that of Bruce. Alistair having married the third daughter of the Red Comyn, whom Bruce slew in the Dominican church at Dumfries, became the mortal enemy of the king; and, upon more than one occasion, during the early part of his reign, succeeded in reducing him to the greatest straits.

Bruce, after his defeat at Methven, on the 19th of June, 1306, withdrew to the mountainous parts of Breadalbane, and approached the borders of Argyleshire. His followers did not exceed three hundred men,



who, disheartened by defeat, and exhausted by privation, were not in a condition to encounter a superior force. In this situation, however, he was attacked by Macdugall of Lorn, at the head of a thousand men, part of whom were Macnabs, who had joined the party of John Baliol; and, after a severe conflict, he was compelled to abandon the field. In the retreat from Dalree, where the battle had been fought, the king was hotly pursued, and one of the followers of Macdugall having come up with him, seized hold of his cloak or plaid, which was fixed across his breast by a large brooch. The king turning hastily round, killed the man with his battle-axe; but in the hurry of the moment left the mantle and brooch, which were torn off by the dying grasp of Macdugall. This highly-prized trophy was long preserved as a remarkable relic in the family of Macdugall of Dunolly; until, according to General Stewart, it was destroyed when Dunolly castle, the family residence, was burned in the seventeenth century. Nor was this the only instance in which the king's life had been placed in jeopardy by the unrelenting hostility of the Macdugalls. On another occasion, when he had been obliged to conceal himself from the pursuit of his enemies, he was tracked by John of Lorn and a party of his followers, who were led on by a blood-hound; and he only escaped falling into their hands by an incredible effort of courage and activity. In his day of adversity, they were the most persevering and dangerous of all King Robert's enemies.

But the time for retribution at length arrived. When Robert Bruce had firmly established himself on the throne of Scotland, one of the first objects to which he directed his attention, was to crush his old enemies the Macdugalls, and to revenge the many injuries he had suffered at their hands. With this view, he marched into Argyleshire, determined to lay waste the country, and take possession of Lorn. His adversaries, however, were not unprepared to meet him, and to dispute his progress. On advancing, he found John of Lorn and his followers posted in a formidable defile between Ben Cruachan and Loch Awe, which it seemed impossible to force, and almost hopeless to turn. But the military eye of the king soon discovered that the natural difficulties which this position presented might be overcome by a combined attack; and, accordingly, having sent a party to ascend the mountain, gain the heights, and threaten the enemy's rear, he immediately attacked them in front, with the utmost fury. For a time the Macdugalls sustained the onset bravely; but, at length, perceiving themselves in danger of being assailed in the rear, as well as the front, and thus completely isolated in the defile, they betook themselves to flight; and the difficulties of the pass, which had been of advantage to them in the first instance, now that they were broken and thrown in disorder, proved the cause of their ruin. Unable to escape from the mountain gorge, they were slaughtered without mercy, and, by this reverse, their power was completely broken. Bruce then laid waste Argyleshire, besieged and took the castle of Dunstaffnage, and received the submission of Alister of Lorn, the father of John, who now fled to

England. Alister was allowed to retain the district of Lorn; but the rest of his possessions were forfeited, and given to Angus of Islay, who had all along remained faithful to the king's interests.

When John of Lorn arrived as a fugitive in England, King Edward was making preparations for that expedition, which terminated so gloriously for Scotland in the ever-memorable battle of Bannockburn. John was received with open arms, appointed to the command of the English fleet, and ordered to sail for Scotland, in order to co-operate with the land forces. But the total defeat and dispersion of the latter soon afterwards confirmed Bruce in possession of the throne; and being relieved from the apprehension of any further aggression on the part of the English king, he resolved to lose no time in driving the lord of Lorn from the Isles, where he had made his appearance with the fleet under his command. Accordingly, on his return from Ireland whither he had accompanied his brother Edward, he directed his course towards the Isles, and having arrived at Tarbet, is said to have caused his galleys to be dragged over the isthmus which connects Kintyre and Knapdale. This bold proceeding was crowned with success. The English fleet was surprised and dispersed; and its commander having been made prisoner, was sent to Dumbarton, and afterwards to Lochleven, where he was detained in confinement during the remainder of King Robert's reign.

On the death of Bruce, however, John recovered his liberty, and by a politic alliance with the royal family, regained the possessions which had been forfeited in consequence of his connexion with the Red Comyn. In the early part of the reign of David II., he married a grand-daughter of Robert Bruce, and through her not only recovered the ancient possessions of his family, but even obtained a grant of the property of Glenlyon. These extensive territories, however, were not destined to remain long in the family. Ewen, the last lord of Lorn, died without male issue; and his two daughters having married, the one John Stewart of Innermeath, and the other his brother Robert Stewart, an arrangement was entered into between these parties, in virtue of which the descendants of John Stewart acquired the whole of the Lorn possessions, with the exception of the castle of Dunolly and its dependencies, which remained to the other branch of the family; and thus terminated the power of this branch of the descendants of Somerled. The chieftainship of the clan now descended to the family of Dunolly, which continued to enjoy the small portion which remained to them of their ancient possessions until the year 1715, when the representative of the family incurred the penalty of forfeiture for his accession to the insurrection of that period; thus, by a singular contrast of circumstances, "losing the remains of his inheritance to replace upon the throne the descendants of those princes, whose accession his ancestors had opposed at the expense of their feudal grandeur." The estate, however, was restored to the family in 1745, as a reward for their not having taken any part in the more formidable rebellion of that year. In President

Forbes's Report on the strength of the clans, the force of the Macdougalls is estimated at 200 men.

II. Besides the Macdonalds and the Macdougalls, various other clans in Argyleshire appear to have sprung from the original stock of the Siol Cuinn. From the manuscript of 1450, we learn that, in the twelfth century, there lived a certain Gillebride, surnamed King of the Isles, who derived his descent from a brother of Suibne, the ancestor of the Macdonalds, who was slain in the year 1034; and the same authority deduces from Anradan, or Henry, the son of this Gillebride, the Macneills, the Maclachlans, the Macewens, and the Maclairishs. The genealogy, by which this Gillebride is derived from an ancestor of the Macdonalds in the beginning of the eleventh century, is, perhaps, of questionable authenticity; and so, indeed, are almost all others which have reference to a rude and barbarous age; but the traditionary affinity which is thus shown to have existed between these clans and the race of Somerled at so early a period, would seem to countenance the notion that they had all originally sprung from the same stock. The original seat of this race appears to have been in Lochaber. It has received the name of Siol Gillebride, or Gillevray, from the circumstance mentioned by an old sennachie of the Macdonalds, that, in the time of Somerled, the principal surnames in that country were MacInnes and MacGillevray, which is the same as MacInnes. The different branches of this tribe, therefore, probably formed but one clan, under the denomination of the Clan Gillevray. But on the conquest of Argyle by Alexander II., they were involved in the ruin which overtook all the adherents of Somerled; with the exception of the Macneills, who consented to hold their lands off the crown, and the Maclachlans, who regained their former consequence by means of marriage with an heiress of the Lamonds. After the breaking up of the clan, the other branches appear to have followed, as their chief, Macdougall Campbell of Craignish, the head of a family, which is descended from the kindred race of MacInnes of Ardgour.

I. When the Macneills made their first appearance in history, about the beginning of the fifteenth century, they were already a powerful clan in Knapdale. This district was not included in the sheriffdom of Argyle, and hence it is probable that their ancestor had consented to hold his lands of the crown. In the beginning of the preceding century, it had been forfeited, and given by Robert Bruce to John de Menteth, although for what reason, has not been ascertained. The next notice of the Macneills is contained in a charter granted by Alexander, Lord of the Isles; it is dated in 1427, and conveys to Gilleonan Roderic Murchard Macneill the island of Barra, and the lands of Boysdale in Uist, with the benefit of survivorship to his brothers, and remainder to the heirs-general of his father. But Barra was not at this time chief of the clan; an honour which seems to have belonged to Hector Mactorquil Macneill, heritable keeper of the castle of Swen. In 1478, the family of Gigha first made their appearance in the person of Malcolm Macneill; and,

from this period, the clan remained divided into the two branches of Barra and Gigha, part of their possessions being completely separated, and situated at a considerable distance from the rest. How this came to pass, it is not easy to conjecture; but the circumstance has occasioned a dispute regarding the chiefship between the Macneills of Barra and the family Taynish or Gigha, each of whom lays claim to that distinction. It would seem, however, that as late as the middle of the sixteenth century, neither of these families was in possession of the chiefship. In the register of the Privy Council there appears, under the date of 1550, a letter addressed "to Torkill Macneill, chief and principal of the clan, and surname of Macnelis;" and as the Gigha of that period was named Neill Macnele, and the Barra Gilleonan Macnell, it is evident that the "Torkill," here mentioned, must have been a different person from either of these, and was probably, as Mr Skene conjectures, the hereditary keeper of Castle Swen, in which capacity we discover the first chief of the clan. But as the family of these hereditary keepers seems to have become extinct in the person of this Torkill, we cannot, after this period, trace any chief distinct from the families of Barra and Gigha, to the former of which tradition points as that wherein the right of chiefship now probably resides.

2. In the manuscript of 1450, the Maclachlans are traced to Gilchrist, a grandson of that Anradan, or Heury, from whom all the clans of this tribe are descended; and this is further confirmed by the circumstance that, where the manuscript mentions a Gillepadrig MacGilchrist as one of the chiefs of the clan, the cartulary of Paisley contains a charter of the same period, granted by 'Laumanus filius Malcolmi,' the ancestor of the Lamonts, and attested by 'Gillpatrick filius Gilchristi.' According to the tradition of the clan, the Maclachlans acquired their lands in Cowall by means of a marriage with an heiress of the Lamonds; and the manuscript which states that Gilchrist married the daughter of Lachlan MacRory, contemporary with Angus MacRory, lord of Cowall, and chief of the Lamonds, apparently indicates the same fact. The original seat of the Maclachlans appears to have been in Lochaber, where an old branch of of the family has long been settled under the name of Camerons. Soon after their acquisitions in Cowall, they became dependent upon the Campbells; but they still remained a clan of considerable strength, and during a long period experienced no material change of condition. In the year 1745 their strength was estimated at 300 men.

3. Upon a rocky promontory situated on the coast of Lochfyne, may still be discerned the vestige of a building, called in Gaelic Chaistel Mhic Eobhuin, or the castle of MacEwen. In Macfarlane's account of the parish of Kilfinnan, this MacEwen is described as the chief of a clan, and proprietor of the northern division of the parish called Otter; and in the manuscript of 1450, which contains the genealogy of the *Clan Faghan na Hoitric*, or Clan Ewen of Otter, they are derived from Anradan, the common ancestor of the Maclachlans and the Macneills. This

family soon became extinct, and their property gave title to a branch of the Campbells, by whom it appears to have been subsequently acquired, though in what manner we have no means of ascertaining.

III. Under the name of *Siol Eachern* are included the Macdougall Campbells of Craignish, and the Lamonds of Lamond, both very old clans in Argyleshire, and supposed to have been originally of the same race.

1. "The policy of the Argyll family," says Mr Skene, "led them to employ every means for the acquisition of property, and the extension of the clan. One of the arts which they used for the latter purpose was to compel those clans which had become dependent upon them to adopt the name of Campbell; and this, when successful, was generally followed at an after period, by the assertion that that clan was descended from the house of Argyll. In general, the clans thus adopted into the race of Campbell, are sufficiently marked out by their being promoted only to the honour of being an illegitimate branch; but the tradition of the country invariably distinguishes between the real Campbells, and those who were compelled to adopt their name." There is nothing very wonderful in this, however; indeed such appears to have been more or less the policy of all the great families in the north, who seldom failed to embrace any opportunity that offered for increasing the number of their vassals and dependents, who formed the chief element of their power. Of the policy in question, the Campbells of Craignish are said to have afforded a remarkable instance. According to the Argyle system, as here described, they are represented as the descendants of Dugall, an illegitimate son of a Campbell, who lived in the twelfth century. But the tradition of the country has assigned to them a different origin. The common belief amongst the people is, that their ancient name was MacEachern, and that they were of the same race with the Macdonalds; nor are there wanting circumstances which seem to give countenance to this tradition. Their arms are charged with the galley of the Isles, from the mast of which depends a shield exhibiting some of the distinctive bearings of the Campbells; and, what is even more to the purpose, the manuscript of 1450 contains a genealogy of the MacEacherns, in which they are derived from a certain Nicol MacMurdoch, who lived in the twelfth century. Besides, when the MacGillevrays and MacIans of Morvern and Ard-gour were broken up and dispersed, many of their septs, although not resident on the property of the Craignish family, acknowledged its head as their chief. But as the MacGillevrays and the MacIans were two branches of the same clan, which had separated as early as the twelfth century; and as the MacEacherns appear to have been of the same race, Murdoch, the first of the clan, being contemporary with Murdoch the father of Gillebride, the ancestor of the Siol Gillevrays; it may be concluded, that the Siol Eachern and the MacIans were of the same clan; and this is further confirmed by the circumstance, that there was an old family of MacEacherns which occupied Kingerloch, bordering on Ard-gour, the ancient property of the MacIans. That branch of the Siol



Eachern which settled at Craignish, were called Clan Dugall Craignish, and obtained, it is said, the property known by this name from the brother of Campbell of Lochowe, in the reign of David II. The lands of Colin Campbell of Lochowe, having been forfeited in that reign, his brother, Gillespie Campbell, appears to have obtained a grant of them from the crown; and it is not improbable, that the Clan Dugall Craignish acquired from the latter their right to the property of Craignish. After the restoration of the Lochowe family, by the removal of the forfeiture, that of Craignish were obliged to hold their lands, not of the crown, but of the house of Argyle. Nevertheless, they continued for some time, a considerable family, maintaining a sort of independence, until at length, yielding to the influence of that policy which has already been described, they merged, like most of the neighbouring clans, in that powerful race by whom they were surrounded.

2. It is an old and accredited tradition in the Highlands, that the Lamonds were the most ancient proprietors of Cowall, and that the Stewarts, Maclachlans, and Campbells, obtained possession of their property in that district by marriage with daughters of the family. At an early period a very small part only of Upper Cowall was included in the sheriffdom of Argyle, the remainder being comprehended in that of Perth. It may, therefore, be presumed that, on the conquest of Argyle by Alexander II. the lord of Lower Cowall had submitted to the king, and obtained a crown charter. But, in little more than half a century after that event, we find the High Steward in possession of Lower Cowall, and the Maclachlans in possession of Strathlachlan. It appears, indeed, that, in 1242, Alexander the High Steward of Scotland, married Jean, the daughter of James son of Angus MacRory, who is styled Lord of Bute; and, from the manuscript of 1450, we learn that, about the same period, Gilchrist Maclachlan married the daughter of Lachlan MacRory; from which it is probable that this Roderic or Rory was the third individual who obtained a crown charter for Lower Cowall, and that by these intermarriages, the property passed from his family into the hands of the Stewarts and the Maclachlans. The coincidence of these facts, with the tradition above-mentioned, would seem also to indicate that Angus MacRory was the ancestor of the Lamonds.

After the marriage of the Steward with the heiress of Lamond, the next of that race of whom any mention is made is Duncan MacFerchar, and "Laumanus," son of Malcolm, and grandson of the same Duncan, who appear to have granted to the monks of Paisley a charter of the lands of Kilmore near Lochgilp, and also of the lands "which they and their predecessors held at Kilmun, (*quas nos et antecessores nostri apud Kilmun habuerunt.*)" In the same year, "Laumanus," the son of Malcolm, also granted a charter of the lands of Kilfinnan, which, in 1295, is confirmed by Malcolm, the son and heir of the late "Laumanus," (*domini quondam Laumani.*) But in an instrument, or deed, dated in 1466, between the monastery of Paisley and John Lamond of Lamond,



regarding the lands of Kilfinnan, it is expressly stated, that these lands had belonged to the ancestors of John Lamond; and hence, it is evident, that the "Laumanus," mentioned in the previous deed, must have been one of the number, if not indeed the chief and founder of the family. "From Laumanus," says Mr Skene, "the clan appear to have taken the name of Maclaman or Lamond, having previously to his time borne the name of Macerachar, and Clan mhic Earachar."

The connexion of this clan with that of Dugall Craignish, is indicated by the same circumstances which point out the connexion of other branches of the tribe; for whilst the Craignish family preserved its power, it was followed by a great portion of the Clan mhic Earachar, although it possessed no feudal right to their services. "There is one peculiarity connected with the Lamonds," says Mr Skene, "that although by no means a powerful clan, their genealogy can be proved by charters, at a time when most other Highland families are obliged to have recourse to tradition, and the genealogies of their ancient sennachies; but their antiquity could not protect the Lamonds from the encroachments of the Campbells, by whom they were soon reduced to as small a portion of their original possessions in Lower Cowall, as the other Argyleshire clans had been of theirs."\* The Lamonds were a clan of the same description as the Machlachlans, and, like the latter, they have, notwithstanding "the encroachments of the Campbells," still retained a portion of their ancient possessions. The chief of this family is Lamond of Lamond.

\* Skene's *Highlanders*, vol. ii. part ii. chap. 4.

## CHAPTER VI.

District of Athole.—Its claims to attention.—This district the original patrimony of the family which gave kings to Scotland, from Duncan to Alexander III.—Crinan, abbot of Dunkeld, the father of Duncan.—Title of Abthane.—Circumstances in which it originated.—Clan Donnachie.—Its origin and descent.—Possessions.—Clan Pharlan.—The Macfarlanes descended from Gilchrist, a younger brother of Maldun, Earl of Lennox.—Proof of this.—History and character of the clan.

THE district of Athole is one which possesses peculiar claims to attention. From a remote period, it has preserved its name and its boundaries unchanged. The former, indeed, occurs in the history of Scotland long before mention is made of any other territorial division; and it has always been inhabited by a people distinguished alike for their bravery and their love of independence. But to some its principal interest arises from the circumstance that the family, which, between the eleventh and fourteenth century, gave a long line of kings to Scotland, belonged to this district, where they had been established for a considerable period before they were raised to the throne of their native country by the marriage of their ancestor with the daughter of Malcolm II. Their elevation was the consequence of an event well known in Scottish history. When Thorfinn, the Norwegian earl of Orkney, conquered the north of Scotland, the only portion of the ancient Caledonian territory which remained independent of his power was the district of Athole, and part of that of Argyle. The Lord of the Isles had been slain in an unsuccessful attempt to preserve his insular dominions, and the king of the Scots, with the flower of his nobility, had also fallen in that short but bloody campaign. But somehow Athole escaped the grasp of the victorious Norwegian; and to this circumstance, apparently, it was owing that the ancestor of the family which anciently possessed that district, was raised to the throne. Of the nobility, indeed, there does not appear to have been any one left of sufficient power and influence to resist the progress of the Norwegians, or to seize upon the vacant throne. The overthrow of the Scots had been complete. Thorfinn, like a destroying angel, had annihilated all before him. In this disastrous condition, the Scots had recourse to Duncan, the son of Crinan, abbot of Dunkeld, by the daughter of Malcolm II., their last king; but, after a reign of six years, Duncan was slain in an attempt to recover the northern districts of the country from the Norwegians; and his sons were driven out by Macbeth, who, for a time, ruled over the south, whilst the Norwegians possessed the north of Scotland.

After the overthrow of this usurper, however, and the establishment

of Malcolm Keanmore on the throne, the Lowlands of Scotland were, according to the Saxon policy, divided into earldoms, all of which were granted to members of the royal family. This fact seems conclusive as to the entire overthrow of the Scots, and the destruction of the nobility in the struggle with the Norwegians; indeed the policy of Malcolm Keanmore, and his successors, is not reconcileable with any other supposition. The districts included in Thorfinn's conquest reverted, it is true, to the descendants of the original proprietors, after the expulsion of the Norwegians by Malcolm; but the earldoms into which the rest of the country was divided, and the grants which were made of these to different members of the royal family, may all be traced to this victorious monarch, and appear to have been the consequence of the almost entire destruction of the ancient nobility. These earldoms appear to have consisted of the country inhabited by the Scots, with the addition of the district of Athole; and from this latter circumstance, it has not unreasonably been presumed that Athole was the original possession of this royal race. When the descendants of Duncan, the eldest son of Malcolm Keanmore, were excluded from the throne by that king's younger sons, the former succeeded to the earldom of Athole; a circumstance which seems decisive as to that district having originally been the patrimonial possession of their family. And this is further confirmed by the designation which early Scottish historians applied to Crinan, the founder of the royal race. The abbot of Dunkeld, who had married Beatrice, the daughter of Malcolm II., and whose son, Duncan, the issue of this marriage, succeeded his maternal grandfather, and was murdered by Macbeth, is styled by Fordun, Crinan "*Abthanus de Dull ac Seneschallus Insularum.*" Pinkerton has dogmatically denied that such a denomination as Abthane was ever known or heard of; but Mr Skene has most conclusively shown, not only that there was such a title as Abthane in Scotland, but that the very title of Abthane of Dull existed until a comparatively late period.\* It is plain, however, that Fordun neither knew

\* With respect to the title of "*Abthanus de Dull*," Mr Pinkerton remarks that "to support this nonsense, Fordun brings more nonsense, and tells us *abba* is father and *thuana* is 'respondens vel numerans,' and *Abthane* was a chamberlain who managed the king's rents and treasury. But who," he adds, "ever heard of an Abthane? and who knows not that Dull, a village, could not give a title which was, in that age, territorial?" But from different chartularies, Mr Skene brings evidence to show, first, that there was such a title as that of Abthane in Scotland; and, secondly, that the particular title of Abthane of Dull existed until a comparatively recent period. 1. The chartulary of Dunfermline contains a charter by William the Lion to the Bishop of Dunkeld, in which the king grants to the prelate the "*terra de Abbethayn de Kilmichael*," in Strathardolf (Kirkmichael in Strathardle). 2. The chartulary of St Andrew's contains a charter by Hugh, Bishop of Dunkeld, the condition of which is, "*Reditu viginti solidorum qui nos et clericos nostros contingit de Abthania de Dull.*" 3. In the chartulary of Inchaffray, there is a charter by William the Lion to Gilbert, Earl of Stratherne, granting the latter Madderty, and confirmation by Galfridus, Bishop of Dunkeld, of the same grant, "*et super terra quæ Abthen de Madderdyn dicitur, et super quieta clamazione de Can et Conneck qui clerici Dunkelden antiquitus ab eadem Abthen perceperunt.*" 4. In Robertson's *Index* mention is made of a charter in which David II. grants to John Drummond the office of baillie of the *Abthain of Dull* in Athole. And, 5. in the same *Index*,

what this title actually meant, nor had he any conception of the existence of the Abthanery of Dull, independently of Crinan, the father of Duncan. This, however, only renders it the more evident that he must have derived his information from some authentic source. For, on the one hand, it is difficult to conceive that he would invent a title of which he could not give some feasible explanation; and, on the other, it is impossible to believe that, if he had been aware of the actual existence of the Abthanery of Dull, he would have brought forward the "nonsense" on which Mr Pinkerton has animadverted. As far as can now be traced, Crinan was the first of the race which gave kings to Scotland from Duncan to Alexander III. Their origin is lost in obscurity. But supposing that Fordun derived his information from an authentic source, (which, for the reasons stated, appears highly probable,) it becomes a matter of some historical importance to determine the true import of the title of Abthane in general, as well as that of Dull in particular. On this subject, Mr Skene has a very curious disquisition, the substance of which we shall endeavour to state as briefly as possible.

The title of Abthane seems to have been peculiar to Scotland, and of but rare occurrence even in that country. No traces have been discovered of more than the three Abthaneries mentioned in the preceding note, viz. that of Dull in Athole, that of Kirkmichael in Strathardle, and that of Madderty in Stratherne. It would seem, therefore, that Abthane was not so much a distinctive title as a modification of that of Thane; and hence it must have originated subsequently to the introduction of Thanes into Scotland. An idea formerly prevailed that Thanes were the ancient governors of provinces; but this is now universally abandoned, and it is admitted that the Scottish Thane was the same with the English Theyn or Thane, having been introduced along with the Saxon policy into Scotland. According to George Chalmers, indeed, the Thane was merely a land-steward or bailiff, and the Abthane the steward of the abbot, in the same way as the King's Thane was the steward of the king. But it seems impossible to admit either of these explanations. For, in the first place, it is evident that the Saxon Thane was not a land-steward, but the actual proprietor of a certain extent of land held directly of the crown, in other words, that it was the title of a Saxon landed proprietor of nearly the same rank and station as a Norman baron; and, secondly, as only three instances have been found of the title of Abthane connected with land in Scotland, it is not easy to conceive

another charter is mentioned in which the same king grants to Donald Macnayre the "terra de Ester Fossache (Easter Foss) in *Abthania de Dull*, in vic. de Perth." These notices, collected by Mr Skene, clearly establish the two points already mentioned, viz. the existence of Abthanes and Abthaneries in Scotland, and also that of the particular Abthanery of Dull in Athole. (Skene's *Highlanders*, vol. ii. part ii. chap. 5.) We may add, that Mr Pinkerton has erred in supposing that Dull was merely a village, and therefore could not give a title which, in that age, was territorial. Dull is the name of a *district* in Athole, as well as that of a village, and consequently might give a territorial title as well as any other.

that this could have been the general name for the steward of an abbot, or that it was any thing, in short, excepting a peculiar modification of the title Thane. Judging from analogy, therefore, we may, with some confidence, infer that the Thanes and the Abthanes of Scotland were proprietors of land in that country.

The Norman institutions were not introduced into Scotland until the accession of David I. in the year 1124. Previously to this event not a trace of their existence can be discovered in that country. But it seems certain that during the reign of Edgar, who entered Scotland at the head of a Saxon army, and that of his successor, Alexander I., the constitution of Scotland became purely Saxon. It follows, therefore, that, during these two reigns, or between the years 1098 and 1124, we must look for the origin of Abthanes. But of what class or order of persons were these Abthanes? The presumption seems to be, that Abthane was strictly analogous to Thane, and implied a Saxon landed proprietor. The prefix *Ab* is merely discriminative of a specific variety, and seems to be an abbreviation of *Abbas*, signifying an abbot; *Abbas-Thanus* being shortened into *Abthamus*. Abthanes are defined by Ducange, “*Abbates qui simul erant comites* ;” and this derives some support from the analogous case of the *Abbacomites* in Germany, as well as that of the *Abbamilites*, or abbots who held lands of a subject superior. It appears, therefore, that Abthamus was merely *Abbas qui simul erat Thanus*, or an abbot who possessed a thanedom; and as thanedoms were undoubtedly hereditary in Scotland, it is natural to suppose that the name when once applied, would remain, until it was, in progress of time, superseded by some other. As to the Abthaneries of Dull, Kirkmichael, and Madderty, it may be observed that they were in some respects similarly situated. In the first place, at the earliest period to which we can trace them, they were vested in the crown; and, secondly, the monks of Dunkeld had ancient rights connected with all of them. But, to say nothing of these Abthaneries being in the crown, the rights possessed by the monks of Dunkeld, to the exclusion of the bishop, leave little doubt that the Abthane by whom they were held must have been the Culdee abbot of Dunkeld, who was only superseded by the bishop in the reign of David I.; and that the king of Scotland must have been the heir of that abbot. But all these circumstances are true of the abbot of Dunkeld in the reign of Edgar; for he was the youngest brother of that sovereign, and, on his decease, Edgar, who survived him, became in reality his heir. Upon the whole, then, it may be concluded that Ethelred, abbot of Dunkeld, received from his brother Edgar three thanedoms, under the peculiar appellation of Abthaneries; that as he was the only abbot of royal blood, so these were the only Abthaneries in Scotland; and that, upon his death, they all fell back to the crown.

“This,” says Mr Skene, “will likewise account for the appellation given by Fordun to Crinan. At that period there was certainly no such title in Scotland; but it is equally certain that there were no



charters; and although Crinan had not the name, he may have been in fact the same thing. He was certainly abbot of Dunkeld, and he may have likewise possessed that extensive territory which, from the same circumstance, was afterwards called the Abthanedom of Dull. Fordun certainly inspected the records of Dunkeld; and the circumstance can only be explained by supposing that Fordun may have there seen the deed granting the Abthanedom of Dull to Ethelred, Abbot of Dunkeld, which would naturally state that it had been possessed by his *proavus* Crinan, and from which Fordun would conclude that as Crinan possessed the thing, he was also known by the name of *Abthanus de Dull*. From this, therefore, we learn the very singular fact, that the race which gave a long line of kings to Scotland, were originally lords of that district in Athole, lying between Strathtay and Rannoch, which was afterwards termed the *Abthania de Dull*.\*

If tradition may be in aught believed, the Clan Donnachie were originally a branch of the Clan Donald, and the first of the Robertsons of Strowan, called Duncan the Fat, was a son of Angus Mor, Lord of the Isles. But the Robertsons are not one of the clans mentioned in the manuscript of 1450, which, though it specifies minutely the descendants of the sons of Angus Mor, does not include in the number the founder of this clan; and there are other circumstances which render it improbable that the Robertsons had ever had any connexion as a clan with the Macdonalds. The real descent of the family appears to be indicated by their designation. They are uniformly described as "of Athole" (*de Atholia*;) and it is difficult to believe that the mere possession of lands by a stranger in that earldom could have entitled him to take such a designation. Athole was the name of a *comitatus*, and, after the accession of David I., it was as much a barony as any other in the kingdom. Besides, the name of the barony was only taken by its possessors and their descendants, and the use of such a territorial designation as certainly marks out a descent from some ancient baron, as if every step of the genealogy could be established. Of this Mr Skene has given various instances. Indeed, in the other earldoms of Scotland, it is almost invariably found that those families which take from an earldom their peculiar designation, are descendants in the male line of the ancient earls; and hence it may be inferred, in the case of the Robertsons, that the designation *de Atholia* indicates a descent from the ancient earls of Athole.

The possessions of Duncan of Athole, who is considered as the first of the Robertsons of Strowan, appear to have consisted, first, of the lands afterwards erected into the barony of Strowan, particularly Glenerochie, which formed the principal part of them; secondly, of the barony of Disher and Toyer, comprehending the greater part of the present district of Braidalbane; and, thirdly, of Dallmagarth, called *Adulia* in the

\* Skene's *Highlanders of Scotland*, vol. ii. pp. 137, 138.



ancient chartularies, a property which appears to have been originally in possession of the earls of Athole since Malcolm, the third earl, is stated to have granted to St Andrews the *Ecclesia de Dull*, and this grant was afterwards confirmed by his son Henry, the fourth and last earl. The Lowland families, however, which succeeded Henry, and thereby obtained possession of a considerable portion of the earldom of Athole, did not acquire Dull, which appears to have remained in the hands of Duncan of Athole and his descendants; and as the latter could scarcely have wrested these lands by force, from the powerful barons who successively obtained the earldom of Athole, the only mode of accounting for their possessing them is by supposing that Dull constituted a male fief, and that the family which designed itself *de Atholia* were the heirs male of the ancient earls of Athole. But there are other circumstances which still more clearly indicate the real descent of the Robertsons. In the chartulary of Cupar, there is a charter by *Coningus filius Henrici comitis Atholice* to the abbey of Cupar, which shows him to have been proprietor of Glenerochie; and this charter, again, is confirmed by *Eugenius filius Coningi filii Henrici comitis Atholice*, who was likewise proprietor of Glenerochie. But Glenerochie is the same as Strowan, having been specially included in the charter by which the possessions of the family were erected into the barony of Strowan; and as the latter was unquestionably a male fief, it may reasonably be inferred that Duncan of Athole was descended from Ewen, (*Eugenius*,) the son of Conan, (*Coningus*,) who was the son of Henry, the last earl of Athole of the ancient race. And this conclusion is strengthened by another charter which has been described by Mr Skene.

"It appears from the chartulary of Inchaffray," says he, "that Ewen, the son of Conan, had married Maria, one of the two daughters and coheireses of Duncan, the son of Convalt, a powerful baron in Stratherne. Duncan's possessions consisted of Tullibardine and Finach in Stratherne, and of Lethindy in Gowrie; his eldest daughter, Muriel, married Malise, the seneschal of Stratherne, and their daughter, Ada, carried her mother's inheritance, consisting of the half of Tullibardine, the lands of Buchanty, &c., being the half of Finach, and part of Lethindy, to William de Moravia, predecessor of the Murrays of Tullibardine. The other half of these baronies went to Ewen MacConan, who married Maria, Duncan's youngest daughter. Now, we find that in 1284, this Maria granted her half of Tullibardine to her niece, Ada, and William Moray, her spouse; and in 1443, we find Robert Duncanson, the undoubted ancestor of the Robertsons of Strowan, designating himself *Dominus de Fynach*, and granting his lands of Finach, in Stratherne, *consanguineo suo Davidi de Moravia Domino de Tullibardine*. The descent of the family from Ewen, the son of Conan, the second son of Henry earl of Athole, the daughters of whose eldest son carried the earldom into Lowland families, is thus put beyond all doubt, and the Strowan Robertsons thus appear to be the male heirs of the old earls of

Athole." From this view of the genealogy of the Clan Donnachie, it would therefore appear that after the death of Henry, the last Celtic earl of Athole, the district of Athole was divided into two parts; that the eastern descended in the female line; and that the western or more inaccessible portion was apportioned amongst the male descendants of the ancient earls, conformably to the law of gavel, as it obtained in the Highlands of Scotland.

Duncan, surnamed the Fat, married a daughter of a certain Callum Rua, or Malcolm the Red-haired, who, being styled Leamnach, is supposed to have been connected with the earls of Lennox;\* and by this lady he acquired a considerable addition to his lands, including the southern division of the glen or district of Rannoch. From Duncan the Fat, who appears to have possessed extensive territories in the wild and mountainous parts of Athole, the clan derived their distinctive appellation; and the same corpulent personage is the hero of many traditionary stories which still survive in the memory of the people. He was succeeded by his son, Robert de Atholia, who, having married a daughter of Sir John Sterling of Glenesk, obtained by her part of her father's property; which, however, his daughter Jean afterwards carried into the family of Menzies of Fothergill. By a second marriage with one of the coheiresses of Fordell, Robert had four sons, Thomas, Duncan, Patrick, the ancestor of the Robertsons of Lude, and Gibbon. In the celebrated foray or incursion which the Highlanders made into Angus in the year 1392, when Sir Walter Ogilvie and many other Lowland barons were slain, the Clan Donnachie, which then appeared for the first time as a distinct tribe, played a conspicuous part, under their three leaders, Thomas, Patrick, and Gibbon, evincing singular proficiency in the wild, lawless, and predatory habits peculiar to that barbarous age. According to Winton, these chiefs were surnamed Duncansons. Thomas died leaving an only daughter, who carried part of the property by marriage into the family of Robertson of Straloch; but the barony of Strowan went to Duncan, the eldest brother of Thomas,† and he, again, was succeeded by his son, Robert, who figures as one of the heroes of the race.

Possessing considerable power, and addicted to plunder, which he appears to have followed as a regular calling, this Robert was held in great dread by the adjoining Lowlanders, whom he continually harassed by his predatory incursions, despoiling them of their cattle and other property. In those days when might made right, the peaceful inhabi-

\* Under the date of 1296, there appears on the Ragman's roll the name of Malcolm de Glendochart, who is supposed to be the same person with the Callum Rua above mentioned. Another daughter of Malcolm married Menzies, whom, soon afterwards, we find in possession of Glendochart, and the northern side of Rannoch; and his descent from the Earls of Lennox has been inferred from the circumstance (slight enough, no doubt,) that "John Glendochart" is found witnessing a charter of Malduin, or Maldowen, the third Earl of Lennox.

† In 1432 this Duncan is described in a writing of that period as *Duncanus de Atholia dominus de Rannoch*.

taunts of the plains were plundered with impunity by the lawless caterans of the mountains, or were obliged to compound with thieves and robbers whom the general government was too weak to repress or punish, by sacrificing a portion of their property for the preservation of the remainder. The career of this freebooter was, however, distinguished by one rather remarkable incident. After the murder of James I. by the Earl of Athole, the chief of the Clan Donnachie was fortunate enough to arrest his accomplice Graham, whom, with the Master of Athole, he delivered up to the vengeance of the government; and in return for this service, the lands which remained to his family were erected into a barony, and he was authorized to carry upon his escutcheon a man in chains, and to assume the motto *Virtutis gloria merces*, Glory is the reward of virtue. It will not perhaps be disputed that the virtue, the glory, and the reward of this act were all in the most harmonious keeping. Indeed the wonder is, that some more substantial acknowledgment was not asked and obtained. But considering the habits of this Robert, there was probably a good deal to be forgiven. The circumstances of his death, too, are equally characteristic of the man and the times. Having had some dispute with Forrester of Torwood respecting the lands of Little Dunkeld, of which a feu had been granted to the latter by the bishop of Dunkeld, but which were claimed by Strowan, in virtue of some pretended title, that chief adopted the old Highland method of advancing his pretensions by ravaging the lands in dispute. But, on this occasion violence was met by violence, and the issue proved fatal to Strowan. On his way to Perth, he was met by Forrester, with a party of his friends near the village of Auchtergaven, and a conflict immediately ensued in which Robertson was mortally wounded in the head. The hardy chief, however, having bound up his head with a white cloth, continued his journey to Perth, and having there obtained from the king a new grant of the lands of Strowan, as a reward for the capture of the Master of Athole, set out on his return, but almost immediately afterwards expired of his wounds.

The remaining possessions of the family of Strowan had likewise been erected into a barony; but being surrounded by the lands of powerful neighbours, this circumstance could not save them from alienation; and in fact the greater part of them soon found their way into the hands of the grasping barons in the neighbourhood, who, as usual, unscrupulously employed their power to extend their territories. In that age, as has already been remarked, might generally constituted right; and to this it may here be added, that right could only be maintained by might. In proportion as the power of a family declined, its possessions diminished; the law was nearly if not altogether inoperative in the Highlands; and to be defenceless was to incur the hazard, or rather the certainty, of spoliation. Some generations afterwards, the Earl of Athole, taking advantage of a mortgage (*Scotice*, a wadset) which he held over the lands of Strowan, succeeded in obtaining possession of nearly the half

of the remaining estates of the family ; and notwithstanding the manifest injustice of the transaction, the Robertsons were never afterwards able to recover the property of which they had thus been despoiled, nor to obtain redress for the wrong committed by a nobleman of so much power and influence. But although their territorial possessions were thus greatly curtailed, the Robertsons always contrived to maintain a prominent rank amongst the Highland Clans ; and, yielding to none in loyalty and attachment to the house of Stuart, they took an active share in every attempt that was made to replace upon the throne of these realms the descendants of their ancient line of kings. The exploits of Alexander Robertson of Strowan, in the insurrection of 1715, the eccentricity of his habits, his poetical genius, so rare in a Highland chief, and the chivalrous heroism and simplicity of his character, have rendered his name familiar to every one. He was indeed a fine specimen of the dauntless, devoted, and high-bred cavalier ; a stranger alike to fear and to reproach ; brave, learned, and loyal ; a hero in the field, but distinguished alike for his generosity, kindness, and humanity, as well as for his wit and his peculiarities in the ordinary relations of life. Celebrated in the history of the times when he lived, he has been adopted by tradition, which delights to rehearse his achievements ; and, last of all, romance has adorned one of its most magnificent galleries with a full length portraiture of this fine old Scottish chief and cavalier.\* His family, however, paid dearly for their devotion to the cause of the exiled royal family ; but although their estates were three times forfeited, and their name was associated with every attempt made in Scotland to raise the standard of the ill-fated Stuarts, yet a descendant of the ancient house of Strowan still holds part of the original possessions of the clan, and with them inherits the patronymic of his race.

The force which the Robertsons could bring into the field was estimated at 800 men in 1715, and 700 in 1745. The principal seat of the family is Mount Alexander in Rannoch.

With the exception of the Clan Donnachie, the Clan Parlan or Pharlan is the only one, the descent of which from the ancient earls of the district where their possessions were situated, may be established by the authority of a charter. It appears indeed that the ancestor of this clan was Gilchrist, the brother of Maldowen or Malduin, the third earl of Lennox. This is proved by a charter of Maldowen, still extant, by which he gives to his brother Gilchrist a grant “ de terris de superiori Arrochar de Luss ;” and these lands, which continued in possession of the clan until the death of the last chief, have at all times constituted their principal inheritance.

But although the descent of the clan from the Earls of Lennox be

\* See *Waverley*, in which the reader will, without difficulty, discover that Alexander Robertson of Strowan formed the prototype of the brave, chivalrous, learned, eccentric, kind-hearted, jovial, Baron of Bradwardine.

thus established, the origin of their ancestors is by no means so easily settled. Of all the native earls of Scotland, those of this district alone have had a foreign origin assigned to them, though, apparently, without any sufficient reason. The first Earl of Lennox who appears on record is *Aluin comes de Levenax*, who lived in the early part of the thirteenth century; and there is some reason to believe that from this Aluin the later earls of Lennox were descended. A different opinion has indeed been expressed by some antiquaries, who, on very slender grounds indeed, have supposed that the founder of this noble family was a certain Northumbrian, called Archillus, who had fled into Scotland, in consequence of the success of William the Conqueror. But, independently of the constant tradition that the Earls of Lennox were of native origin, Mr Skene has shown, from a variety of considerations, that this notion is entirely groundless. In fact, several generations intervened between Archillus the Northumbrian and Archill the father of Aluin, who is supposed from charters still extant to have been the first earl of Lennox, having been raised to that dignity by William the Lion. It is no doubt impossible to determine now who this Aluin really was; but, in the absence of direct authority, we gather from tradition that the heads of the family of Lennox, before being raised to the peerage, were hereditary seneschals of Stratherne, and bailies of the Abthanery of Dull in Athole. Aluin was succeeded by a son of the same name, who is frequently mentioned in the chartularies of Lennox and Paisley, and who died before the year 1225. He was succeeded by his eldest son Maldowen; and of his other sons, eight in number, only two appear to have left male descendants. One of these, Aulay, founded the family of Fassalane; and another, Gilchrist, having obtained possession of the northern part of Lennox, became the progenitor of the Macfarlanes. Maldowen, the third earl, who died about the year 1270, surrendered to the king Dumbarton castle, which had previously been the chief seat of his family. Of the fourth and fifth earls very little is known. They bore each the name of Malcolm, and the latter was killed at the battle of Halidon-hill, in the year 1333. In his son Donald, the sixth earl, the male branch of the family became extinct. Margaret the daughter of Donald, married Walter de Fassalane, the heir male of the family; but this alliance failed to accomplish the objects intended by it, or, in other words, to preserve the honours and power of the house of Lennox. Their son Duncan, the eighth earl, had no male issue, and his eldest daughter Isabella, having married Sir Murdoch Stuart, the eldest son of the Regent, he and his family became involved in the ruin which overwhelmed the unfortunate house of Albany. At the death of Isabella, in 1460, the earldom was claimed by three families; but that of Stewart of Darnley eventually overcame all opposition, and acquired the title and estates of Lennox. Their accession took place in the year 1488; upon which the clans that had been formerly united with the earls of the old stock, separated themselves, and became independent.

Of these clans the principal was that of the Macfarlanes, the descen-



dants, as has already been stated, of Gilchrist, a younger brother of Maldowen, earl of Lennox. In the Lennox charters, several of which he appears to have subscribed as a witness, this Gilchrist is generally designated as *frater comitis*, or brother of the earl. His son Duncan also obtained a charter of his lands from the Earl of Lennox, and appears in the Ragman's roll under the title of "Duncan Macgilchrist de Sevenaghies." From a grandson of this Duncan, who was called in Gaelic, *Parlan*, or Bartholomew, the clan appears to have taken the surname of *Macfarlane*; indeed the connexion of Parlan both with Duncan and with Gilchrist is clearly established by a charter granted to Malcolm Macfarlan, the son of Parlan, confirming to him the lands of Arrochar and others; and hence Malcolm may be considered as the real founder of the clan. He was succeeded by his son Duncan, who obtained from the Earl of Lennox a charter of the lands of Arrochar, as ample in its provisions as any that had been granted to his predecessors; and married a daughter of Sir Colin Campbell of Lochow, as appears from a charter of confirmation granted in his favour by Duncan, Earl of Lennox. Not long after his death, however, the ancient line of the Earls of Lennox became extinct; and the Macfarlanes having claimed the earldom as heirs male, offered a strenuous opposition to the superior pretensions of the feudal heirs. Their resistance, however, proved alike unsuccessful and disastrous. The family of the chief perished in defence of what they believed to be their just rights; the clan also suffered severely, and of those who survived the struggle, the greater part took refuge in remote parts of the country. Their destruction, indeed, would have been inevitable, but for the opportune support given by a gentleman of the clan to the Darnley family. This was Andrew Macfarlane, who, having married the daughter of John Stewart, Lord Darnley and Earl of Lennox, to whom his assistance had been of great moment at a time of difficulty, saved the rest of the clan, and recovered the greater part of their hereditary possessions. The fortunate individual in question, however, though the good genius of the race, does not appear to have possessed any other title to the chiefship than what he derived from his position, and the circumstance of his being the only person in a condition to afford them protection; in fact, the clan refused him the title of chief, which they appear to have considered as incommunicable, except in the right line; and his son, Sir John Macfarlane, accordingly, contented himself with assuming the secondary or subordinate designation of captain of the clan.

From this time, the Macfarlanes appear to have, on all occasions, supported the earls of Lennox of the Stewart race, and to have also followed their banner in the field. For several generations, however, their history as a clan is almost an entire blank; indeed they appear to have merged into mere retainers of the powerful family, under whose protection they enjoyed undisturbed possession of their hereditary domains. But in the sixteenth century Duncan Macfarlane of Macfarlane appears as a steady supporter of Matthew, Earl of Lennox. At the head of



three hundred men of his own name, he joined Lennox and Glencairn in 1544, and was present with his followers at the battle of Glasgow-Muir, where he shared the defeat of the party he supported. He was also involved in the forfeiture which followed; but having powerful friends, his property was, through their intercession, restored, and he obtained a remission under the privy seal. The loss of this battle forced Lennox to retire to England; whence, having married a niece of Henry VIII., he soon afterwards returned with a considerable force which the English monarch had placed under his command. The chief of Macfarlane durst not venture to join Lennox in person, being probably restrained by the terror of another forfeiture; but, acting on the usual Scottish policy of that time, he sent his relative Walter Macfarlane of Tarbet, with four hundred men, to reinforce his friend and patron; and this body, according to Holinshed, did most excellent service, acting at once as light troops and as guides to the main body. Duncan, however, did not always conduct himself with equal caution; for he is said to have fallen in the fatal battle of Pinkey, in 1547, on which occasion, also, a great number of his clan perished. The Highlanders, with all their wild valour, were no match, in any circumstances, for the stern enthusiasts and invincible ironsides commanded by Cromwell; and, at this battle, their destruction was rendered inevitable by the pragmatic folly and untractable presumption of the preachers, who, superseding the authority of the cautious and experienced general, delivered the Scottish army into the hands of the enemy.

Andrew, the son of Duncan, as bold, active, and adventurous as his sire, engaged in the civil wars of the period, and, what is more remarkable, took a prominent part on the side of the Regent Murray; thus acting in opposition to almost all the other Highland chiefs who were warmly attached to the cause of the queen. He was present at the battle of Langside with a body of his followers, and there "stood the Regent's part in great stead;" for in the hottest of the fight, he came up with three hundred of his friends and countrymen, and falling fiercely on the flank of the queen's army, threw them into irretrievable disorder, and thus mainly contributed to decide the fortune of the day. "The clan boast of having taken at this battle three of Queen Mary's standards, which, they say, were preserved for a long time in the family." It would have been well, if they could have "boasted" of similar trophies earned in fighting for a better cause than that of turbulent and grasping nobles, who masked their treasonable ambition and their love of plunder and power under the cloak of a pretended zeal for religion. Be this as it may, however, Macfarlane's reward was not such as afforded any great cause for admiring the munificence of the Regent; but that his vanity at least might be conciliated, Murray bestowed upon him the crest of a demi-savage *proper*, holding in his dexter hand a sheaf of arrows, and pointing with his sinister to an imperial crown, *or*, with the motto, *This I'll defend*. Of the son of this chief nothing is known; but his grandson,

Walter Macfarlane, returning to the natural feelings of a Highlander, proved himself as sturdy a champion of the royal party as his grandfather had been an uncompromising opponent and enemy. During Cromwell's time, he was twice besieged in his own house, and his castle of Inveruglas was afterwards burned down by the English. But nothing could shake his fidelity to his party. Though his personal losses in adhering to the royal cause were of a much more substantial kind than his grandfather's reward in opposing it, yet his zeal was not cooled by adversity, nor his ardour abated by the vengeance which it drew down on his head.

Amongst the eminent men who have borne this name may be mentioned the distinguished antiquary, Walter Macfarlane of Macfarlane, who is justly celebrated as the indefatigable collector of the ancient records of his country. "The extensive and valuable collections which his industry has been the means of preserving," says Mr Skene, "form the best monument to his memory; and as long as the existence of the ancient records of the country, or a knowledge of its ancient history, remain an object of interest to any Scotchman, the name of Macfarlane will be handed down as one of its benefactors." His peaceful labours in thus collecting and preserving the muniments and materials of history will insure him a more enviable, as well as more lasting reputation than any chief of his race ever acquired by his warlike exploits; and when the barbaric splendour of the one has faded away and sunk in the gulf of time, the fame of the antiquary will survive in connexion with the ancient history of his country, and thus serve as another proof that it is not the destroyer but the benefactor of his fellow creatures, who is secure of immortality.

The family of Macfarlane, after having possessed their original lands during a period of about six centuries, is now nearly extinct. Its principal seat was Arrochar, at the head of Lochlong. After the year 1493, the heads of this family were only the captains of the clan, not being the representatives of the ancient chief, whose descendants in fact cannot now be traced, and probably became extinct not long after the period above-mentioned.

## CHAPTER VII.

Native earls of Moray.—Their final subjugation.—Formation of several independent clans.—The Clan Chattan.—Chiefship disputed.—Observations on this subject.—Some recent investigations examined.—Combat on the North Inch of Perth.—Victory gained by the champions of the Clan Chattan.—Remarks on this occurrence.—The Mackintoshes.—Their establishment as Captains of the Clan Chattan.—Division of the Clan.—The Mackintoshes recognised as its head.—Their rise to power and influence.—Several of the chiefs murdered.—Invasion of Moray by Hector Mackintosh.—His defeat and death.—Accession of the lawful chief.—Feud with Huntly.—Singular fate of William Mackintosh.—Final separation of the Macphersons from the Mackintoshes.—Pretensions of the former.—Judgment of the Privy Council.—Subsequent history of the Mackintoshes.—Feud with the Macdonalds of Keppoch.—Battle of Mulroy.—Gallant and honourable conduct of the Macphersons.—Rebellions of 1715 and 1715.—Concealment and ultimate escape of Macpherson of Cluny.—Fidelity and devotion of the Macphersons.—Reference to a circumstance mentioned in the Stuart Papers.

DURING the middle ages, the native earls or maormors of Moray appear to have been the most powerful chiefs in Scotland. In the tenth and eleventh centuries, their territories extended nearly from sea to sea, and their influence predominated over the whole north of Scotland. To the inroads of the Norwegians, they had opposed a vigorous resistance; and though at last overcome, they recovered, by means of an alliance with the invaders, the greater part of what they had lost by the fortune of arms. The successes of the Norwegians thus contributed to extend the sway of these native chiefs: and, until they sunk under the ascendancy of the kings of the line of Malcolm Keanmore, they were in point of fact the real sovereigns of the North. From these ancient *reguli* and their people, many of the Highland clans are supposed by some to be descended.

According to the old genealogies, the clans, taken as a whole, were divided into five classes; one of which consisted of the Macphersons, the Mackintoshes, and the Macnaughtans, to whom some are disposed to add the Camerons, Macleans, Macmillans, and Monros. The class which included these different clans, and extended from Inverness to Kintyre, is supposed to have been descended from the ancient inhabitants of Moray, who most probably were a mixed race; and several plausible arguments, deduced from the genealogies, have been urged in support of this hypothesis. The formation of these various clans seems to have been the result of that line of policy which, first adopted by Malcolm Keanmore, and steadily pursued by his successors, ended in the complete subjugation of the Moray tribes. But this was the work of time, for more than a century

clapsed before their opposition to the feudal government established by Malcolm could be finally overcome. When this had been effected, however, the inhabitants of the northern part were either driven out or removed; a great portion of the modern county of Elgin was depopulated; Norman and Saxon families were established in the country; the earldom of Moray was bestowed upon a nobleman belonging to the Lowlands; and the authority of government was asserted by the erection of the sheriffdoms of Elgin and Nairn. By this important revolution, accomplished after a severe and protracted struggle, the various clans, which had formerly been united under the sway of the native earls, became in some measure independent, and thus, for the first time, assumed separate and distinct denominations.

But of all these by far the most powerful was the Clan Chattan, so called from Gillichattan-more, its founder and head. The original possessions of this clan were very extensive, including the whole of Badenoch, the greater part of Lochaber, and the districts of Strathnairn and Strathdearn, and, before the grant made to Comyn, these lands would seem to have been held in chief of the crown. The Clan Chattan appears to have been early divided into two principal branches, one of which acknowledged Macpherson of Cluny, and the other Mackintosh of Mackintosh, as its head; and, as might have been expected, this division has given rise to a very keen dispute between the Macphersons and Mackintoshes, respecting the chiefship of the clan. On the one hand, it has been contended that the descent of the Macphersons from the ancient chiefs of the clan has never been doubted; that the uniform testimony of tradition is in favour of the pretension which has been founded on this supposed descent; and that their claim is further supported by certain historical investigations into the history of the Moray tribes, from which it has been inferred that the Macphersons are the lineal and feudal representatives of the ancient chiefs of the Clan Chattan. On the other hand, we find that the Mackintosh family rests its pretensions upon a different descent from the rest of the clan; that it claims as its ancestor Macduff Earl of Fife; and that, about the end of the thirteenth century, it obtained the chiefship of the Clan Chattan by means of a marriage with Eva, the daughter and heiress of the grandson of the founder, Gillichattan-more. To all this, however, it has been answered, that the fact of this family styling themselves not chiefs but captains of the clan, and claiming a foreign origin, and founding upon a marriage with the heiress of a chief, the third in the order of succession, creates a strong presumption, that they were only the oldest cadets of the clan, and as such had probably usurped the chiefship; and, furthermore, that, according to the manuscript of 1450, the Mackintoshes are as really a branch of the Clan Chattan as the Macphersons themselves.

It is not for us to offer any very decided opinion respecting a matter where the pride and pretensions of rival families are concerned. It may therefore be sufficient to observe that, whilst the Macphersons rest their

claims chiefly on tradition, the Mackintoshes have produced, and triumphantly appealed to charters and documents of every description, in support of their pretensions ; and that it is not very easy to see how so great a mass of written evidence can be overcome by merely calling into court Tradition to give testimony adverse to its credibility. The admitted fact of the Mackintosh family styling themselves captains of the clan does not seem to warrant any inference which can militate against their pretensions. On the contrary, the original assumption of this title obviously implies that no chief was in existence at the period when it was assumed ; and its continuance, unchallenged and undisputed, affords strong presumptive proof in support of the account given by the Mackintoshes as to the original constitution of their title. The idea of usurpation appears to be altogether preposterous. The right alleged by the family of Mackintosh was not direct but collateral ; it was founded on a marriage, and not derived by descent ; and hence, probably, the origin of the secondary or subordinate title of captain which that family assumed. But can any one doubt that if a claim founded upon a preferable title had been asserted, the inferior pretension must have given way ? or is it in any degree probable that the latter would have been so fully recognised, if there had existed any lineal descendant of the ancient chiefs in a condition to prefer a claim founded upon the inherent and indefeasible right of blood ?

But, according to Mr Skene, the case is now altered, inasmuch as, from "the investigations which he has made into the history of the tribes of Moray, as well as into the history and nature of Highland traditions," he conceives it to be established by "historic authority," that the Macphersons are the lineal and feudal representatives of the ancient chiefs of the Clan Chattan, and "that they possess that right by blood to the chiefship, of which no charters from the crown, and no usurpation, however successful and continued, can deprive them." It is not very easy to understand, however, by what particular process of reasoning Mr Skene has arrived at this conclusion. For supposing it were established "beyond all doubt," as he assumes it to be, by the manuscript of 1450, that the Macphersons and the Mackintoshes are descended from Neachtan and Niell, the two sons of Gillichattan-more, the founder of the race, it does not therefore follow that "the Mackintoshes were an usurping branch of the clan," and that "the Macphersons alone possessed the right of blood to that hereditary dignity." This is indeed taking for granted the very point to be proved, in fact the whole matter in dispute. Mr Skene affirms that the descent of the Macphersons from the ancient chiefs "is not denied," which is in reality saying nothing to the purpose ; because the question is, not whether this pretended descent has or has not been denied, but whether it can now be established by satisfactory evidence. To make out a case in favour of the Macphersons, it is necessary to show, first, that the descendants of Neachtan formed the eldest branch,



and consequently were the chiefs of the clan ; secondly, that the Macphersons *are* the lineal descendants and the feudal representatives of this same Neachtan, whom they claim as their ancestor ; and, lastly, that the Mackintoshes are really descended from Niell, the second son of the founder of the race, and not from Macduff, Earl of Fife, as they themselves have always maintained. But we do not observe that any of these points has been formally proved by evidence, or that Mr Skene has deemed it necessary to fortify his assertions by arguments, and deductions from historical facts. His statement, indeed, amounts just to this : That the family of Macheth, the descendants of Head or Heth, the son of Neachtan, were “ identical with the chiefs of Clan Chattan ; ” and that the Clan Vurich, or Macphersons, were descended from these chiefs. But, in the first place, the “ identity ” which is here contended for, and upon which the whole question hinges, is imagined rather than proved ; it is a conjectural assumption rather than an inference deduced from a series of probabilities. And, secondly, the descent of the Clan Vurich from the Macheths rests solely upon the authority of a Celtic genealogy (the manuscript of 1450) which, whatever weight may be given to it when supported by collateral evidence, is not alone sufficient authority to warrant anything beyond a mere conjectural inference. Hence, so far from granting to Mr Skene that the hereditary title of the Macphersons of Cluny to the chiefship of Clan Chattan has been clearly established by him, we humbly conceive that he has left the question precisely where he found it. The title of that family may be the preferable one, but it yet remains to be shown that such is the case.

At the same time, it is very difficult to arrive at a satisfactory conclusion on any point, owing to the obscurity in which the early history of this clan is involved. Few facts have been ascertained concerning it, and these are generally so isolated and disconnected as to render it impossible to determine the real circumstances out of which they arose. For instance, Major the historian, after mentioning the defection of the Clan Chattan and the Clan Chameron from Alexander of the Isles, in 1429, when he was defeated by James I., informs us that these tribes were of the same stock, and that they followed one head of their race as chief. But it is nevertheless certain that nearly forty years before the time mentioned by Major, these tribes had separated, and been engaged in mutual hostilities. The cause of this disunion amongst the different branches of the Clan Chattan is unknown. It appears, however, that two hostile leagues or confederacies were formed, and that it was at length resolved their differences should be decided by a combat of thirty men upon the one side against the same number upon the other. This conflict, which the works of Sir Walter Scott have rendered familiar to every reader, took place on the North Inch of Perth, in 1396, and terminated in favour of the Clan Chattan. The description of this barbarous and sanguinary encounter, contained in the *Tales of a Grandfather*, is of course



less embellished, but for that reason probably much more accurate, than the version of the fray which is given in the *Fair Maid of Perth*.

"The parties on each side," says he, "were drawn out, armed with sword and target, axe and dagger, and stood looking on each other with fierce and savage aspect, when, just as the signal for fight was expected, the commander of the Clan Chattan perceived that one of his men, whose heart had failed him, had deserted his standard. There was no time to seek another man from the clan, so the chieftain, as his only resource, was obliged to offer a reward to any one who would fight in the room of the fugitive. Perhaps you think it might be difficult to get a man, who, for a small hire, would undergo the perils of a battle which was likely to be so obstinate and deadly. But in that fighting age, men valued their lives lightly. One Henry Wynd, a citizen of Perth, and a saddler by trade, a little bandy-legged man, but of great strength and activity, and well accustomed to the use of the broad-sword, offered himself for half a French crown to serve on the part of the Clan Chattan in the battle of that day.

"The signal was then given by sound of the royal trumpets, and of the great war bagpipes of the Highlanders, and the two parties fell on each other with the utmost fury; their natural ferocity of temper being excited by feudal hatred against the hostile clan, zeal for the honour of their own, and a consciousness that they were fighting in presence of the king and nobles of Scotland. As they fought with the two-handed sword and axe, the wounds they inflicted on each other were of a ghastly size and character. Heads were cloven asunder, and limbs were lopped from the trunk. The meadow was soon flooded with blood, and covered with dead and wounded men.

"In the midst of the deadly conflict, the chieftain of the Clan Chattan observed that Henry Wynd, after he had slain one of the Clan Kay, drew aside and did not seem willing to fight more. 'How is this?' said he; 'art thou afraid?' 'Not I,' answered Henry, 'but I have done enough of work for half a crown.' 'Forward and fight,' said the Highland chief; 'he that does not grudge his day's work, I will not stint him in his wages.'

"Thus encouraged, Henry Wynd again plunged into the conflict, and, by his excellence as a swordsman, contributed a great deal to the victory, which at length fell to the Clan Chattan. Ten of the victors, with Henry Wynd, whom the Highlanders called the *Gow Chrom* (that is, the crooked, or bandy-legged smith, though he was a saddler, for war-saddles were then made of steel) were left alive, but they were all wounded. Only one of the Clan Kay survived, and he was unhurt. But this single individual dared not oppose himself to eleven men, though all more or less hurt, but throwing himself into the Tay, swam to the other side, and went off to carry to the Highlanders the news of his clan's defeat. It is said he was so ill received by his kinsmen that

he put himself to death. Some part of the above story is matter of tradition, but the general fact is certain.”\*

Excepting “the general fact,” indeed, little is known concerning this conflict. We are ignorant of the precise nature of the dispute which was thus submitted to the arbitrement of the sword, the axe, and the dagger, and almost equally so respecting the precise clans who had agreed to settle their differences in this manner. It is said indeed that the cause of contention had arisen a short time before, and that Sir David Lindsay and the Earl of Moray had suggested, if not actually arranged, this barbarous mode of adjustment, although with what particular view it is impossible to ascertain at this distance of time. It appears, also, that the clans called Clan Kay and Clan Chattan by Sir Walter Scott and others, were, by the ancient authorities, denominated Clan Yha and Clan Quhele; and from this circumstance, taken in conjunction with some others, Mr Skene has concluded that the Macphersons were the Clan Yha, and the Mackintoshes the Clan Quhele.† But however this may be, it is admitted, on all hands, that the Clan Chattan, or Clan Quhele, were victorious in the combat; and if any inference at all can be drawn from the names, it seems to be this, that the victors were the champions of the clan which is commonly known by the former of these denominations, namely, that of Clan Chattan. The point in dispute was thus settled in their favour; the Mackintoshes were acknowledged as the chiefs of the clan, although under a different denomination; and from the date of the conflict at Perth, in 1396, they continued to be regarded as its heads, exacting obedience as such from its different branches, and willingly followed wherever they chose to lead. It has indeed been alleged that the title of captain, which they assumed, indicates of itself the want of any right by consanguinity to the chiefship; and in the ordinary case

\* Henry Wynd was liberally rewarded by the Highland chief; but it was remarked, when the battle ended, that he could not tell the name of the clan he had fought for; and when asked on which side he had been, he replied, no doubt with perfect truth, that he had been fighting for his own hand. Hence originated the proverb, “Every man for his own hand, as Harry Wynd fought.”—(Scott’s *Tales of a Grandfather*, first series, vol. i. p. 71. et seq.)

† “Clan Heth,” says Mr Skene, “must have been the most ancient name of the Macphersons, and it follows that they were the Clan Yha of the conflict.” This is by no means evident. For where is the proof that “Clan Heth *must* have been the most ancient name of the Macphersons,” or that they were ever at any time so styled? They are the Clan Urlich; but whoever heard of them being called the Clan Heth? Can any single instance be produced of this denomination being applied to them? We are indeed informed “that the name *Heth* is a corruption of the same Gaelic name which has been changed by the old historians into *Yha*.” But what is the Gaelic name of which both *Heth* and *Yha* are said to be corruptions? Mr Skene states (vol. ii. p. 173) that the son of Neachtan, the eldest son of Gillichattan-more, the founder of the race of Clan Chattan, was called Head or Heth; and in the passage above quoted, he says that “Clan Heth must have been the most ancient name of the Macphersons.” It is not easy to see, however, in what manner these statements are to be reconciled, or how sense can be extracted from them. It is far more likely that the names *Yha* and *Quhele* are both corruptions, and that the darkness in which the subject is otherwise involved has been deepened by the ignorance of those nameless historians to whom Mr Skene refers as authorities.

there would perhaps have been some force in the objection. But it has already been shown that the Mackintoshes rest their original claim, not on a direct but a collateral title; and, at all events, the objection will not apply, excepting in the case where a preferable right can be clearly established in favour of some other claimant, as the lineal and feudal representative of the ancient chiefs; a point which has not yet been made out by any evidence that seems capable of standing the test of critical examination.

In the year 1336, William Mackintosh, the head or chief of this clan, obtained a grant of the lands of Glenluy and Lochaber, from John of Islay, afterwards Lord of the Isles; and hence probably originated that mortal feud between the Clan Chattan and the Clan Chameron, which lasted with but little intermission, for upwards of three hundred years. In the fifteenth century, (1447,) Malcolm Mackintosh, who was then at the head of the clan, received from the Lord of the Isles, a grant of the stewardship of Lochaber; and, not many years afterwards, the same office was bestowed upon his son Duncan, along with the lands of Keppoch and others included in that lordship. Nor were these the only acquisitions made by the latter. On the forfeiture of the Lord of the Isles, in 1475, James III. granted to the same Duncan Mackintosh, captain of the Clan Chattan, a charter of the lands of Moymore, Fern, Clumglassen, Stroneroy, Aucheneroy, and others in Lochaber, which charter is dated the 4th of July, 1476; and in the year 1493, James IV. conferred upon him a charter of the lands of Keppoch, Innerorgan, and others, with the office of bailie of the same, probably as a recompense of important services rendered by him to the government of the time. The practice, however, of rewarding one chief at the expense of his neighbours was well calculated to perpetuate those bitter feuds by which the Highlands were so long distracted, and to which the government generally contrived upon every favourable occasion, to minister fresh aliment. In the present case, the grant made by the crown proved the cause of long and fierce contentions between the Mackintoshes and the Camerons, on the one hand, and the Macdonalds of Keppoch, the actual possessors of the soil, upon the other.

From this period may be dated the gradual rise of the Clan Chattan towards that degree of power and consideration which they afterwards attained when they had reached the culminating point of their fortunes. But their progress was, as usual, retarded by dissensions and obstructed by difficulties. The Mackintoshes were at variance amongst themselves, and their adherence to the Earl of Moray involved them in hostilities with Huntly. The accession to the chiefship of William Mackintosh of Dunachan, proved the occasion of internal disorder and violence. His title was disputed by John Roy Mackintosh, the head of another branch of the family, who, having set up a claim in his own favour, attempted to seize on the chiefship by force; but failing in his design, he revenged himself by assassinating his rival at Inverness, in the year 1515. This

bloody deed, however, was soon followed by summary punishment. The assassin, being closely pursued, was overtaken and slain at Glenesk; and Lachlan, the brother of the murdered chief, was placed at the head of the clan. But the latter did not long enjoy the dignity to which he had been raised, and, like his brother, perished by the hand of an assassin. "Some wicked persons," says Lesly, "being impatient of virtuous living, stirred up one of his own principal kinsmen, called James Malcolmson, who cruelly and treacherously slew his chief." At the time of Lachlan's death, his son was a minor, and the clan, being thus left without a head, chose Hector, a natural brother of the deceased, as their chief. This election, however, proved the occasion of an almost immediate collision with the Earl of Moray. That nobleman, as the maternal uncle of the young chief, felt himself bound to provide for his safety; and having reason to apprehend that the ambition of Hector might lead him to imitate the example of so many other natural brothers similarly circumstanced, he caused the youth to be carried off, and placed in the hands of his mother's relations. The prudence of this measure was speedily made evident. Hector, determined at all hazards to possess himself of the person of the young heir, invaded the lands of Moray, and having succeeded in taking the castle of Petty, put the garrison to the sword. But a severe check awaited him. The earl, having obtained the king's commission, raised his retainers, attacked the Mackintoshes, and having made three hundred prisoners caused them to be instantly executed. Their leader however escaped, and having fled to the king, surrendered himself to his majesty, from whom he received a remission of all his past offences; an instance of royal clemency, which, in the circumstances, appears not a little extraordinary. But this man was not long afterwards killed at St Andrews; and the young heir, William Mackintosh, having been carefully brought up "in virtue, honesty, and civil policy," was in due time put in peaceful possession of his inheritance.

Scarcely, however, had the young chief been installed as head of the Clan Chattan, when the ancient feud between the Mackintoshes and the family of Huntly broke out afresh; instigated, it would seem, by Lachlan, the son of the man by whom the last chief had been murdered. How this came about we are not informed, and indeed the accounts given respecting the immediate cause of quarrel are various and contradictory. Mackintosh having commenced hostilities by surprising and burning the castle of Auchindoun, Huntly immediately marched against him, at the head of his retainers, and a fierce struggle ensued. The Mackintoshes were overpowered; and the chief, despairing of mercy at the hands of Huntly, appealed to his lady, before whom he presented himself as a suppliant, in the absence of her husband. The marchioness, however, showed herself a fit mate for such a lord. Seeing the enemy of her house suing for mercy upon her hearth, the inexorable virago, insensible alike to compassion and humanity, caused his head to be struck off, and by this bloody act for ever dishonoured her family and name. The

death of the chief, however, was productive of no further injury or loss to the clan. The feud seems to have been extinguished in his blood; and as Huntly now found himself opposed by a party of the nobility, all of them more or less intimately connected with Mackintosh, he was obliged to put the son of that ill-fated chief in possession of his paternal inheritance. The government likewise interposed in his favour, with the view no doubt of counterbalancing the power of Huntly in the north; and not long afterwards the prudence of this line of policy was signally illustrated. For, when Huntly had resolved to seize the queen at Inverness, in the year 1562, with the avowed design of compelling her to marry his second son, the timely assistance afforded by Mackintosh mainly contributed to defeat a scheme, which might otherwise have proved successful.

The interference of Mackintosh, however, formed a new cause of quarrel; the old feud was rekindled; and, by the intrigues of Huntly, a final separation took place between the Macphersons and the Mackintoshes. Anxious to weaken by dividing the force of Clan Chattan, he encouraged the former to declare themselves independent; and supported by his powerful influence they now began to assert a right to the chiefship, to which, as far as appears from history, they had never previously made any pretensions. As long as it suited Huntly's purpose to foster this schism, the Macphersons were enabled to refuse obedience to the captain of the Clan Chattan. But when he found it expedient to effect a reconciliation with his former adversary, the Macphersons were abandoned to their fate, and being no longer in a condition to oppose Mackintosh, they were, in 1609, obliged to sign a bond, along with all the other branches of the Clan Chattan, acknowledging him as their chief.\* But the protracted feuds in which the Mackintoshes became involved with the Camerons and other Lochaber clans, again afforded the Macphersons an opportunity of asserting their independence. During all these contentions Mackintosh was obliged to accept of their assistance in the capacity of allies, rather than in that of vassals or dependants, and thus, so far, tacitly to sanction their pretensions, which, after the lapse of some time, were formally asserted and in the first instance recognised.

In the year 1672, Duncan Macpherson of Cluny, having resolved to

\* Mr Skene says truly that "the history of the Macphersons, posterior to the unfortunate conflict on the North Inch of Perth, becomes exceedingly obscure;" and he might have added, that it was scarcely less so before that encounter. This, however, seems capable of an easy explanation. It is admitted that they "do not appear in history independently of the rest of the clan;" and that it was only at a late period, when they began to assert their claims to their chiefship, that they emerged from the darkness in which their previous history is involved. But this is irreconcilable with the supposition of their having formed the principal or leading branch of the clan, and, as such, been the lineal and feudal representatives of the ancient chiefs. Had they ever enjoyed the distinction claimed by them, some evidence of the fact would undoubtedly have been preserved. If they do not appear in history independently of the rest of the clan, it is solely because they constituted but a secondary part of it, and consequently were not discriminated or distinguished from the great body to which they belonged.



throw off all connexion with Mackintosh, made application to the Lyon office to have his arms matriculated as Laird of Cluny Macpherson, and "the only and true representative of the ancient and honourable family of the Clan Chattan." This application was successful; and soon afterwards, when the Privy Council required the Highland chiefs to give security for the peaceable behaviour of their respective clans, Macpherson became bound for his clan under the designation of the Lord of Cluny and *chief of the Macphersons*; thus voluntarily abandoning part of the title contained in the matriculation, namely, that which described him as "the only and true representative of the ancient and honourable family of the Clan Chattan." Mackintosh, however, as soon as he became apprised of the circumstance, applied to the Privy Council and the Lyon office, to have his own title declared, and that which had been granted to Macpherson recalled and cancelled. An inquiry was accordingly instituted, and both parties were ordered to produce evidence of their respective assertions. But whilst Mackintosh brought deeds in which, during a long course of years, he had been designated as captain of the Clan Chattan, and also founded upon the bond of manrent entered into in 1609 as corroborative evidence of his claim; Macpherson had nothing to allege except tradition, and the argument founded on his pretended representation of the ancient chiefs, in support of which, however, no evidence of any kind appears to have been offered. In these circumstances, the decision could scarcely be doubtful. Accordingly the Council ordered Mackintosh to give bond for those *of his clan*, his vassals, those descended of his family, his men, tenants and servants, and all dwelling upon his ground; and enjoined Cluny to give bond for those of his name of Macpherson, descended of his family, and his men, tenants and servants, "*without prejudice always to the Laird of Mackintosh*," who is thus clearly recognised as the head or chief of the Clan Chattan. In consequence of this decision the armorial bearings, in the matriculation of which Macpherson had been described as "the only and true representative of the ancient and honourable family of the Clan Chattan, were recalled;" and, as if to put an end for ever to all doubt on the subject, they were again matriculated as those of *Macpherson of Cluny*.\*

The subsequent history of the Mackintoshes is diversified only by the ordinary casualties incident to Highland chiefs. Sometimes at feud with Huntly, and sometimes at peace, they generally maintained the station which they had acquired amongst the clans, without experiencing any remarkable vicissitude of fortune. At a very early period they were engaged in frequent disputes with the Camerons, who then occupied part of Lochaber; but in process of time these were transferred to the Mac-

\* "At the head of the Clan Vurich," says the late Mr Donald Gregory, "is the present Ewen Macpherson of Cluny, commonly called Cluny Macpherson, who styles himself also chief of Clan Chattan. It is, however, well known and easily proved, that the title of captain and chief of Clan Chattan has been enjoyed by the family of Mackintosh for at least four hundred years." (*History of the Western Highlands and Isles of Scotland*, p. 422.)



donalds of Keppoch, whose position in the Braes of Lochaber exposed them to collision with the Mackintoshes. Besides, the former had no other right to their lands than what was founded upon prescriptive possession ; whilst the latter possessed a feudal title to the property, originally granted by the Lords of the Isles, and, on the forfeiture of these petty princes, confirmed by the crown. The Macdonalds, however, had no disposition whatever to recognise a mere parchment title against ancient and continued possession ; nor, on the other hand, were the Mackintoshes inclined to abandon a claim fortified by all the formalities of a law. A feud therefore arose between these clans, and, after various acts of hostility upon both sides, it was at length terminated by "the last considerable clan battle which was fought in the Highlands." Resolved to dispossess the Macdonalds by force, Mackintosh raised his clan, and, assisted by an independent company of soldiers furnished by the government, marched towards Keppoch, in quest of his adversaries. None appeared, however, to dispute his progress. He found the place deserted, and was engaged in constructing a fort in Glenroy to protect his rear, when he received intelligence that the Macdonalds, reinforced by their kinsmen of Glengarry and Glenco, were posted in great force at Mulroy, with the intention of attacking him next morning at day-break. Instead of waiting for the attack, he now decided to become the assailant, and immediately marched against the enemy, whom he found prepared for the conflict. The Macdonalds occupied the upper ridge of the height of Mulroy, and steadily awaited the onset. As soon as the Mackintoshes crowned the height the battle began ; but the contest, though fierce, was not of long continuance. The assailants, having attacked at a great disadvantage, were beaten, their chief was made prisoner, and the commander of the independent company was slain. But scarcely had victory declared for the Macdonalds, when a large body of the Macphersons appeared upon the ground, prepared to strike another blow for Clan Chattan. Keppoch, finding himself in no condition to renew the combat, yielded to necessity, and agreed to give up his prisoner, who, as Mr Skene justly observes, had thus the double humiliation of being captured by the Macdonalds his enemies, and rescued by the Macphersons his rebellious vassals.

The conduct of the Macphersons, on this occasion, however, was highly honourable to their character. Forgetting all former feelings of rivalry, they thought only of the credit of the clan, and, by their prompt and seasonable interposition, deprived the Macdonalds of the most precious fruit of their victory. Nor was this important service sullied by any mean or selfish stipulations. Scorning to take advantage of the misfortune which had placed Mackintosh in their hands, they escorted him safely to his own territories, and acquired more honour by their loyalty than they had gained by their courage and decision. From this time the Macdonalds remained in almost undisturbed possession of their lands ; whilst the Mackintoshes and Macphersons continued separate and inde-

pendent clans, although both included under the general denomination of the Clan Chattan.

The latter took a very active part in the insurrection of 1715; and in the year 1745, a powerful body of them was rapidly advancing to join the standard of the Prince, when the disastrous battle of Culloden, fought against every principle of prudence and of military science, destroyed the hopes of his family, and involved all his adherents in ruin. After this fatal defeat, the situation of Cluny became peculiarly distressing. His defection had exaggerated all his faults in the eyes of government, and thus furnished a motive for pursuing him with determined hostility. The same year, he had been appointed to a company in Lord Loudon's Highlanders, and had taken the oaths to the government; but his clan were impatient to join the descendant of their ancient kings; and though he hesitated for a time between duty and inclination, yet the latter eventually prevailed, and hurried him on to his ruin. His life was thus forfeited to the laws, and much diligence was exerted to bring him to justice. But neither the fear of danger nor the hope of reward could induce any of his people to betray him, or even to discontinue their faithful services. He lived nine years in a cave, at a short distance from his house, which had been burned to the ground by the king's troops. "This cave," says General Stewart, "was in the front of a woody precipice, the trees and shelving rocks completely concealing the entrance. It was dug out by his own people, who worked by night, and conveyed the stones and rubbish into a lake in the neighbourhood, that no vestige of their labour might betray the retreat of their master. In this sanctuary he lived secure, occasionally visiting his friends by night, or when time slackened the rigour of the search. Upwards of a hundred persons knew where he was concealed, and a reward of £1000 was offered to any one who should give information against him; and as it was known that he was concealed on his estate, eighty men were constantly stationed there, besides the parties continually marching into the country, to intimidate his tenantry, and induce them to disclose the place of his concealment."\*

Sir Hector Monro, at that time a lieutenant in the thirty-fourth regiment, was intrusted with the command of a large party, and continued two whole years in Badenoch, for the purpose of discovering Cluny's retreat. The unwearied vigilance of the clan could alone have saved him from the vigilance of this party, directed as it was by an officer, equally remarkable for his zeal, and his knowledge of the country and the people. The slightest inattention, even a momentary want of caution or presence of mind on the part of the Macphersons, would infallibly have betrayed his retreat; yet so true were the clan, so strict in the observance of secrecy, and so dexterous in conveying to him unobserved the necessaries he required, that, although the soldiers were animated by the hope of re-

\* *Sketches of the Highlanders of Scotland*, &c. vol. i. pp. 60-61

ward, and a step of promotion was promised to the officer who should apprehend him, not a trace of him could be discovered, nor an individual found base enough to give a hint to his detriment. Many anecdotes have been related of the narrow escapes which he made in eluding the vigilance of the soldiery, especially when he ventured to spend a few of the dark hours convivially with his friends; and also of the diligence, fidelity, and presence of mind displayed by the people in concealing his retreat, and baffling the activity of his pursuers, during a period of no less than nine years. At length, however, wearied out with this dreary and hopeless state of existence, and taught to despair of pardon, he escaped to France in 1755, and died there the following year.\*

The only cloud which rests upon the memory of this unfortunate chief, and which, as far as we know, has not yet been removed, arose out of a circumstance to which frequent allusion is made in the Stuart Papers; namely, the detention of a considerable portion of a large sum of money, which the Prince, at his departure, had committed to another individual, and part of which was afterwards lodged by that person in the hands of Cluny. The demand for restitution, or at least for accounting, is frequently reiterated, but, as far as appears from the documents in question, without any effect. Some apology, however, may be found in the circumstances in which Cluny was at the time placed, which rendered it exceedingly difficult, if not impossible, to hold any correspondence with France; and, besides, the matter may have been fully explained and settled, when he afterwards escaped to that country.†

Sometime after the death of Cluny, the estate was restored to his family, in whose possession it still remains, and who claim to be the lineal representatives of the ancient chiefs of Clan Chattan, though, as formerly stated, that claim is warmly disputed. The motto of the Clan Chattan is "Touch not the Cat but [without] the glove." Its force was estimated at 1400 in 1704, at 1020 in 1715, and at 1700 in 1745.

\* "It is honourable to the memory of a respectable lady," says General Stewart, "to record the circumstances of Cluny's defection, which exaggerated his faults in the eyes of government, and furnished a motive for pursuing him with more determined hostility. He was, in that year, appointed to a company in Lord Louden's Highlanders, and had taken the oaths to government. His clan were, however, impatient to join the adventurous descendant of their ancient sovereigns, when he came to claim what they supposed his right. While he hesitated between duty and inclination, his wife, a daughter of Lord Lovat, and a staunch Jacobite, earnestly dissuaded him from breaking his oath, assuring him that nothing could end well that began with perjury. His friends reproached her for interfering, and hurried on the husband to his ruin."—(*Sketches*, vol. i. p. 60.)

† Cluny became so cautious, whilst leading the life of an outlaw, that, on parting with his wife, or his most attached friends, he never told them to which of his places of concealment he was going, nor suffered any one to accompany him. Not that he had any suspicion of the fidelity of his family, his friends, or his clan; their attachment and devotion had been too well tried to admit of so unjust and ungrateful a thought entering his mind. His object was, that, when questioned by his pursuers, they might be enabled to answer, that they knew not whither he had gone, or where he lay concealed.

## CHAPTER VIII.

*The Clan Chameron.*—Common Origin of the Clan Chameron and the Clan Chattan.—Period of their separation.—Traditional descent of the Camerons. Their original seat in Lochaber.—Modern possessions how acquired.—The Clan anciently divided into three Septs.—Captainship of the Clan.—Donald Dhu.—Feud with the Mackintoshes.—Battle of Inverlochy.—Lands of the Camerons ravaged.—Lord of the Isles.—Subsequent misfortunes of the Clan.—Allan, the son of Donald Dhu.—His character.—Succeeded by his son Ewen.—Lands of Clan Ranald.—John Moydertach.—Invasion of Huntly and Lovat.—The latter defeated and slain.—Ewen Allanson seized, tried, and executed at Elgin.—Subsequent history of the Clan Chameron.—Evan Dhu of Lochiel.—His education, character, and exploits.—The last of the Highland Chiefs to submit to Cromwell.—Honourable nature of his submission.—Present at the Battle of Renrorie or Killierankie.—Anecdotes of this chivalrous Chief.—His death.—Character of his grandson, the “gentle Lochiel.”—Forfeiture and restoration of the family estates.—Strength of the Clan.—The *Clan Gillean*.—Divided into four branches. Macleans of Dowart.—Macleans of Lochbuy.—Macleans of Coll.—Macleans of Ard-gour.—General remarks on this Clan.—Partizans of the house of Stuart.—It took no part in the insurrection of 1745.—Its force.

THERE is some reason to believe that the Clan Chameron and the Clan Chattan had a common origin, and that for a certain time they followed one chief. These tribes are, according to Major,\* of the same kindred and descent. But, notwithstanding their original connection, they have, ever since the middle of the fourteenth century, if not earlier, been separate, and independent clans. Allan, surnamed MacOchtry, or the son of Uchtred, is mentioned by tradition as the chief of the Camerons in the reign of Robert II., at which time a deadly feud existed between them and the Clan Chattan respecting the lands of Glenluy and Locharkaig, in Lochaber; and, according to the same authority, the Clan Chameron and the Clan Chattan were the two hostile tribes between whose champions, thirty against thirty, was fought the celebrated combat at Perth, in the year 1396, before King Robert III. with his nobility and court. The Camerons, says a manuscript history of the Clan, have an old tradition amongst them that they were originally descended from a younger son of the royal family of Denmark, who assisted at the restoration of Fergus II. in 404; and that their progenitor was called Cameron, from his crooked nose, a name which was afterwards adopted by his descendants. “But it is more probable,” adds the chronicler, “that they are the aborigines of the ancient Scots or Caledonians that first planted the country;” a statement which proves that the writer of the history understood neither the meaning of the language he employed, nor the subject in regard to which he pronounced an opinion. It is not improbable that the

\* *History of Scotland*, p. 302. See also Gregory's *Highlands and Isles of Scotland*, p. 73

Clan Chameron and Clan Chattan were originally kindred tribes, or in other words, two branches of the same radical stem ; but their affiliation, if established at all, must be made out on very different principles indeed from those assumed by the author of the manuscript history.

As far back as can distinctly be traced, this tribe had its seat in Lochaber, and appears to have been first connected with the house of Islay in the reign of Robert Bruce, from whom, as formerly stated, Angus Og received a grant of Lochaber. Their more modern possessions of Lochiel and Locharkaig, situated upon the western side of the Lochy, were originally granted by the Lord of the Isles to the founder of the Clan Ranald, from whose descendants they passed to the Camerons. This clan originally consisted of three septs,—the Camerons or MacMartins of Letterfinlay, the Camerons or Macgillonies of Strone, and the Camerons or Macsorlies of Glennevis ; and from the genealogy of one of these septs, which is to be found in the manuscript of 1450, it has been inferred that the Lochiel family belonged to the second, or Camerons of Strone, and that being thus the oldest cadets, they assumed the title of Captain of the Clan Chameron. Mr Skene conjectures that, upon the acquisition of the captainship of Clan Chattan by the Mackintoshes, after their victory at Perth, the MacMartins, or oldest branch, adhered to the successful party, whilst the great body of the clan, headed by the Lochiel family, declared themselves independent ; and that in this way the latter were placed in that position which they have ever since retained. But however this may be, Donald Dhu, who was probably the grandson of Allan MacOchtry, headed the clan at the battle of Harlaw, in 1411, and afterwards united with the captain of the Clan Chattan in supporting James I. when that king was employed in reducing to obedience Alexander, Lord of the Isles. Yet these rival clans, though agreed in this matter, continued to pursue their private quarrels without intermission ; and the same year in which they deserted the Lord of the Isles, and joined the royal banner, viz. 1429, a desperate encounter took place, in which both suffered severely, more especially the Camerons. Donald Dhu, however, was present with the royal forces at the battle of Inverlochy, in the year 1431, where victory declared in favour of the Islanders, under Donald Balloch ; and immediately afterwards his lands were ravaged by the victorious chief, in revenge for his desertion of the Lord of the Isles, and he was himself obliged to retire to Ireland, whilst the rest of the clan were glad to take refuge in the inaccessible fastnesses of the mountains. It is probably from this Donald Dhu that the Camerons derived their patronymic appellation of MacDhonnall Duibh, otherwise MacConnel Dhu, or the son of Black Donald.

But their misfortunes did not terminate here. The Lord of the Isles, on his return from captivity, resolved to humble a clan which he conceived had so basely deserted him ; and with this view, he bestowed the lands of the Camerons on John Garbh Maclean of Coll, who had re-



mained faithful to him in every vicissitude of fortune. This grant, however, did not prove effectual. The Clan Cameron, being the actual occupants of the soil, offered a sturdy resistance to the intruder; John Maclean, the second laird of Coll, who had held the estate for some time by force, was at length slain by them in Lochaber; and Allan, the son of Donald Dhu, having acknowledged himself a vassal of the Lord of Lochalsh, received in return a promise of support against all who pretended to dispute his right, and was thus enabled to acquire the estates of Locharkaig and Lochiel, from the latter of which his descendants have taken their territorial denomination. By a lady of the family of Keppoch, this Allan, who was surnamed MacCoilduy, had a son, named Ewen, who was captain of the Clan Chameron in 1493, and afterwards became a chief of mark and distinction. Allan, however, was the most renowned of all the chiefs of the Camerons, excepting, perhaps, his descendant Sir Ewen. He had the character of being one of the bravest captains of his time, and he is stated to have made no less than thirty-five expeditions into the territories of his enemies. But his life was too adventurous to last long. In the thirty-second year of his age, he was slain in one of the numerous conflicts with the Mackintoshes, and was succeeded by his son Ewen, who acquired almost the whole estates which had belonged to the chief of Clan Ranald, and to the lands of Lochiel, Glenluy, and Locharkaig, added those of Glennevis, Mammore, and others in Lochaber. After the forfeiture of the last Lord of the Isles, he also obtained a feudal title to all his possessions, as well those which he had inherited from his father, as those which he had wrested from the neighbouring clans; and from this period the Camerons were enabled to assume that station amongst the Highland tribes which they have ever since maintained.

The Camerons having, as already stated, acquired nearly all the lands of the Clan Ranald, Ewen Allanson, who was then at their head, supported John Moydertach, in his usurpation of the chiefship, and thus brought upon himself the resentment of Huntly, who was at that time all-powerful in the north. Huntly, assisted by Lovat, marched to dispossess the usurper by force, and when their object was effected they retired, each taking a different route. Profiting by this imprudence, the Camerons and Macdonalds pursued Lovat, against whom their vengeance was chiefly directed, and having overtaken him near Kiuloch-lochy, they attacked and slew him, together with his son and about three hundred of his clan. Huntly, on learning the defeat and death of his ally, immediately returned to Lochaber, and with the assistance of William Mackintosh, captain of the Clan Chattan, seized Ewen Allanson of Lochiel, captain of the Clan Chameron, and Ranald Macdonald Glas of Keppoch, whom he carried to the castle of Ruthven in Badenoch. Here they were detained for some time in imprisonment; but being soon afterwards removed to Elgin, they were there tried for high treason, and being found guilty by a jury of landed gentlemen, were beheaded, whilst



several of their followers, who had been apprehended along with them, were hanged. This event, which took place in the year 1546, appears to have had a salutary effect in disposing the turbulent Highlanders to submission, the decapitation of a chief being an act of energy for which they were by no means prepared.

The subsequent history of the Clan Chameron, until we come to the time of Sir Ewen, the hero of the race, is only diversified by the feuds in which they were engaged with other clans, particularly the Clan Chattan, and by those incidents peculiar to the times and the state of society in the Highlands. Towards the end of Queen Mary's reign, a violent dispute having broken out amongst the clan themselves, the chief, Donald Dhu, patronymically styled Macdonald MhicEwen, was murdered by some of his own kinsmen; and, during the minority of his successor, the Mackintoshes, taking advantage of the dissensions which prevailed in the clan, invaded their territories, and forced the grand-uncles of the young chief, who ruled in his name, to conclude a treaty respecting the disputed lands of Glenluy and Locharkaig. But this arrangement being resented by the clan, proved ineffectual; no surrender was made of the lands in question; and the inheritance of the chief was preserved undiminished by the patriotic devotion of his clansmen. Early in 1621, Allan Cameron of Lochiel, and his son John, were outlawed for not appearing to give security for their future obedience, and a commission was issued to Lord Gordon against him and his clan; but this commission was not rigorously acted on, and served rather to protect Lochiel against the interference of Mackintosh and others, who were very much disposed to push matters to extremity against the Clan Chameron. The following year, however, Lochiel was induced to submit his disputes with the family of Mackintosh to the decision of mutual friends; and by these arbitrators, the lands of Glenluy and Locharkaig were adjudged to belong to Mackintosh, who, however, was ordained to pay certain sums of money by way of compensation to Lochiel. But, as usually happens in similar cases, this decision satisfied neither party. Lochiel, however, pretended to acquiesce, but delayed the completion of the transaction in such a way that the dispute was not finally settled until the time of his grandson, the celebrated Sir Ewen Cameron. About the year 1664, the latter, having made a satisfactory arrangement of the long-standing feud with the Mackintoshes, was at length left in undisputed possession of the lands of Glenluy and Locharkaig; and, with some trifling exceptions, the various branches of the Camerons still enjoy their ancient inheritances. The family of Lochiel, like many others, was constrained to hold its lands of the Marquis of Argyll, and his successors.

Sir Ewen Cameron, commonly called Ewan Dhu of Lochiel, was a chief alike distinguished for his chivalrous character, his intrepid loyalty, his undaunted courage, and the ability as well as heroism with which he conducted himself in circumstances of uncommon difficulty and peril.

This remarkable man was born in the year 1629, and educated at Inverary Castle, under the guardianship of his kinsman the Marquis of Argyll, who, having taken charge of him in his tenth year, endeavoured to instil into his mind the political principles of the Covenanters and the Puritans, and to induce the boy to attach himself to that party. But the spirit of the youthful chief was not attuned by nature to receive the impressions of a morose and saturnine fanaticism. At the age of eighteen, he broke loose from Argyll, with the declared intention of joining the Marquis of Montrose, a hero more congenial to his own character. He was too late, however, to be of service to that brave but unfortunate leader, whose reverses had commenced before Cameron left Inverary. But though the royal cause seemed lost he was not disheartened, and having kept his men in arms, completely protected his estate from the incursions of Cromwell's troops. In the year 1652, he joined the Earl of Glencairn, who had raised the royal standard in the Highlands, and greatly distinguished himself in a series of encounters with General Lilburne, Colonel Morgan, and others. In a sharp skirmish which took place between Glencairn and Lilburne at Braemar, Lochiel, intrusted with the defence of a pass, maintained it gallantly until the royal army had retired, when Lilburne, making a detour, attacked him in flank. Lochiel kept his ground for some time; until at last finding himself unable to repel the enemy, who now brought up an additional force against him, he retreated slowly up the hill, showing a front to the assailants, who durst not continue to follow him, the ground being steep and covered with snow. This vigorous stand saved Glencairn's army, which was, at that time, in a disorganised state; owing principally to the conflicting pretensions of a number of independent chiefs and gentlemen, who, in their anxiety to command, forgot the duty of obedience. Lochiel, however, kept clear of these cabals, and stationing himself at the outposts, harassed the enemy with continual skirmishes, in which he was commonly successful. How his services were appreciated by Glencairn we learn from a letter of Charles II. to Lochiel, dated at Chantilly, the 3d of November, 1653, in which the exiled king says, "We are informed by the Earl of Glencairn with what courage, success, and affection to us, you have behaved yourself in this time of trial, when the honour and liberty of your country are at stake; and therefore we cannot but express our hearty sense of this your courage, and return you our thanks for the same." The letter concludes with an assurance that "we are ready, as soon as we are able, signally to reward your service, and to repair the losses you shall undergo for our service."

Acting in the same loyal spirit, Lochiel kept his men constantly on the alert, and ready to move wherever their service might be required. In 1654, he joined Glencairn with a strong body, to oppose Generals Monk and Morgan, who had marched into the Highlands. Lochiel being opposed to Morgan, a brave and enterprising officer, was often hard pressed, and sometimes nearly overpowered; but his courage and presence of mind

which never forsook him, enabled the intrepid chief to extricate himself from all difficulties. Monk tried several times to negotiate, and made the most favourable proposals to Lochiel on the part of Cromwell; but these were uniformly rejected with contempt. At length, finding it equally impossible to subdue or to treat with him, Monk resolved to establish a garrison at Inverlochy; in the hope of either forcing Lochiel and other loyal chiefs to surrender, or at least of finding them as much employment in their own country as would prevent them from undertaking expeditions against those who had submitted to Cromwell in the Low land. With this view, Colonel Bigan transported, by sea, a body of troops, with stores and materials for building, and, having landed at Inverlochy, soon raised a small fort, as a temporary defence against the musketry, swords, and arrows of the Highlanders. Lochiel watched their motions from a hill to the north of the fort, and having accurate information of all that was passing in it, he learned that, on the fifth day, about 300 men were to embark and sail a few miles along the coast for the purpose of landing at Achdalew, to cut down his wood and to carry away his cattle. He had only 38 men with him at the time; but as not a moment was to be lost, he hurried along in a line with the vessel, under cover of the woods, and was soon able to count 140 armed men, besides a number provided with axes and working implements. The disparity of numbers was appalling; and Lochiel, on consulting with his friends, found that the elder and more experienced were opposed to an attack, which they considered as a rash and hazardous enterprise. The younger portion however, declared for an immediate onset, and Lochiel, eager to signalize himself, gave orders to advance. "If every one kills his man," said he, "I will answer for the rest." The Camerons, armed partly with muskets and partly with bows and arrows, but all provided with broadswords, rushed forward on the enemy, reserving their fire till they almost closed, when almost every shot told. They then attacked with their swords, whilst the English defended themselves with the bayonet. The combat was long and obstinate, but at last the English gave way; retreating slowly, however, and contesting every step with their faces towards the enemy. Lochiel now sent two men round the flank of the enemy, to fire their muskets and make a noise as if a fresh party had arrived, hoping thereby to excite a panic of which he might take advantage. But this only rendered the English desperate, and instead of throwing down their arms, they fought more resolutely than before, expecting no quarter from such determined savages. At length, however, they were completely borne down, and fled, pursued by the Camerons chin-deep into the sea, till the people in the boats received the fugitives and drove back the Highlanders. Of the enemy the number killed exceeded that of Lochiel's men in the proportion of three to one, whilst of the latter only seven fell in the combat. The Highlanders had the advantage of being the assailants, and, profiting by the first surprise, they never allowed the enemy an instant to recover from the confusion occasioned by

the rapidity and vigour of the attack. In the course of the struggle the intrepid Lochiel himself had several very narrow escapes.

This victory, so far from abating, rather stimulated his activity, and, in a few days afterwards, he cut off a small foraging party belonging to the garrison. But he was immediately afterwards called away to join Glencairn, and having collected his men, he formed a junction with the royal force in Athole. In a short time, however, finding that the garrison, taking advantage of his absence, had sent parties to harass and plunder his people, he returned in the utmost haste with 150 men, leaving the greater part with Glencairn in Athole; and the very day on which he arrived, received a report that the troops were the following day to pillage the lands of his kinsman Cameron of Glennevis. Early next morning he took with him 190 men, whom he stationed near the river side, at the foot of Bennevis, which was then covered with wood about half a mile up the mountain. He had not waited long when the enemy appeared. Having allowed about 500 of them to pass him, he gave the signal to his men, who instantly rushed on the soldiers, and killing about 100 of them, pursued the remainder close to the fort. Not an officer escaped upon this occasion; and the soldiers were so much disheartened by their losses, that, after this, they could scarcely be kept to their duty. General Middleton, who had been unsuccessful in a skirmish with General Morgan, now invited Lochiel to come to his assistance. Upwards of 300 Camerons were immediately assembled, and he marched to join Middleton, who had retreated to Braemar. In this expedition, Lochiel had several encounters with Morgan; and, notwithstanding all the ability and enterprise of the latter, the judgment and promptitude with which the chief availed himself of the accidents of the ground, the activity of his men, and the consequent celerity of their movements, gave him a decided advantage in this *guerre de chicane*. With trifling loss to himself, he slew a considerable number of the enemy, who were often attacked both in flank and rear when they had no suspicion that an enemy was within many miles of them. An instance of this occurred at Lochgarry in August 1653, when Lochiel, in passing northwards, was joined by about sixty or seventy Athole-men, who went to accompany him through the hills. Anxious to revenge the defeat which his friends had, a short time previously, sustained upon the same spot, he planned and executed a surprise of two regiments of Cromwell's troops, which, on their way southward, had encamped upon the plain of Dalnaspiddel; and although it would have been the height of folly to risk a mere handful of men, however brave, in close combat with so superior a force, yet he killed a number of the enemy, carried off several who had got entangled in the morass of Lochgarry, and completely effected the object of the enterprise.

But all his exertions proved unavailing. Middleton, being destitute of money and provisions, was at length obliged to submit, and the war was thus ended, excepting with Lochiel himself, who, firm in his allegiance, still held out, and continued to resist the encroachments of the garrison

quartered in his neighbourhood. He surprised and cut off a foraging party, which, under the pretence of hunting, had set out to make a sweep of his cattle and goats; and he succeeded in making prisoners of a number of Scotch and English officers, with their attendants, who had been sent to survey the estates of several loyalists in Argyleshire, with the intention of building forts there to keep down the king's friends. This last affair was planned with great skill, and, like almost all his enterprises, proved completely successful. But the termination of his resistance was now approaching. He treated his prisoners with the greatest kindness, and this brought on an intimacy, which ultimately led to a proposal of negotiation. Lochiel was naturally enough very anxious for an honourable treaty. His country was impoverished and his people were nearly ruined; the cause which he had so long and bravely supported seemed desperate; and all prospect of relief or assistance had by this time completely vanished. Yet the gallant chief resisted several attempts to induce him to yield, protesting that, rather than disarm himself and his clan, abjure his king, and take the oaths to an usurper, he would live as an outlaw, without regard to the consequences. To this it was answered, that, if he only evinced an inclination to submit, no oath would be required, and that he should have his own terms. Accordingly, General Monk, then commander-in-chief in Scotland, drew up certain conditions which he sent to Lochiel, and which, with some slight alterations, the latter accepted and returned by one of the prisoners lately taken, whom he released upon parole. And proudly might he accept the terms offered to him. "No oath was required of Lochiel to Cromwell, but his word of honour to live in peace. He and his clan were allowed to keep their arms as before the war broke out, they behaving peaceably. Reparation was to be made to Lochiel for the wood cut by the garrison of Inverlochy. A full indemnity was granted for all acts of depredation, and crimes committed by his men. Reparation was to be made to his tenants for all the losses they had sustained from the troops. All tithes, cess, and public burdens which had not been paid, were to be remitted." This was in June 1654.

Lochiel with his brave Camerons lived in peace till the Restoration, and during the two succeeding reigns he remained in tranquil possession of his property. But in 1689, he joined the standard of King James, which had been raised by Viscount Dundee. General Mackay had, by orders of King William, offered him a title and a considerable sum of money, apparently on the condition of his remaining neutral. The offer, however, was rejected with disdain; and at the battle of Killcrankie, Sir Ewen had a conspicuous share in the success of the day. Before the battle, he spoke to each of his men, individually, and took their promise that they would conquer or die. At the commencement of the action, when General Mackay's army raised a kind of shout, Lochiel exclaimed, "Gentlemen, the day is our own; I am the oldest commander in the army, and I have always observed something ominous or fatal in such a dull, heavy, feeble noise as that which the enemy has



just made in their shout." These words spread like wildfire through the ranks of the Highlanders. Electrified by the prognostication of the veteran chief, they rushed like furies on the enemy, and in half an hour the battle was finished. But Lord Dundee had fallen early in the fight, and Lochiel, disgusted with the incapacity of Colonel Cannon, who succeeded him, retired to Lochaber, leaving the command of his men to his eldest son.\* This heroic and chivalrous chief survived till the year 1719, when he died at the age of ninety, leaving a name distinguished for bravery, honour, consistency, and disinterested devotion to the cause which he so long and ably supported.†

The character of Sir Ewen Cameron was worthily upheld by his grandson, the "gentle Lochiel," though with less auspicious fortune. The share which that gallant chief had in the ill-fated insurrection of 1745–1746 is well known, and his conduct throughout was such as to gain him the esteem and admiration of all. If the rest of the clans assembled on the field at Culloden, had behaved like the Camerons and the Athole Highlanders, or had even sustained them in their gallant attack, the name of Cumberland would not have acquired so infamous an immortality in the Highlands of Scotland, and the British nation would have been spared the disgrace afterwards brought upon it by the ignominious convention of Closter-Seven. The estates of Lochiel were of course included in the numerous forfeitures which followed the suppression of the insurrection; but notwithstanding that the clan had been concerned in every attempt made in favour of the house of Stuart, these were afterwards restored, and still remain in possession of the family.

The force of the Camerons was estimated at 800 in 1715, and at the same amount in 1745; so that, at both periods, they were a powerful clan.

The *Clan Gillean* is one of those to which a Norman origin has been assigned, although, as would seem, without any sufficient ground. Its early history is involved in great obscurity; nor is it worth while to attempt to thread the mazes of fanciful and traditionary genealogies. It appears, however, that, about the period when the Lordship of the Isles was forfeited this clan was divided into four independent branches,

\* Although Sir Ewen, with his clan, had joined Lord Dundee in the service of the abdicated king, yet his second son was a captain in the Scotch Fusileers, and served with Mackay on the side of government. As the general was observing the Highland army drawn up on the face of a hill to the westward of the great pass, he turned round to young Cameron, who stood near him, and pointing to his clansmen, said, "There is your father with his wild savages; how would you like to be with him?" "It signifies little," replied Cameron, "what I would like; but I recommend it to you to be prepared, or perhaps my father and his wild savages may be nearer to you before night than you would like." And so indeed it happened.—(*Stewart's Sketches, &c.*, vol. i. p. 66.)

† For the foregoing account of the achievements of Sir Ewen Cameron we have been chiefly indebted to General Stewart's valuable work on the Highlanders and Highland Regiments.

each of which held of the Lord of the Isles, and none had therefore any claim to feudal superiority. The branches in question were the Macleans of Dowart, the Macleans of Lochbuy, the Macleans of Coll, and the Macleans of Ardgour.

The first and the most important branch was that of Dowart, the founder of which was Lachlan Maclean, surnamed Lubanich, who, in the year 1366, married Margaret, daughter of John, first Lord of the Isles. By this lady he had a son, Hector, who, as well as his father, received extensive possessions both in the Isles and on the mainland, from John and his successor Donald, as Lords of the Isles. Hector Maclean served under Donald at the battle of Harlaw, where he lost his life; and a descendant of his commanded at the battle of the Bloody Bay, where he was taken prisoner by the Clan Donald. The latter was also the leader of his tribe at the time of the forfeiture in 1493, when a great part of the islands of Mull and Tyree, with detached lands in Islay, Jura, Scarba, and in the districts of Morven, Lochaber, and Knapdale, appear to have been comprehended in his possessions. In the reign of James VI, the family of Maclean of Dowart was one of the most powerful in the Hebrides; but before the close of the seventeenth century, it had lost nearly all its great possessions, and fallen from its high estate to a condition of comparative insignificance. The primary cause of this decline may be traced to the feud which broke out, in the time of Queen Mary, between the Macleans and the Macdonalds. In the two subsequent reigns, there had accumulated against the barony of Dowart a number of debts, which enabled the Marquis of Argyll and his successors to prefer a claim to the estate; and this the Macleans, weakened by their exertions in favour of the descendants of the Stuart line, never had an opportunity of shaking off, or effectually resisting, so that the ambitious and aspiring house of Argyll was aggrandised at their expense. Maclean of Dowart has generally been considered as the chief of all the Macleans.

The second branch of the Macleans was that of Lochbuy, descended from Hector Reganach, the brother of Lachlan Lubanich. This Hector was the father of Murchard, whose great-grandson, John Maclean of Lochbuy, was at the head of this sept in the year 1493. The nominal possessions of the family at that period comprehended lands in Mull, Tyree, Jura, Scarba, and Morven, with the lands of Lochiel in Lochaber, and those of Durer and Glenco in Lorn. The lands of Lochiel, on the forfeiture of the chief of the Clan Chameron, had been granted by Alexander, Earl of Ross, to John Maclean of Coll, and were subsequently, for some reason which does not appear, conferred upon Maclean of Lochbuy by John Earl of Ross, so that there were three competing claimants for the lands in question. But, as formerly stated, the Camerons proved successful in retaining possession; and the Macleans, although they appealed to the sword, the usual arbitrator of such disputes in the Highlands, failed in making good the

charters they had obtained. It is uncertain whether Maclean of Lochbuy was more successful in enforcing his claims to Durer and Glenco ; but, with these exceptions, he appears to have possessed, free of dispute or interruption, the lands already mentioned as having belonged to his family ; and these have been inherited, without diminution by his successors. The house of Lochbuy has always maintained that of the two brothers, Lachlan Lubanich, and Hector Reganach, the latter was the senior, and that, consequently, the chiefship of the Macleans is vested in its head ; “ but this,” says Mr Gregory, “ is a point on which there is no certain evidence.”

The third branch of the Macleans was that of Coll, descended like that of Dowart, from Lachlan Lubanich, who is said to have been grandfather to the fourth Laird of Dowart, and the first Laird of Coll, who were brothers. It is disputed which of the two brothers was the senior ; and Mr Gregory states, that such evidence as he has seen tends rather to support the claim of the family of Coll. But however this may be, John Maclean, surnamed Garbh, received the island of Coll and the lands of Quinish in Mull from Alexander Earl of Ross, who, afterwards, on the forfeiture of Cameron, granted to the same John Garbh, a charter of the lands of Lochiel ; a grant which, as we have seen, engendered a deadly feud between the Camerons and the Macleans, and was productive of much contention and bloodshed. At one time, the son and successor of John Garbh, occupied Lochiel by force, and for a short time held possession of the country ; but he was at last killed at Corpach by the Camerons, and his infant son would have shared the same fate, had the boy not been saved by the Macgillonies, a tribe of Lochaber that generally followed the Clan Chameron. The youth who owed his preservation to the humanity of this sept, was afterwards known as John Abrach Maclean of Coll. He was the representative of the family in 1493, and from him was adopted by his successors the patronymic appellation of Maclean Abrach, by which the Laird of Coll is still distinguished.

The fourth branch of the Macleans was that of Ardgour, descended from Donald, another son of Lachlan third Laird of Dowart, and which held its lands directly from the Lord of the Isles. Ardgour, which formerly belonged to a different tribe, was conferred upon Donald, either by Alexander Earl of Ross, or by his son and successor John. In 1463, Ewen or Eugene, son of Donald, held the office of seneschal of the household to the latter earl ; and in 1493, the Laird of Ardgour was Lachlan MacEwen Maclean. It would be endless, however, to trace the alliances and connections of this and the other branches of the Clan Gillean, which were numerous and complicated, embracing all the principal families of the Isles, and several on the mainland ; by which means their power and influence were greatly increased.

During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the Macleans of Lochbuy, Coll, and Ardgour, more fortunate than the eldest branch of

the clan, contrived to preserve their estates nearly entire, although compelled by the policy of the Marquis of Argyll to renounce their holdings *in capite* of the crown, and to become vassals of that aspiring nobleman and his successors. But notwithstanding this change of tenure, they continued zealous partizans of the Stuarts, in whose cause they suffered considerably. At the battle of Inverkeithing, in 1652, the Macleans lost several hundred men, and a large proportion of officers. In 1715, they joined the insurrection under the Earl of Mar, and, on that occasion, incurred the same penalty with the other clans who had taken part in the same ill-conducted and unfortunate expedition. But their estates being afterwards restored, they listened to the persuasions of President Forbes, and remained quiet during the subsequent insurrection of 1745, when the chances of success had greatly improved, and when a general rising of the clans would most probably have placed the crown on the head of the descendant of their ancient line of kings. Their force, which, in 1715, was estimated at 800 men, had, in 1745, declined to 500.\*

\* Gregory's *Highlands and Isles of Scotland*, pp. 68, 69, 70, 71, and 419, 420. Skene's *Highlanders of Scotland*, vol. ii. p. 213.

Lent to Lord Dufferin

When he was writing his  
book—Letters from high latitudes  
1857

## CHAPTER IX.

1. Clan-Campbell—Their supposed Norman origin disproved—Sketch of their history.—2. Macleods—Siol Torquil—Siol Tormod—Notices of these branches or tribes.—3. Clan-Kenneth—Its origin and history.—4. Clan-Roich.—5. Siol Alpine.—6. Families not originally of Celtic origin—Stewarts—Menzies—Fraser—Chisholms—Conclusion.

I. MR PINKERTON, misled by a very fanciful etymology, has assigned to the Campbells a Norman origin, and in this notion he has been followed by all those persons who find it more easy to adopt an authority than to investigate a fact, or discuss an opinion. Having assumed that the name Campbell is merely an abbreviated form of Campo-bello, he concluded, first, that the latter was a Norman appellation; and, secondly, that the Campbells were not Celts but Goths, who had originally sprung from a Norman family, known by the designation of Campo-bello. But in answer to this etymological conceit, it may be sufficient to observe, that, as far as an inference can be deduced from a name, that of Campbell, if it had originally been Campo-bello, would have indicated an Italian rather than a Norman origin; and, besides, that no trace has ever been discovered of the existence of a Norman family distinguished by the name of Campo-bello. Doomsday-book and other similar records make no mention of any such family. The farther back we trace the denomination of this clan, the more unlike does it become to the Italianized name of Campo-bello; and the oldest mode of writing it is that in the Ragman Roll, where it appears as Cambel or Kambell, a word clearly of Celtic derivation.

The Campbells first made their appearance in the reign of Alexander III., when they were divided into two great families, which were afterwards distinguished by the patronymics of MacArthur and MacCaillanmore. In 1266, Gillespie Cambel, head of the MacCaillanmore branch, witnessed the charter of erection of the burgh of Newburgh by Alexander III.; and there is some reason to believe that he was heritable sheriff of Argyle, which had, in 1221, been erected into a sheriffdom by Alexander II. But it was not until the reign of Robert Bruce that the Campbells obtained a firm footing in Argyle, and laid the foundation of their future greatness and power. To the gratitude of that sovereign, whom



he had faithfully served, Sir Niell Campbell of Lochawe was indebted for many grants that were made to him out of the lands forfeited by the house of Lorn, the Comyns, and other supporters of the party of John Baliol. The marriage of this baron with the sister of King Robert attached the Campbells still more closely to the dynasty of Bruce; and, during the minority of David II. they adhered to his interests with unwavering fidelity. Early in the fifteenth century, Sir Duncan Campbell of Lochawe, afterwards the first Lord Campbell, was considered as one of the most wealthy barons in Scotland. Colin Campbell, grandson of Sir Duncan, and first Earl of Argyll, acquired by marriage the extensive lordship of Lorn, and, for a long period, held the office of chancellor of Scotland. In 1475, this nobleman was appointed to prosecute a decree of forfeiture against John, Earl of Ross and Lord of the Isles; and, in 1481, he received a considerable grant of lands in Knapdale, amongst with the keepership of the castle of Sweyn, which had formerly been held by the Lord of the Isles. Colin, the first Earl, died in the year 1492, and was succeeded by his son Archibald, the second Earl, of whom, however, little or nothing is known.

The Campbells, ever ambitious and aspiring, continued to make rapid advances in power and influence during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The Marquis of Argyll, commonly called Gillespie Grumach, did more to aggrandize his family than almost any of his predecessors. He succeeded in establishing claims to a great part of the estate of Dowart, and he obliged all the other branches of the Macleans, as well as the Clan Chameron, the Clan Ranald of Garmoran, the Clan Neill of Gigha, and many other tribes, to become his vassals, notwithstanding that they had previously held their lands of the crown. His son, the ninth Earl of Argyll, consolidated the power which he had thus acquired; and, as the forfeitures of this Earl and his father were rescinded at the Revolution, the family of Argyll found itself possessed of greater influence than any other in Scotland; and, as formerly, this influence was supported by the willing service and co-operation of a great many powerful families of the same name.

The MacArthur branch appears to have been originally at the head of the Clan Campbell, and to have held this position until the reign of James I., when it was displaced by the MacCaillanmore branch, which has ever since maintained an undisputed supremacy. The force of the clan, at different times, has varied considerably. In 1427, it was only 1000; but in 1715, it had increased to 4000, and in 1745, it amounted to 5000. At Culloden, the Campbells were opposed to their countrymen, and did very serious injury to the Highland army by breaking down a wall, and opening a flanking fire at the critical moment of the battle. It is but just to add, that this powerful clan has generally contrived to be on the strongest side.

II. The Clan Leod has commonly been supposed to be one of those whose Norwegian origin cannot be disputed; but Mr Skene assures us,

that there is not a vestige of authority for this opinion, unless indeed a doubtful and comparatively recent tradition be regarded as such. The clan in question, however, comprehended two leading septs or branches; the Siol Torquil or Macleods of Lewis, and the Siol Tormod or Macleods of Harris, which, though descended from a common progenitor, Leod, were in fact two distinct and independent clans.

At the accession of David II., the islands of Lewis and Skye belonged to the Earl of Ross. But when John of Islay, afterwards Lord of the Isles, made his peace with David in the year 1344, he had influence enough to retain Lewis, which, from this time, was held by the Siol Torquil as his vassals. In the same reign Torquil Macleod, chief of the tribe or sept, received a royal grant of the lands of Assynt in Sutherland; and early in the fifteenth century these lands were given in vassalage by Roderick Macleod of the Lewis to his younger son Tormod, ancestor of the Macleods of Assynt. In the year 1493 the head of the Siol Torquil was another Roderick, the grandson of the former, whose eldest son was mortally wounded at the battle of the Bloody Bay, and died without issue; so that Torquil, his second son, became heir of the Lewis. The possessions of the Siol Torquil were very extensive, comprehending the isles of Lewis and Rasay, the district of Waterness in Skye, and those of Assynt, Cogeache, and Gairloch on the mainland. The principal surviving branches of the Siol Torquil, during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, were the families of Rasay and Assynt. The latter property passed into the hands of the Mackenzies about the end of the seventeenth century; but the family continued to exist, notwithstanding its losses and misfortunes. The Macleods of Cadboll are cadets of those of Assynt. The chief of the Siol Torquil is Macleod of Rasay.

Malcolm Macleod, the head of the Siol Tormod, received from David II. a charter of the lands of Glenelg, which he and his successors always held of the crown. But the principal possessions of this tribe were, before the forfeiture in 1493, held under the Lord of the Isles, by whose predecessors they had been acquired in various ways, though chiefly by marriage. The Isle of Skye originally formed part of the earldom of Ross; but when the latter was annexed to the crown in 1478, Skye was not included in the annexation, and remained in the hands of the Lord of the Isles, under whom the Siol Tormod held the districts of Dunvegan, Duirinish, Bracadale, Lyndale, Trouterness, and Minganish, being about two-thirds of the whole island. The head of the Siol Tormod, in 1493, was Alexander, surnamed Crottach, or the Humpbacked. This branch of the Macleods continued to possess Harris, Dunvegan, and Glenelg, until near the end of the eighteenth century; but the estates of Harris and Glenelg have now passed into other hands. The principal cadets of the Siol Tormod were the families of Bernera, Talisker, Grisernish, and Hamer; and besides these, there were other respectable families of the same name settled in Skye, and also in Harris and Glenelg, where some of them still remain.

During the great civil wars of the seventeenth century, the Macleods joined the royal army with a considerable body of men, and took a very active share in all the troubles of that period; but on the last occasion, when the clans raised the banner of the Stuarts, the Macleods, dissuaded by President Forbes of Culloden, abstained from taking any share in the insurrection, and thus escaped the forfeitures which followed its suppression. The force of this clan was estimated at 700 in 1704, at 1000 in 1715, and at 700 in 1745.

III. The Clan Kenneth has, it seems, long boasted of its descent from the Norman family of Fitzgerald in Ireland, and founded its pretension to Hiberno-Norman origin upon a fragment of the records of Icolmkill, and a charter of the lands of Kintail granted by Alexander III. to Colin Fitzgerald, the supposed progenitor of the Mackenzies. But this claim, as usual, has been disputed; and with regard to the charter, Mr Skene declares that "it bears the most palpable marks of having been a forgery of later date, and one by no means happy in its execution." The first of this family, of whom any thing certain is known, is Murdoch, the son of Kenneth of Kintail, to whom David II. is said to have granted a charter as early as the year 1362. In less than a century after this, the clan appears to have become one of considerable strength and importance; for its chief is ranked as the leader of two thousand men, and he was amongst those Highland barons treacherously arrested by James I. in his parliament, holden at Inverness in the year 1427. Kenneth More, the chief in question, was succeeded by his son Murdoch, who, on the forfeiture of the Earl of Ross and the Lord of the Isles, eagerly seized the opportunity thus offered to assert his independence, and hence became involved in contentions and feuds with the Macdonalds. The result, however, was favourable to the aggrandisement of the Mackenzies; who not only established their independence, but gradually increased in extent of territory and influence until they rose to be one of the principal clans of the north. Their principal antagonists were the Glengarry branch of the Macdonalds, with whom they maintained a long and sanguinary feud; but, partly by policy, and partly by force, they ultimately prevailed. The Macdonalds, attacked in their own country, were defeated with great slaughter. The son of their leader was killed, and his clan reduced almost to desperation; and Kenneth Mackenzie succeeded in obtaining a crown-charter to the disputed districts of Lochalsh, Lochcarron, and others, together with the castle of Strome. This charter is dated in the year 1607, and soon afterwards Kenneth Mackenzie was raised to the peerage by the style and title of Lord Mackenzie of Kintail, whilst his son Colin was, at the same time, created Earl of Seaforth. The extent of their territories justified these promotions. "All the Highlands and Isles, from Ardnamurchan to Strathnaven, were either the Mackenzies' property, or under their vassalage, some few excepted;" and all about them were bound to them "by very strict bonds of friendship."

The Mackenzies were concerned in all the attempts that were made by the Highland clans in favour of the Stuarts, excepting the last, in which they took no part whatever. Having been twice forfeited, they listened to the dictates of prudence, enforced by President Forbes, and declined a third time to incur the hazards of insurrection. But not long afterwards the family became extinct, and their estates have, by the marriage of the heiress, passed into the hands of a stranger. The force of the Clan Kenneth was estimated at 2000 in 1427, at 1200 in 1704, and at 2500 in 1745.

IV. The possessions of the Clan Roich, or Monros, are situated to the north of the Frith of Cromarty, and generally known in the Highlands by the name of *Ferrin Donald*, being so called from the progenitor of the Clan Donald, who also bore the patronymic of Macain. In a charter granted by the Earl of Sutherland, as early as the reign of Alexander II., mention is made of the chief, *Monro of Fowlis*; but the first feudal titles obtained by this family are of a much later date, having been conferred on them by the Earl of Ross, their feudal superior, about the middle of the fourteenth century. From this period, they appear to have remained in possession of the same territories without increase or diminution; and in the sixteenth century they were considered as a clan of considerable importance, partly on account of their high reputation for courage and enterprise. During the civil wars of the following century, however, when the majority of the Highlanders espoused the royal cause, the Monros embraced the popular side, and, from this period, continued to give a steady and determined opposition to all the efforts made in favour of the exiled family. The cause of this anomaly has not been satisfactorily explained; though some have supposed that the habits acquired in foreign service, during the continental wars, disposed them, on their return to their own country, to support the established government without regard to those feelings and sentiments by which the great majority of the Highlanders were swayed. The Mackays and the Lowland Scotch, who had served in Germany, appear to have all acted upon the same principle; and it is certainly not improbable that, as soldiers of fortune, they belonged to that class of which the renowned soldado, Dugald Dalgetty, may be considered as the type and representative. In 1745, the Monros, true to the maxim which had so long guided their conduct, joined the government forces, and were present at the battle of Falkirk, where their chief, Sir Robert *Monro of Fowlis*, fell fighting against the cause which the swords of the Highlanders had rendered victorious. In 1704 and 1715, the force of the Clan Roich was estimated at 400, and in 1745 at 500 men, capable of bearing arms in the field.

V. Under the general denomination of *Siol Alpine* are included several clans situated at considerable distances from one another, but all of them supposed to have been descended from Kenneth Macalpine, the founder of the Scottish monarchy, and the ancestor of a long line of Scottish kings.

These are the Clan Gregor, or Macgregor; the Clan Grant, or Grants; the Clan Fingon, or Mackinnons; the Clan Anaba, or Macnabs; the Clan Duffie, or Macfies; the Clan Quarrie, or Macquarries; and the Clan Aulay, or Macaulays, who have at all times claimed the distinction of being the noblest and most ancient of the Highland clans. The validity of this lofty pretension has, however, been disputed; and, in point of fact, it appears that the clans, composing the Siol Alpine, were never united under the authority of a common chief, but, on the contrary, were, from the earliest period, at variance amongst themselves; in consequence of which they sunk into insignificance, and became of little account or importance in a general estimate of the Highland tribes. But the principal clan appears to have been that of the Macgregors, a race famous for their misfortunes as well as the unbroken spirit with which they maintained themselves linked and banded together in spite of the most severe laws executed with the greatest rigour against all who bore this proscribed name. For details, however, respecting this and the other clans, included under the general denomination of Siol Alpine, the reader is referred to Skene's *History of the Clans*, in which some curious notices of each will be found arranged in the order of the enumeration above given.

VI. It only remains to advert shortly to several of those families which, though not originally of Celtic origin, have yet, from various causes, established themselves in the Highlands, and, in some instances, attained considerable power and influence.

1. Amongst these, the first place is due of right to the Stewarts, who are generally considered as a branch of the Norman family of Fitzallan. Their primary seat was in Renfrewshire; but from the extensive territories which they acquired, some of them penetrated into the Highlands, and became the founders of distinct families of the same name. Of these, the principal were the Stewarts of Lorn, of Athole, and of Balquhiddy, from one or other of which all the rest have been derived. The Stewarts of Lorn are descended from a natural son of John Stewart, the last Lord of Lorn, who, with the assistance of the MacLarens, retained forcible possession of part of his father's estates. From this family sprung the Stewarts of Appin, Invernahyle, Fasnacloich, and others, as also Stewart of Grandtully in Athole, who is supposed to have derived his origin from Alexander Stewart, the fourth son of John, Lord of Lorn. The Stewarts of Athole consist almost entirely of the descendants of Alexander Stewart, commonly called the Wolfe of Badenoch; and of these, the principal was the family of Stewart of Garth, descended from James Stewart, a natural son of the same redoubted personage, who obtained a footing in Athole, by marrying the daughter and heiress of Menzies of Fortingall. This family, from which proceed almost all the other Athole Stewarts, became extinct in the direct line by the death of the gallant and patriotic historian of the Highland Regiments, and the property which they had for ages possessed has



now passed into the hands of the stranger. The Balquhiddar Stewarts derive their origin from illegitimate branches of the Albany family.

2. The family of Menzies are thought to be of Lowland extraction. Their original name was Meyners, and from the bearings of their arms it has been conjectured that they were a branch of the English family of Manners, and consequently of Norman origin. But, however this may be, they obtained a footing in Athole at a very early period, as appears from a charter granted by Robert de Meyners, in the reign of Alexander II. Alexander de Meyners, the son of this Robert, possessed the lands of Weem, Aberfeldy, and Glendochart in Athole, besides his original estate of Durrisdeer in Nithsdale; and he was succeeded by his eldest son, Robert, in the properties of Weem, Aberfeldy, and Durrisdeer, whilst his second son, Thomas, obtained the lands of Fortingall. From the former of these the present family is descended; but that of Menzies of Fortingall became extinct in the third generation, and its property was transferred to the Stewart family by a marriage with the heiress of James Stewart, a natural son of the Wolfe of Badenoch.

3. The family of the Frasers is generally allowed to be of Norman origin. Their original seat appears to have been in the south of Scotland; and, at an early period, they possessed considerable estates in East Lothian and Tweeddale, where they were known by the name of Frisale, as appears from the roll of Battle Abbey; but during the reign of King Robert Bruce, they began to move northwards, penetrating into the Mearns and Aberdeenshire, and, finally, into Inverness-shire. Simon Fraser was the founder of the family of Lovat. He married Margaret, daughter of John, Earl of Orkney and Caithness, and, on the death of Magnus, his successor, contested the succession with the Earl of Strathern; but, though he failed in this, he, at the same time, acquired the property of Lovat in right of his wife, who was the daughter and heiress of Graham of Lovat; and his son Hugh, who succeeded him in the possession of Lovat and the Aird, is thus the undisputed ancestor of the present family. Those who wish for further information may consult Anderson's elaborate history of the House of Fraser, which contains matter sufficient to satiate the curiosity of the most inquisitive genealogist. The title which fell under the attainder of the last Lord Lovat in 1748, has recently been revived in the person of his actual representative, whose high personal character and steady attachment to the principles of liberty well merited such a distinction.

4. The Chisholms, notwithstanding their great desire to be considered as a Gaelic clan, are undoubtedly of Lowland origin. This, as Mr Skene has shown, is proved by the early charters of the family, particularly by a deed dated the 15th of April, 1403; and the same author is of opinion that their original seat was in Roxburghshire, where persons of this name still remain. The principal possessions of this family consist of Comer and Strathglass; but how these were at first obtained, or by what combination of circumstances the Chisholms were drawn from the south

to the north, we have not ascertained. The head or representative of this family affects the denomination of The Chisholm; a title not remarkable either for its modesty or good taste, and which is apt to provoke a smile when it first meets the eye or the ear of persons not accustomed to such definite and exclusive appellations. Longinus informs us, however, that the Greeks called Homer, *par excellence*, The Poet, and probably this is considered as a sufficient warrant in the North for a laird styling himself The Chisholm.

WE have now done, and with these brief notices shall here conclude the History of the Highlands and the Highland Clans. The subject is by no means exhausted, but our space is already more than outrun, and we must satisfy ourselves with sketching an outline where time prevents us from completing a picture. Great and important changes have latterly been wrought in the North of Scotland, and much that was not long ago matter of observation has already passed into the category of the things that were. Old feelings, old habits, old prejudices, old customs, old traditions, and old superstitions, are daily dying out and being forgotten: the process of assimilation is advancing with singular rapidity and effect; and there is every reason to believe that, in a few years more, scarcely a trace will remain of those characteristic peculiarities by which the Highlanders were so long distinguished. Modern innovations have proved fatal to the poetry of the national character; the voice of tradition is mute; old things have passed away, all things are becoming new. But in the page of the Chronicler or the Historian there will still be found materials sufficient to revive the remembrance of the past, and to cherish that proud feeling of nationality, which is the only solid foundation of real patriotism, and the best inheritance of any people.

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